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Volume 8

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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VOLUME 8

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Cultural Factors Which Result In Artificial Farm Labor Shortages*

By Arthur Raper and F. Howard Forsyth†

ABSTRACT

The current farm labor situation is intensified by cultural factors which have prevented full use of the nation's rural manpower. The status of the farm worker is at the heart of the farm labor situation. He has commonly been a seasonal worker in commercial crop areas, or he has been an underemployed subsistence farmer in areas of low physical resources. Moreover, in commercial crop areas where farm workers have had low status, many middle- and upper-income families have traditionally done little actual farm work. As a result of these cultural factors, rural manpower in many parts of the nation has been chronically under-used.

Current wartime pressures are breaking down some of the cultural barriers to the full use of rural manpower. With effective motivation, a few thousand underemployed rural dwellers have already been transferred to areas where there are severe shortages of farm labor. Members of farm families with "overseer" traditions are beginning to look upon farm work as a patriotic opportunity. Employed townspeople and urban high school and college students are helping the farmers in many parts of the country. The increased use of these various sources of labor on farms can be speeded up by developing local, State, and Federal programs grounded upon an understanding of the cultural factors involved, region by region.

RESUMEN

La escasez de mano de obra en el campo se ha visto empeorada por diversos factores culturales que impiden un aprovechamiento eficaz de la disponibilidad potencial de trabajadores agrícolas de la nación. La situación social del trabajador de campo está intimamente ligada a los prejuicios y tradiciones pertinentes a su trabajo. Generalmente, es un trabajador de temporada en regiones de cultivo intensivo, o es un campesino que trabajando en una zona agrícola pobre, se limita a mantenerse a sí mismo pero sin utilizar a fondo su capacidad de trabajo. Además, en regiones de producción intensiva, donde el trabajador campesino ha tenido una baja situación social, existen muchas familias de situación económica regular o buena que han eludido el trabajo personal en las labores del campo. Como resultado lógico de estos factores sociales, las fuentes de trabajadores rurales, en muchas partes de la nación, no son utilizadas en la debida forma.

Las urgentes necesidades creadas por la guerra están ayudando a romper los prejuicios y tradiciones que impedían un aprovechamiento eficaz de la disponibilidad potencial de trabajadores agrícolas. Utilizando razonamientos efectivos y convincentes algunos miles de trabajadores rurales, que no rendían lo que debían en sus respectivas tierras, van siendo trasladados a zonas donde la mano de obra es sumamente escasa. Actualmente, personas que se veían afectadas por prejuicios sociales con respecto a las faenas campestres, van dejando de lado dichos sentimientos para dedicarse patrióticamente al trabajo de la tierra. Gente que trabaja en las ciudades y alumnos de las escuelas rurales superiores ayudan a los campesinos en muchas partes del país. La utilización de estas fuentes de mano de obra para trabajos agrícolas puede ser incrementado por medio de programas locales, estatales y federales basados en un entendimiento de los factores culturales mencionados.

* This study is a synthesis by the authors. It is based on data provided by the field staff of the Division of Farm Population

and Rural Welfare, and other current data, projected against familiar information of the recent past.

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Rural America's wartime farm labor shortage is compounded of an actual scarcity of workers in some areas and of cultural factors which block the full use of rural manpower.

Most farm workers stay within definable geographic limits in response to familiar opportunities for employment and their own inability or unwillingness to move. Most employers of farm labor have come to operate with a relatively fixed definition of available labor: in terms of recruiting workers, arriving at the wages to be paid, the housing to be furnished, the work to be done, and, often most important of all, the general behavior between employer and employee. Any loss of workers within the limits of these traditional relationships may be registered by employers as a farm labor shortage.

I. Under-Used Rural Manpower

A reported shortage may be said to be artificial when farm workers through habit, or in response to poor farm organization, work only part of the time, and then seldom up to capacity; and when farm employers and their families, townspeople and urban students hesitate to do manual work because of the traditional low status of farm workers.¹

Behind artificial shortages, where they exist, are the historical and cultural factors out of which the present pattern has grown. Farm workers have been surplus and residue

labor, and have been treated as such. Farm workers have had low pay and low economic status. Farm workers have frequently been socially and politically exploited, and have usually accommodated themselves to their situation.

A. *Farm Workers Have Been Surplus Labor.*

The farm labor pool of the nation has traditionally included all those workers who have not moved off to urban employment. Except for a brief period in the latter part of World War I, and during the last few months, all openings for nonagricultural employment have been taken up shortly after they became available, with always a surplus left in the rural labor reserve. The high rural birth rate, especially among lower income families,² has continuously replenished the rural population, and a surplus has accumulated because of too few available openings in rural or urban areas.

Accustomed to using workers from the rural surplus, the employer of farm labor has expected workers to be ready and waiting from day to day as he may need them. Many farmers have been unready to acknowledge that the workers have skills; yet on the other hand they have been unwilling to accept workers without skills. The farmer has sought and usually been able to secure "experienced farm hands" who know how to care for livestock, mend fences, till soil, bleach celery, save tobacco, pick cotton, and other spe-

¹Farm workers, in this article, include farm laborers who work for daily or monthly wages, and sharecroppers and other low-income farm operators such as subsistence farmers and dependent tenants.

²There are, of course, other factors than low income correlated with high birth rate.

cialized farm tasks where a novice is a clumsy "greenhorn." The butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker have skills which have been generally recognized and paid for; farm workers—Tom, Dick, and Harry—also have skills, but these have usually gone unacknowledged and unrewarded. The principal difference seems to be that there have been so many farm workers.

Into a surplus labor situation such as this came the depression of the 1930's with its work relief programs. Farmers generally were from the first irritated over the fact that the wages paid in these programs were often higher than prevailing farm wages. Later the farmers in many areas learned that they could get the relief agencies to discontinue employment of workers when they were most needed on farms. This left the farm workers in these areas without bargaining power and restored the employers' surplus.

The surplus nature and other special characteristics of the farm labor supply explain why it has been left outside effective labor unionism, without a spokesman in the local community or a lobby in the State capitols or in Washington, outside the provisions of the Federal wage and hour legislation, without economic security or social recognition. The farm worker has been left on the bottom rung of the national economy.

B. Farm Workers Have Had Low Pay and Low Economic Status.

Farm wages for the 1942 harvest

ranged from below \$1 to \$2 a day for much of the South³ up to \$4 to \$6 a day in other parts of the nation. The top wages are double or more what they were a few years back. Region by region, the farm workers remain the poorest paid large group of workers in the country.

The great majority of the people who have worked as farm laborers and low-income operators have done so from necessity (or tradition) rather than choice. That is why so many have moved to urban employment as soon as it was available, why so many low-income rural parents prefer that their maturing children find urban employment. With the boom in war industry, greater numbers of rural workers and their families have had an opportunity to leave the farms.⁴

No one better recognizes these facts than the farmer who employs labor. He knows he cannot compete in the labor market with urban industry or war enterprises. Afraid of seeing the price of farm products frozen, farmers nevertheless have frequently suggested the freezing of farm labor as the only sure way of retaining needed workers.⁵

³There were isolated reports of workers being paid more than \$2, and daily *earnings* under piece rates frequently went above \$2.

⁴A Bureau of Agricultural Economics release in November 1942, estimated a net migration from farms of 1,357,000 in 1941, double that of 1940 and well above the greatest annual net migration in the Twenties.

⁵These suggestions come as simple expressions and as formulated programs. One such program now in effect, "the deferment from induction of essential farm workers," operates to freeze some rural workers on farms.

The submerged lot of the farm laborer is more obvious in some regions than in others, but is present almost everywhere. In the North Atlantic and Midwest States, there have been some immigrants from Europe available for farm labor; in the Southwest and Pacific Coast areas the Mexicans, Spanish-Americans, and Orientals have been the cheap sources of farm labor, with recruits in recent years of old-line American families from the Plains States. In the South, the Negro farm worker has set the pattern for all farm labor, even though through competition more southern Whites than Negroes have come to work as wage hands and farm tenants.

A few years after Emancipation, many of the plantation owners shifted the ex-slaves from farm wage hands to sharecroppers thus transferring the responsibility of production from themselves as supervisors to the Negroes as workers. Sharecropping was the landowners' way of keeping the Negroes and competing poorer Whites on a sort of seasonal piece-work basis.

Over the years, even the most productive piece-rate agricultural workers have had low annual earnings. On the other hand, the employers who need laborers one-third or one-fifth of the time, or maybe only ten days in the entire year, often dismissed the question of the laborer's low annual income by pointing out that they felt it is better to give a man work for even a part of the year than to leave him without any work at all.

Wages enter into the matter of the farm labor situation because they determine status, and some large and small employers of farm labor would not be willing to see their laborers receive very much higher wages even if paid in part by government subsidy. Because of the house he lives in, the clothes he wears, the food he eats, and his limited participation in the community, the farm worker's lot is envied by nobody, and many people have been unwilling to do his work lest they lose status thereby.

C. Farm Workers Have Been Socially and Politically Exploited.

Over the years, most of the city dwellers and many of the farm operators in some parts of the country have come to look down on the poorer rural people who do the actual farm work. Buttressing their own feeling of importance, they have often laughed at the way the lower income farm people dress, talk and act. Over the radio, on the stage and in the street, the farm worker is the object of many a joke.

Hired farm laborers in the central and northern parts of the nation are generally of neighbors' or villagers' sons who expect to remain as hired help only temporarily. Through personal industry or inheritance these local young men may move into places of recognized position. Not so of the farm laborer in the community where employer and laborer are members of different racial or nationality groups. Here the laborer's low status is institutionalized, and he can scarcely escape his submerged

position through personal industry or accident. Such improvement as he may make without migrating is within his own group, which will often have a church, school and social life—commonly subject, however, to the control of the dominant group.

The farm laborer is often spoken of as a farm "hand." His employer exercises supervisory and "head-work" functions. If enough "hands" are available, even a small farmer may become a supervisor or manipulator of other men's work. No small part of the relatively high status of the employer of farm labor is a corollary of the lowly status of those who work for him. One medium-sized cotton farmer, complaining of unreasonably high farm wages, was asked if he would work for the wage he was offering. His answer was: "Who, me? Why, no, who do you think I am!"⁶

Means used by the dominant group to stabilize the farm labor supply in heterogeneous communities include limitations upon the members of the submerged group as to their freedom of movement, their legal claim to the crops they are growing as sharecroppers or tenants, the exercise of the franchise, the ownership of land, and other restrictions upon their full participation in local and national affairs. Many employers feel that the

continued submergence of these workers is necessary for peace and harmony in the community.⁷

Restrictions upon minority groups have not been limited to the South and West, or to the rural areas of the nation. The pattern of economic and social exclusion obtains even in States where the status of local farm workers is highest. Thousands of Spanish-Americans migrate to Michigan every year to do beet work, but they return to Texas as their preference of a place to live.⁸ If limitations had not been prevalent everywhere, vastly more Negroes, Spanish-Americans, Mexicans, and Orientals would now be scattered throughout the nation.

⁶Some of the limitation upon lower income groups from which most farm workers are recruited include State crop lien and vagrancy laws, poll tax requirements for voting, White Primary, State laws against ownership of land by "Aliens ineligible for citizenship," and various State segregation laws, local ordinance, and community practices which limit the opportunities of minority groups along educational and occupational lines. Recent illustrations of these restrictions are the \$1,000 fine a Georgia judge assessed against a New Jersey labor recruiter, the South Carolina Governor's opposition to the transference of laborers outside the State, and the objection of leading Arkansas farmers to the movement of unemployed rural dwellers to New Mexico and Arizona after the Arkansas cotton crop had been picked. See H. L. Mitchell, "The Joads Move Up," *New Republic*, CVIII, (January 11, 1943) Pp 48-49.

⁷See J. F. Thaden, *Migratory Beet Workers in Michigan*, Michigan AES Special Bulletin No. 319 (September 1942). For a more recent discussion of the influences of the war on the movement of Spanish-Americans, see "Wartime Migration in New Mexico" by Charles P. Loomis, *Rural Sociology*, Vo. 7, No. 4 (December 1942), Pp. 384-394.

⁸Some of the bitterest complaints of the shortage of labor come from small operators, whose facilities are limited and whose increase of cash income as prices rise is small. Even if he could physically do all his own work, the loss of his one hired hand threatens his security as a member of the employing middle class.

D. Farm Workers Have Made Accommodations.

Many of the workers who have done the actual labor on the farms have become convinced that they cannot escape chronic dependency. Their fatalism is grounded in their own experience. In some areas, the relationship between the underemployed seasonal laborers and the type of crop is a reciprocal one. Without the other, each would be modified.

Many of the landless underemployed producers of cash crops in the South have no fixed tenure; many of them move at the end of every crop year. They raise little of their own food, make almost no repairs on the houses they live in, and feel little interest in the land they till. These are the people most often called "improvident," here where they have the least remunerative work to do, the lowest economic and social status, the fewest rights as citizens, and the least hope of bettering themselves.

Many of their employers have long held that better conditions would spoil these people, better wages would cause them to quit work. "You'll have to change their natures before you can pay them a better wage and keep them on the job."

The evidence indicates that this estimate of these underpaid rural workers is not adequate. Some workers who have never received over 75 cents or a dollar a day, and this not throughout the year, do tend to stop work and "celebrate" for a few days when they first get increased wages. But many other workers stay on the

job regularly. And within a short time, those workers who at first "could not stand prosperity" are back at work.

What happens when wages are increased for low-paid workers has already become clear in many communities. For the two great southern industries of textiles and lumber, the evidence is in. The facts show that under the Federal wage and hour legislation the wages had increased greatly even before Pearl Harbor, and neither industry operated short-handed because of the irregularity of their old employees or the lack of any new employees needed.

Also, before the war came, many rural and urban employers were saying that WPA work ruined people for farm or industrial employment. But former WPA workers—millions of them—are now regularly and effectively employed on farms and in factories throughout the nation.

It is in the areas where farm workers are most commonly termed "improvident" that urban families and rural families with relatively high incomes, have often come to feel that it was beneath their dignity to do farm work. So in wide sections of the country the submerged status of the people who do the actual farm work has doubly handicapped the full use of our manpower, first by leaving the man who does the actual work without dynamic motives to make him effective as a worker; second, by rendering many of the middle- and upper-income people unwilling to do farm work lest they jeopardize their status.

II. Tapping Under-Used Farm Labor Supplies

Involved in total war, the nation seeks programs which will release all available farm workers to maximum employment for the 1943 crop. Cultural factors affect the farm labor situation, often causing artificial shortages. Hopefully, some adjustments are already being made. A few thousand rural dwellers have been transferred from areas of underemployment to other farming areas. Many employers of farm labor with little or no tradition of actual farm work are beginning to do more of it. Women are playing an increasingly important part on farms. Some townspeople are going out to help the farmers, and in many places urban students are being used in peak seasons.

A. A Few Thousand Rural Dwellers Have Been Transferred from Areas of Underemployment.

Under war conditions, some progress has already been made toward fuller utilization of the labor supply in the areas with the greatest surplus of rural population. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed or underemployed rural people have moved off to urban industries or still live in rural areas and commute to factory employment, not infrequently leaving their farming activities largely to the women and children. Some of these part-time farmers have complained bitterly that dependable farm laborers are scarce and unreasonably expensive.

In recent months the United States Employment Service and the Farm Security Administration have helped transfer a few thousand rural dwellers from areas of underemployment. Examples of such transfers include the movement of workers from eastern Kentucky to dairy farms in Ohio, from the Wisconsin cutover to the larger dairy farms of that State, from the hill sections of Virginia to the North Atlantic States, from the Mid-South to Arizona and New Mexico and more recently to the vegetable fields of Florida.⁹

All across the southern States from eastern Texas to Virginia, in the Great Lakes' cutover area, in the Spanish-American Southwest, and in smaller areas throughout the country, there are underemployed farm workers whose time could be used elsewhere during the slack winter months and perhaps in midsummer between laying-by time and harvest. To transfer this labor is not simple, however, because much of it has had little formal education, is unacquainted with the physical and social climate of other parts of the country, is largely outside organized groups, and has looked in hard times to the

⁹The movement of workers from the Mid-South to the Southwest was accomplished by the USES and the FSA, with officials of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union advising that as many of their members as possible make the transfer. An STFU official stated recently that the discussion of "freezing" labor on farms in the Delta is beside the point: that farm workers—day laborers, sharecroppers, and other dependent tenants—have long been "frozen" in that area and need rather to be "thawed" for work elsewhere during the winter months when heretofore they have remained in the Delta, idle.

local commissary or the nearest crossroads store for credit.

Movement of underemployed peoples from these areas will need to be worked out in harmony with cultural conditions in their home areas and in the areas to which they are to be transferred. If cultural backgrounds are ignored, workers may be transferred to areas where they may not be willing to remain, or where other farm laborers may not be willing to work with them.

Employers of farm labor, too, operate most smoothly when they can secure the type of labor they are accustomed to using.¹⁰ Throughout the country there are rather definite geographic and crop limits to the use of one type of farm labor or another. Mexicans, Spanish-Americans, Negroes, Mountain Whites, Indians and other groups are acceptable farm workers in wide, though distinct areas.

The few thousand underemployed rural dwellers who have been transferred to other farming areas are finding an opportunity to increase their annual incomes and to apply their full labor in the war effort. Thousands more can be constructively transferred provided their

movement is carried out in harmony with the cultural factors involved.

B. Many Farmers Are More Fully Employed.

With the thinning of the traditional farm labor surplus, operators have begun to do more actual farm work. In regions where the farm owners with status have always worked on farms, there has been little change beyond the fact that such owners are working longer hours, making more use of their machinery, getting along with less hired labor.

In all parts of the country, small farmers with a tradition of work but without resources for full employment are increasing their farming activities by the care of more livestock, the planting of larger gardens, the canning of more fruits and vegetables, and sometimes by the cultivation of additional fields made available to them when neighbors leave for urban employment, the armed forces, and farm work in other areas. Through appropriate loans and supervision, demonstrations and education, agricultural agencies can help still more of the underemployed families who remain on the land to grow larger crops by making fuller use of their time and available land resources.

In regions where the upper- and middle-status farmers have relied upon cheap local labor, consequently doing little manual work, they are now beginning to do more farm work than ever before. One large tobacco grower in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, recently said: "I've been doing

¹⁰Some employers of farm labor in California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Florida have expressed an unwillingness to use laborers transferred by USES and FSA because of the 30 cents an hour minimum wage fixed for such workers. The employers often point out that the wages they pay will usually exceed the 30 cents for good workers, but they do not like the idea of a minimum wage. There is some evidence that the traditional antagonism between town and country is tending to shift now to an antagonism between farmers and union labor.

a little here and a little there with my workers, but the way it looks now I'm going to have to put in some real time on my farm next year—and so will many another farmer who has been spending most of his time telling other people what to do.”

C. Women Are Playing an Increasingly Important Part on Farms.

Throughout the nation farm women have increased their production and preservation of foods. Nearly everywhere there are more gardens and better ones, more canned goods, more dried fruits.

To meet the increased labor needs, the farm women have also begun to do more outside work. In the rural communities where farm women with economic security and social standing have always done farm tasks, women are now helping more around the barn, going to the fields more often. In other areas, upper- and middle-status farm women are beginning to do farm work for the first time. A Southern woman, wife of a small independent farmer said of them, “Working on the farm might hurt their feelings, but it wouldn't hurt their character.”

From Malheur County, Oregon, came a report last summer that farmers could not get their beets thinned. People in the leading towns in the area volunteered to help. With townspeople working in the beet fields where hitherto only Mexican and other transient workers had been seen, a new attitude developed. Many of the growers who had assumed that it was not proper for their wives and

children to do the menial work with beets, took their families into the fields along with the townspeople.¹¹

In some areas a relatively slight shift will put the women of upper-class farm families in the fields.¹² Not so, in other areas. Under the impacts of the tightening manpower situation, a few women from families wholly unaccustomed to farm work are now doing farm work, usually beginning with jobs not traditionally done by the lower class women workers, such as driving farm tractors and trucks, weighing

¹¹In nearly all sections of the country, the members of the upper-status farm families have come to feel that the women of certain racial, nationality, or social groups were especially suited for some types of farm work. In many parts of the North Atlantic States, Italian and Poles and other immigrant women have been hired to do work which native-born families have considered too hard for their own women to do. In the West and Southwest, the Mexicans and Spanish-American women have been the ones who could do hard work. Throughout the South, Negro women do field work which the upper-status white women have been considered physically unable to do. Poorer white women, however, as members of wage hand, sharecropper, and tenant families have often done these same kinds of work; in recent years the women of the white families who migrated to the West Coast from the drought States are coming to be considered capable of farm work. Among some foreign-born groups—Germans, Russians, and others—the women of even the large farm operators work freely in the fields.

¹²The cultural level of the family as measured by the size of the house, household furnishings, types of meals served, the frequency of guests, and numerous other things make a difference in the amount of work there is to be done in a farm home. Many a farm mother, in keeping up with her household duties, works as hard or harder than the men, and her work is no less valuable to the family than theirs. The only way such a woman can work in the fields is to neglect or simplify her housekeeping.

up cotton, or transporting produce to market.

Members of the upper-income farm families may be willing enough to do farm work which they have not done heretofore when they can do so without losing status. A group of girls in a New England college, for example, were going out to pick apples for a farmer. One girl was in a dilemma: she wanted to conform to her associates' expectations, but she did not want her parents in Virginia to know that she had done farm work for wages. Assured that there would be no publicity, she went along, picked apples and enjoyed it.

D. Some Townspeople Are Going Out to Help the Farmers.

There is a close relationship between the status of the people who work on farms and the readiness with which employed townspeople will leave their businesses to do farm work.

The townspeople of Goodhue, Minnesota, in 1942 provided a considerable number of workers for farmers throughout the busy season. They received 55 cents an hour, which when set was above the prevailing agricultural wage. The farmers themselves made the wage recommendation. The plan worked well as an aid to farmers who needed extra workers at haying and harvest time.

In Merced County, California, the townspeople were led by the County War Board to close down their businesses and help in the fruit harvest. The plan was launched with publicity in the paper and over the radio. It

was agreed that liquor stores and bars would be closed over the weekend. On the first day, Sunday, about 1,000 people turned out; on the second and third days hardly half that many. Most of them went to a few of the largest fruit concerns.

In Lamar County, Georgia, the mayor of the county-seat town, Barnesville, ordered the closing of all businesses, with instructions to the police to get the people off the streets and into the fields for one day's cotton picking. A third of the people of the town volunteered to go out and pick.

In Dade County, Florida, where the leading townspeople are interested mainly in tourists, an effort was made to get people from Miami to help plant the winter potatoes. A press headlined the possible loss of a \$2,500,000 crop. Townspeople were asked to volunteer. Registrars were stationed at each of the post offices and sub-stations in the county. The townspeople did not take the matter seriously; only a handful registered.

These four examples illustrate varying circumstances under which townspeople have been recruited for work on farms. Their locations on the map in terms of farm labor patterns are not without significance. In the Minnesota county, farm owners have traditionally done as much of their own work as possible, merely hiring workers to do what they themselves did not have the time to do. The farmers are the relatives, and equals, of the townspeople who of their own accord went out to help them during busy seasons. In the

California county the War Board put on a campaign, with the cooperation of the town's leading citizens, to get the townspeople to go out and do for large fruit growers the work that has traditionally been done by migrant laborers. In the Georgia county, the townspeople were sent to the fields of the cotton farmers. In the Florida county, the townspeople thought the press over-dramatized the situation. More than that, the Miami urban dwellers have had little identification with the local farm operators, almost none with the laborers who have done the actual work.

The "Goodhue Plan" will be continued this year by mutual agreement of the farmers and the townspeople; the large fruit growers of Merced will hope to get a program worked out by next harvest time which will get more townspeople in the orchards; the Barnesville "Farm Day" will probably not be repeated unless it is again ordered by leading officials; the Miami townspeople will probably do no farm work so long as the matter is left upon a purely voluntary basis.¹³

¹³There are of course many variations in the pattern of townspeople's helping farmers. In and around Custer County, Montana, merchants cooperated for fear of losing the trade of the farmers. In Clark County, Washington, just across the river from the Kaiser shipyards, townspeople at having time agreed to help the farmers over the week-ends only to find that the farmers did not look with favor upon Sunday work. In Merced County, California, as shown above, the use of townspeople was launched on a Sunday at the request of the fruit growers, and it proved the most popular day of the week.

E. In Some Places Urban Students Are Being Used in Peak Seasons.

The use on farms of urban high school and college students during peak work seasons follows the same general pattern as that of the use of employed townspeople. Urban students have been used least in the areas where farm workers have been most plentiful, poorest paid, and have occupied a submerged position in the community.

Most of the urban students who worked on farms have been from the smaller towns.¹⁴ In some instances urban schools were closed for a week or 10 days at harvest time; in others, the school day was shortened, summer sessions were held, and other arrangements made to render the urban students more readily available for farm work. In heterogeneous communities where the students were members of a submerged ethnic group, they have been treated much as their parents. When they were of the employer's ethnic group, they have done about the same work, but have usually been treated with deference by the employers, and praised for their patriotism to make the work the more acceptable to them.

Urban high school and college students have demonstrated that they will volunteer for farm work, and that with supervision they can be of great help. School authorities can

¹⁴Legislative and administrative adjustments have been made in several states permitting students to be absent from school to do farm work without jeopardizing their scholastic standing, or the school's average daily attendance records upon which State funds are distributed.

render further service by affording appropriate training for volunteer student farm workers.

III. In Conclusion

With the thinning of the traditional farm labor supply, there is urgent need that programs be developed for the fullest use of all available farm labor from rural and urban sources. As noted above, a number of things are already being done.

The status of the farm worker is at the heart of the farm labor situation. That is why farm women, students, and townspeople are more ready to do farm work in some areas than in others. The people who do the manual work have higher status where they work along *with* the operator than where they work *for* him.

By giving appropriate recognition for increased production of the farm crops needed in the war effort, public and private organizations and agencies can doubtless do much to relieve farm labor of its traditional bottom-of-the-ladder status. The

press can help, too, as can also the preacher and teacher; but most helpful of all will be the increased deference of the merchant who finds the farm worker a better customer, the salesman who finds him a bigger buyer, the doctor who is called to his house more often, and especially when at long last the general public comes to understand that the man who does the actual farm work is among the nation's most important people.

The increasing need for manpower in war-time means that farm wages will rise, and the status of the farm worker will be somewhat improved; he will gradually shed much of his traditional fatalism and resulting improvidence, and so will become a more effective worker. These things are already happening; they can be speeded up by developing local, State, and Federal programs grounded upon an understanding of the cultural factors, region by region, which account for the traditional unequal distribution and under-use of the nation's rural manpower.

The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn In Two Iowa Communities*

By Bryce Ryan and Neal C. Gross†

ABSTRACT

Hybrid seed corn has diffused through the midwest with phenomenal rapidity. In the space of four years, 1936 through 1939, two-thirds of the operators in the two communities studied, changed to the new seed. Relatively few, however, took over hybrid seed for their entire acreage the first year they tried it. This was true even for operators first using the seed at a relatively late date. There appears to be some difference between the diffusion agencies which informed farmers of the new seed and the sources of influence toward adoption. Commercial channels, especially salesmen, were most important as original sources of knowledge, while neighbors were most important as influences leading to acceptance. Although the time pattern of acceptance follows a bell shaped curve, this instance of diffusion cannot be accurately described as following a normal frequency distribution.

RESUMEN

El maíz de semilla híbrido se ha difundido por el Mediano Oeste con extraordinaria rapidez. En el espacio de 4 años, desde el 1936 hasta el 1939, dos tercios de los agricultores de las dos comunidades estudiadas adoptaron la nueva semilla. Sin embargo, relativamente muy pocos de ellos la cultivaron de lleno en el primero año que la conocieron. Esto fué cierto también con aquellos que la han usado aún más recientemente. Parece que existe alguna diferencia entre las agencias de difusión que informaron a los agricultores sobre la nueva semilla y las fuentes de influjo que los decidieron a su adopción. Las vías comerciales, particularmente los vendedores, fueron las más importantes fuentes de conocimiento, mientras que los vecinos tuvieron más importancia desde el punto de vista de la aceptación de la simiente. Aunque el modelo del tiempo de adopción conforma con el de una campana, este ejemplo de difusión no puede ser descrito como típico de una perfecta distribución normal de frecuencias.

The introduction of hybrid seed corn has been the most striking technical advance in midwestern agriculture during the past decade.¹ Although a few experimenters had been acquainted with this new and sturdier seed for many years, only since 1937 has it become a nationally important production factor. It has been estimated that between 1933 and 1939 acreage in hybrid corn in-

creased from 40,000 to 24 million acres (about one-fourth of the nation's corn acreage). In the North Central region the spread was even more rapid. Although hybrid seed was not available until 1928 or 1929, by 1939, 75 per cent of the corn acreage in Iowa was in hybrid.

The very rapidity of its diffusion makes this trait attractive for study. This is true not only because farmers are usually "conservative," but also because its adoption is well within the memory span of current farm operators, and hence amenable to more intensive study than would

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¹See *Technology and the Farm*, U.S.D.A., 1940, Chapter 5.

otherwise be possible. Analysis of this diffusion has a special significance in that it represents a farm trait which can almost unqualifiedly be termed a "good (economic) farm practice." The study of its spread may offer some factual knowledge of conditions attendant to the eminently successful diffusion of a rational technique.²

The 1930's provide a curiously complex background to the diffusion of a new, hardier, and more productive breed of corn. On the whole the peculiar circumstances of this decade should have favored the more rapid spread of the trait rather than its retardation, but this assumption cannot be accepted unequivocally. From a rational standpoint the period of economic distress should have given added incentive to the acceptance of a more efficient practice, but the new seed demanded cash outlay at a time when farmers were loath to use either cash or credit. Although none of the farmers studied attributed delay in adoption to lack of credit, the general restriction of cash expenditures in the depths of depression was undoubtedly a limiting factor.³ Balanced against the negative effects of depression were two conditions stimulating adoption. The first of these

was the AAA starting in 1933, and the second was the severe droughts especially in 1934 and 1936. The reduction of corn acreage associated with a "pegged price" was certainly favorable to the more productive type of seed and the superior performance of hybrid corn under drought conditions offered objective demonstrations of its hardiness.

Even with this conspiracy of circumstances, it still might be wondered that hybrid spread so rapidly, in view of the slowness with which many sound economic practices are accepted.⁴ Aside from the obvious superiority of the new breed (except where improper seed was used in a particular locality) it was a trait which could be and was promoted profitably by lively commercial interests. Further, its advantages were visible not only in account books; they showed up tangibly to every drought-weary farmer who passed by. In Iowa, at least, the Extension Service aided the movement in a number of ways, but notably through the publication of comparative corn yield tests, and the certification of commercial seeds. Also of importance was the very ease by which the new practice could be adopted. Its use required few changes in routine or equipment.

To ascertain the process through which hybrid seed was absorbed into the technicways of the Corn Belt, two communities in central Iowa were se-

²This paper represents a part of a longer study now in progress in which factors affecting rapidity of spread are also being analyzed.

³Too much emphasis should not be placed on this essentially psychological assumption. The use of hybrid seed would have been profitable in every separate year of the depression. See Neal C. Gross, "The Diffusion of a Culture Trait in Two Iowa Townships," M.S. Thesis, Iowa State College, 1942 (unpublished).

⁴For example: hog sanitation, liming, systematic accounts, and many more which have been promoted by the Extension Service for years.

lected for study in the summer of 1941.⁵ Practically all of the farm operators dependent upon the two town centers of Grand Junction and Scranton were included, totalling 323 farmers. Since 64 of these had started farming since hybrid corn began its spread, they have been excluded from the analysis. The age bias resulting from this is not as serious as would have been the inclusion of operators having unequal

opportunity of adopting the trait in any given year.

Diffusion of Knowledge and Practice

Figure 1 shows the comparative percentages of all operators first hearing of hybrid corn in specified years, and the percentages first adopting it. While the curves are generally similar, allowing for a time lag of roughly five years between first knowledge and first adoption,

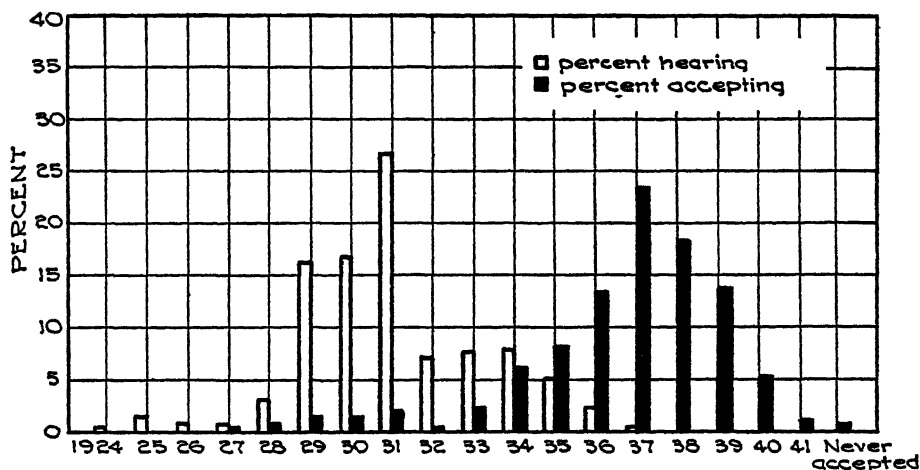


Fig. 1. Percentages of Farm Operators First Hearing of Hybrid Seed Corn and Percentages First Accepting It, by Years.

⁵These communities are situated in Greene County 15 miles apart, equidistant from urban centers and on a main east-west highway. They are not typical of Iowa but probably are typical of the intensive grain producing, high income, and highly commercialized central area of the state. They are typically rural; practically all operators have radios, newspapers, farm journals, and telephones. It should be recognized that some of the operators were not members of these communities at the time they adopted hybrid seed, but there is no reason to believe that this offers any serious bias for the present problem.

some differences are worth noting. Whereas the modal frequency in knowledge came 7 years after the first operator heard of the seed, the modal frequency in adoption occurred 10 years after the trait was first accepted. The preliminary stages of diffusion were somewhat slower in terms of adoption than in knowledge; once the wave of adoption

swelled, hybrid practically "took the field" in the space of four years (1936-1939 inclusive). Almost all had heard of the new trait before more than a handful were planting it.⁶

Increasing Acceptance

As might be expected, few operators turned their corn acreage completely to hybrid seed in the early years (See table I). In fact, this tentative pattern of acceptance characterized the majority who began using the seed even in 1940 and 1941. While the very late operators generally took up the new seed immediately for a larger share of their acreage, the median planting for those first using hybrid in 1939 amounted to only 30 per cent of their total corn acreage for that year. More surprising than the increase in the size of first plantings as time went on is the fact that the more conservative operators, with several years of community experience to guide them, were so "experimental" in their acceptance.

Although the size of first plantings increased very little with the passing years, until about 1939, the later acceptors took a shorter time to reach practically complete adoption of the new seed. Thus, for example, the operators starting to plant hybrid in the respective years, 1934, 1936, and 1937, all reached a 100 per cent median planting for the first time in

1939.⁷ However, in most years prior to 1939 the earlier the operators had started using hybrid, the larger was the percentage of crop in the new seed. Although some exceptions to this arise, notably among operators starting in 1935, in general, the later acceptors did not "catch up with" the earlier ones until the point of practically complete adoption had been reached.

In a sense the early acceptors provided a community laboratory from which neighbors could gain some vicarious experience with the new seed over a period of some years. The importance of this local laboratory has been attested by the weight given "neighbors" as influences toward acceptance.⁸ But at the same time it is evident that the more conservative operators would not accept other farmers' experience at full face value. This offers a suggestive slant on the learning process in farm practice. It would seem that whatever the advantages demonstrated by community experience in hybrid, the bulk of the operators insisted upon personal experimentation before complete acceptance. As we have seen, the experimentation period was shortened for the late ones, but very few were willing to start at the point already reached by earlier adoptors. The acceptance of hybrid was far from a conversion; individual and

⁶This would be much more striking if adoption of the trait meant 100 per cent of corn acreage in hybrid. Here we have considered acceptance of the seed in any degree as adoption.

⁷The mean percentages of corn land in hybrid for each of these groups in 1939 were: 1934—97.2; 1936—82.1; 1937—86.6. Means have not been used generally because of the skewed distributions especially in early and late phases of the acceptance process.

⁸See below.

TABLE I. MEDIAN PER CENT OF CORN ACREAGE IN HYBRID FOR INDIVIDUAL YEARS BY YEAR IN WHICH OPERATOR FIRST USED HYBRID SEED

Year first used hybrid	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	No. of cases
Before 1934	38.0*	50.0	67.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	24
1934		20.0	29.0	42.0	67.0	95.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	16
1935			18.0	44.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	21
1936				20.0	41.0	62.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	36
1937					19.0	55.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	61
1938						25.0	79.0	100.0	100.0	46
1939							30.0	91.5	100.0	36
1940								69.5	100.0	14
1941									54.0	3
Total										257
Never accepted										2
Total Sample										259

* The median hybrid planting for this group in first year of acceptance was 12 per cent of total corn acreage.

time - consuming self - demonstration was required even after visible evidence and objective comparisons were readily available to all.⁹

Original Source of Knowledge¹⁰

Almost one-half of the farmers cited personal contact with salesmen as their earliest source of information on hybrid seed, while an additional tenth named radio sales talks (See table 2). Only 14.6 per cent named neighbors as original informants and 10.7 per cent "farm journals." All other sources were of minor importance. Figure 2 il-

lustrates the sharp fluctuations in the importance assigned these various media, depending upon the year in which the trait was first made known to the farmer. Thus, salesmen were of major significance before 1933. Nearly 70 per cent of the operators learning of hybrid in the

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGES OF ALL OPERATORS CITING SPECIFIC ORIGINAL SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE OF HYBRID SEED AND MOST INFLUENTIAL SOURCES

Source	Per Cent	
	Original knowledge	Most influential
Neighbors	14.6	45.5
Salesmen	49.0	32.0
Farm Journal	10.7	2.3
Radio advertising	10.3	
Extension Service*	2.8	2.4
Relatives	3.5	4.2
Personal experimentation		6.6
All others**	9.1	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0

* Including County Agent, bulletins, etc.

** Including unknown.

⁹Iowa State College began publishing and distributing its reports on comparative corn yields in 1921.

¹⁰The study of diffusion sources is of course based upon highly subjective data, i.e., dependent upon the farmer's recall and evaluation. However, the most feasible way of approaching the problem is on the question-answer basis, and in the comparison of early and late acceptors at least there is no reason for the existence of great differences in sources on the strength of recall bias.

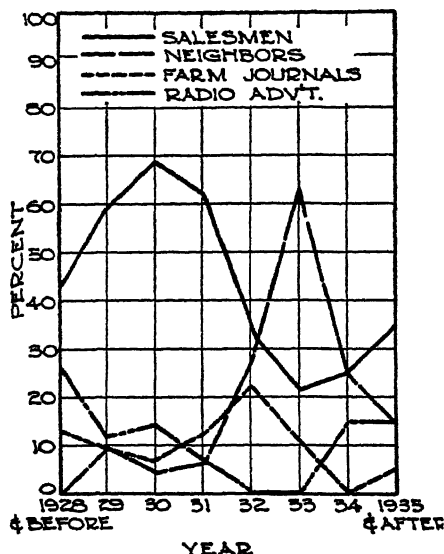


Fig. 2. Percentages of Farm Operators First Hearing of Hybrid Seed Corn Through Various Channels, by Year First Heard.

year 1930 named salesmen as their initial source; three years later only 21 per cent learned of the trait through salesmen. On the other hand, as salesmen declined in importance "neighbors" notably increased. In 1931 only 6 per cent named neighbors, but in 1933 more than 60 per cent named them. In the final years during which the most isolated operators were being reached, these two sources were about equal. There are sharp fluctuations also for the minor sources of diffusion. Farm journals were of significance mainly in 1932 while radio advertising was of some importance for the very early and the very late operators.

It is evident that some of these observations have been based on very

few cases, since about two-thirds of the operators heard of hybrid seed in 1929, 1930, and 1931. All of these were years in which salesmen were important. Hence, it was mainly a group of stragglers who were reached through other farmers. The speed with which knowledge of the new trait spread through the communities is probably in fact, as well as in farmer opinion, a tribute to the initiative of hybrid seed dealers. The unimportance of neighbors prior to 1932 is consistent with the earlier finding that only 5 per cent of the operators were using the seed prior to that date. Observation of neighboring fields would probably not have become important until after that time.

Most Influential Sources of Knowledge

When the farmers were asked to evaluate their various sources of information on hybrid as to relative influence in leading them to take up the practice, neighbors were cited more frequently than any other medium (by 45.5%). While salesmen were also accorded considerable importance as influences, as well as original informants, only 32.0 per cent felt that their judgment was influenced most significantly by such commercial representatives. Nearly 7 per cent believed that their personal experience was the only strong motivator.¹¹

In analyzing the time pattern in

¹¹This was an evasion of the real issue since the desired information was as to influence leading to personal use of the seed.

the comparative influences of neighbors and salesmen, it is more reasonable to use a time scale by year of adoption of the trait, rather than by year of first information. Two-thirds of the early adoptors credited salesmen with influencing them most, while two-thirds of the latest adoptors credited their neighbors as being primary motivators (figure 3).

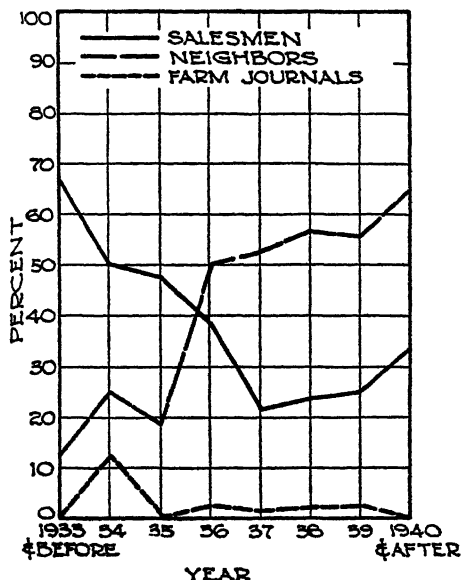


Fig. 3. Percentages of Farm Operators Accepting Hybrid Seed Corn in Different Years Assigning Major Influence to Various Sources.

With the passing years neighbors gained almost consistently in importance and salesmen lost. The bulk of the operators fall in the later years—hence, the much greater neighbor influence in the total sample.

Insofar as the farmers' evaluations are accurate, it may be suggested that the diffusion agencies are di-

visible into two moderately distinct types, namely, those important as introductory mechanisms and those important as activating agents. Thus salesmen were credited with informing the majority of the operators but neighbors were credited with convincing them. This is consistent with the earlier observation regarding the extreme caution with which individual farmers took up the new trait. Salesmen no doubt were in fact the major sources of introductory knowledge, but experience within the community counted for more in terms of action. This stands out also in the almost complete lack of influence assigned to other impersonal agencies. While this hypothesis demands further testing, the functional distinction between diffusion agencies is a problem warranting much greater attention both from scholars and from extension service administrators. The spread of knowledge and the spread of "conviction" are, analytically at least, distinct processes, and in this case have appeared to operate in part through different although complementary channels.

Diffusion and the Normal Frequency Curve

It has been evident that the acceptance sequence of hybrid seed in these communities has followed a bell shaped pattern. Certainly the cumulated frequency curve of acceptance would appear similar to the S curve familiar to students of growth phenomena.¹² Pemberton has attempted to give a precise mathematical statement of this, arguing that diffusion

may be expected to follow a normal frequency distribution unless upset by crisis conditions. It seems worth while to test the applicability of a normal frequency hypothesis to the present data.¹³

Figure 4 demonstrates wide differences between our data and their

from the normal frequency is statistically highly significant. (Chi square = 21.67, d.f. 9.) Specifically, the observed frequencies differ from the normal frequency fitted to them in the following ways:

1. The total time span was four years less than expected, although

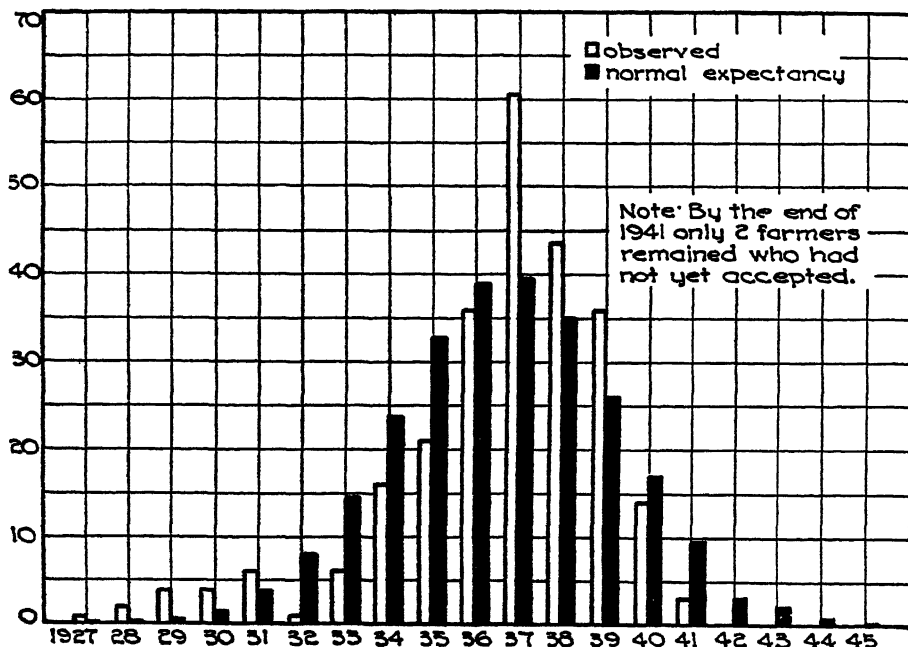


Fig. 4. Observed and Expected (normal) Distributions of Farm Operators According to Year Hybrid Seed Corn Was Accepted for Planting.

computed values in a normal frequency distribution. This deviation

¹³The application of the S curve to diffusion was popularized by F. Stuart Chapin in *Cultural Change*, published in 1928. This obvious result of cumulating frequencies in a bell-shaped distribution has been refined by later students, notably Earl Pemberton whose hypotheses will be discussed in the light of our data. See Earl Pemberton, "The Curve of Culture Diffusion Rate," *Am. Soc. Rev.* (Aug. 1936), and "The Effect of a Social Crisis on the Curve of Diffusion," *ibid* (Feb. 1937).

only two operators remained without hybrid corn at the time of study.

2. The expected frequencies are

¹⁴Pemberton, *op. cit.* (Aug. 1936), states that "the time of trait acceptance in any given case is determined by the chance combination of factors for and against adoption." This he believes is analogous to the distribution of heights in a population, i.e., where the probability of predominance of plus or of minus determinants is less than the probability of mixed determinants.

greater than the observed in the final years of acceptance and less in the very early years.

3. The observed cases are greatly concentrated at the mode and in the two years following it.

Obviously any reference to the observed distribution as a normal one would be quite misleading, and attributing deviations from normal to "crisis" is to explain away rather than to explain.¹⁴ This failure to conform to a popular hypothesis leads to the consideration of the theoretic applicability of the normal curve to such diffusion data.

It is perhaps true that a normal frequency distribution would describe our sample in reference to some general measure of degree of resistance to change. Granting such an assumption, it would not necessarily postulate a normal frequency distribution in terms of actual trait adoption. There is no doubt but that the behavior of one individual in an interacting population affects the behavior of his fellows. Thus the demonstrated success of hybrid seed on a few farms offers a changed situation to those who have not been so experimental. The very fact of acceptance by one or more farmers offers new stimulus to the remaining ones.¹⁵ The decision to adopt the new practice is a product not only of the operator's position in respect to some pre-existing conditions, but also of the in-

fluences and incentives brought to bear. The intensity of the latter is affected by knowledge of previous acceptances, especially when the various acceptors are competitors and the trait raises the general productivity level.

This situation is quite different from that presented by the measurement of heights in a population. Normal frequency does not appear to be a concept closely adapted to this condition where pressures, or reasons, for adoption become increasingly acute with passing time. If we would find mathematical expressions of diffusion, or diffusion rates, it seems reasonable that they be sought in formulae resting upon adequate processual assumptions. Consequently the acceptance pattern demonstrated by these data might with greater methodological exactitude be expressed as a logistic curve. However, it is difficult to see anything beyond an interesting analogy even if we should find a close fit to a logistic curve computed from the data. We see no reason for assuming that a formula developed mainly within the framework of population analysis should conform to diffusion data. The twisting of sociological phenomena into the analytical frameworks of other fields is not only sterile but may actually retard the development of useful sociological tools. If there is indeed an expected diffusion curve, its contours must be derived from comparative inductive researches.¹⁶

As yet there is no justification for identifying any mathematical formu-

¹⁴See Pemberton, *op. cit.* (Feb. 1937).

¹⁵Obviously there must be a decline in frequency of acceptance after the modal year, *simulating* a normal curve, since fewer operators remain who may yet accept the trait.

la with the diffusion process *per se* but this is a challenge rather than a confession of defeat. It may indeed be that for some classes of diffusion the normal frequency or logistic may be found to be more than interesting analogies, but at best this could be true only of limited types of diffusion, *i.e.*, where the methodical assumptions underlying those curves are identical with conditions of social interaction basic to the trait's spread. It is quite possible that dif-

ferent types of diffusion occur with different temporal patterns. The "tidal wave" process we have noted may indeed be typical of intra-community diffusion, or further research may show it to be a product of special circumstances, *i.e.*, commercial incentives, competition, etc. Surely there is neither empirical nor theoretical foundation for identifying the diffusion curves of fads and fashions with those of postage stamps, bath tubs, or hybrid seed corn. The formulation of ideal diffusion curves must wait upon analysis of vastly more material than has yet been done, but it seems doubtful if any theoretic pattern can adequately conform to situations involving all degrees of interaction and isolation; to economic practices as well as styles; to intra- as well as to inter-societal diffusion.

¹There is no implication here that fitting mathematical curves to sociological data is entirely useless. Mathematical curves may be extremely useful for comparative analysis at least. Raymond Jessen, of the Iowa State College Statistical Laboratory, suggests that the Orthogonal Polynomial may have possibilities in the comparative analysis of diffusion data. For a provocative utilization of logistic and Gompertz curves in diffusion research, see Alice Davis, "Technicways in American Civilization," *Social Forces* (March, 1940).

Some Limitations of "Live-At-Home" Programs*

By Victor Benedict Sullam†

ABSTRACT

"Live-at-home" programs must be appraised *ex visu* both of their effects upon the nutritional levels of subsistence farmers and of their relation to the war effort.

From the standpoint of nutrition, diets obtained only from one or a few types of soil ("monoedaphic" and "oligoedaphic" diets) will reflect in their composition the excesses and deficiencies of minerals of the soil. Excess minerals, such as selenium and fluorine, may seriously impair the health of the population, if a monoedaphic diet is established. Therefore in seleniferous and fluoriniferous areas, most of the foodstuffs should be obtained from other localities, where the composition of the soil is different. Deficient minerals, such as iodine and iron, call for adequate integration of locally produced diets.

In relation to the war effort, the low efficiency of small enterprises and the wastage accruing from household processing of agricultural commodities, should be considered before recommending "live-at-home" programs. Community and cooperative processing centers might constitute at least a partial solution.

RESUMEN

Los programas de fomento de la "Autarquía de la Finca" se deben estimar desde dos puntos de vista: sus efectos sobre la alimentación del campesino y sus relaciones con el esfuerzo por la guerra.

Desde el punto de vista de la alimentación, las dietas obtenidas de uno o de algunos tipos de suelos (dietas "monoedáficas" y "oligoedáficas") reflejan, en sus composiciones, las deficiencias y los excesos de minerales en el suelo. Los excesos de ciertos minerales tales como el selenio y el flúor pueden perjudicar seriamente la salud de la población, si se establecen dietas monoedáficas. Por consiguiente, en las áreas donde haya excesos de flúor o de selenio, los alimentos se deben obtener de otras localidades donde la composición del suelo sea diferente. Deficiencias de ciertos minerales tales como el yodo y el hierro, requieren que las dietas obtenidas en la localidad sean adecuadamente suplementadas.

En relación con el esfuerzo por la guerra, antes de recomendar los programas de "autarquía de la finca," se deben tener en cuenta la poca eficiencia de las pequeñas empresas y el desperdicio a que da ocasión el tratamiento casero de los productos agrícolas. Centros de tratamiento, comunales o cooperativos, podrían constituir, cuando menos, una solución parcial.

I. Problem and Approach

With the entry of America into the war, the long-invoked establishment of close relationships between social and biological sciences seem assured, at least in the field of nutrition. In fact, while food is deemed "Raw Material Number one," and is expected to "win the war and write the peace," social scientists have been giving increasing attention to nutritional problems. One may thus hope not only that "agricultural economists and agricultural policy makers *will* be studying the impact of widespread acceptance of nutritional science in agriculture,"¹ but also that careful consideration will be given to the nutritional and related aspects of existing programs and policies. Along

such a line of thought, this paper represents an attempt to discuss some aspects of one important action program to which considerable attention has lately been given, namely, the promotion of "live-at-home" farming.

"Live-at-home" farming, as defined by the FSA consists in "the production at home of most of the family's food and livestock feed." Together with the establishment of at least two sources of cash income and the use of fertility-building practices, "live-at-home" farming is one of the three basic points of the farm management plans taught by FSA supervisors.² The Agricultural Extension Service also has spared no effort to promote home-gardens and small animal enterprises as steps toward the diversification of too-specialized farms.

Many and far-reaching are the advantages of such a program for "if the plan is carried out, the family will have plenty to eat and to feed its

* Adapted from a report presented in the Graduate Seminar on National Agricultural Policies, Department of Agricultural Economics, N. C. State College, May 1942.

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¹Milburn L. Wilson, "Nutritional Science and Agricultural Policy," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXIV (February, 1942), 204.

²U.S.D.A., *The Farm Security Administration* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office 1941), p. 11.

livestock, whether or not it has much cash income."³ A successful program would offset inadequacy of supplies that might be due to lack of transportation and storage facilities, inefficient retail distribution, etc., thus improving the dietary level of farmers. More generally, "live-at-home" farming calls for diversification—thus reducing risks—and for possible utilization of unused resources and idle labor. Unquestionably a program of this nature for the cotton and tobacco farms of the South will lead to better nutritional levels, and better living conditions. The FSA and the Extension Service may well be proud of what they have achieved, in this field, for the benefit of low-income farmers.

The "live-at-home" program has enjoyed the support of the public as few others appear to have done. It is one of the dangers of popularity that criticism may be hurriedly brushed aside. This paper has been written in the belief that recent events call for a dynamic approach to the appraisal of "live-at-home" farming. First, it seems important to consider some of the implications of this program (especially designed to improve the dietary levels of small farmers) in the light of the newer knowledge of nutrition. Secondly, in the war economy of a country threatened with a shortage of raw materials, production plans have to be estimated according to their contribution to the welfare of the nation as a whole, rather than to that of a single group

of citizens. The community of aims between "live-at-home" farming, practiced before the war, and our present war effort has to be investigated because the present emergency might well call for some modification of this program.

II. "Live-At-Home" Farming and Public Health

If "live-at-home" farming is to make food and feed consumption of the household independent of the farm cash income, then most of the essential foodstuffs will have to be produced within the production unit. The diet might then necessarily be obtained from only one or very few types of soils. The terms "monoedaphic" and "oligoedaphic" are proposed to describe such diets.⁴ Under these conditions the soil may be regarded as the starting point of good or bad nutrition. Since deficiencies of essential elements in the soil, together with excesses of harmful ones, are reflected in the composition of foodstuffs, considerable importance would be attached to soils under such diets.⁵ General experience seems to

³From the Greek "édaphos": soil, ground.

⁴According to C. E. Kellogg, in a primitive society the composition of the soil played an extremely important role in determining living conditions and even led to the formation of different races of men. The diet was then monoedaphic *par excellence*. On the other hand, in our commercialized economy, "the diet of the ordinary person is obtained from a wide group of soils"—poliedaphic diet—"and is less likely to be seriously deficient in some one respect." Charles E. Kellogg, "Soil and Society," *Soils and Men, 1938 Yearbook of Agriculture*, USDA (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office 1938), pp. 863-886.

⁵*Ibid.*

confirm this statement. Nutritional deficiencies are often reported for plants which are typically monoadaphic. The influence of soil upon the health of domestic animals that are often confined to relatively small areas, has been indicated in several cases. While, generally speaking, "the fundamental problem of the relation of sources of food to human diseases is more difficult to solve," because of the varied diet and modern methods of food processing and transportation,⁶ evidence has been produced which relates "soil deficiencies to the lack of physical and mental vigor of people living on the soil, or eating food produced on such soil."⁷

Excesses of harmful elements present, perhaps, the most difficult problem because their removal might be uneconomical or even impossible. Mineral deficiencies, while more difficult to reveal—insofar as trace elements are concerned—are more easy to correct through fertilization, irrigation, plant sprays, or dietary supplements, that is, in general by supplementation.

Among the harmful elements, the toxic metalloid *selenium*, has been found in tiers of states that include North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Nebraska, Nevada, Kansas. This element, absorbed by plants from the soil, is carried into human and animal food. In livestock, selenium causes two well-known pathologic

conditions: alkali disease and blind staggers.⁸ Locally-produced foods were found by the U. S. Public Health Service to be constant sources of selenium in the dietaries of families living in seleniferous areas.⁹ Wheat grown on soil containing two parts per million of selenium might concentrate this element up to five times the amount considered dangerous for humans.¹⁰ However, in most of our seleniferous areas, incidence of selenium poisoning is small. There are two explanations for this statement. In certain localities extensive irrigation seems to decrease selenium absorption by plants. More important as an explanation of low frequency of selenium poisoning, however, is the fact that people in these areas use foods other than home-grown to a considerable extent.¹¹ Nevertheless, M. L. Smith found, in the seleniferous areas of South Dakota, "a high incidence of symptoms

⁶"Alkali disease is chronic selenium poisoning characterized by dullness, lack of vitality, emaciation, severe damage to heart and liver, anemia, erosion of bones, disturbance of calcium-phosphorus metabolism." "Blind staggers is an acute poisoning characterized by blindness, depraved appetite, various degrees of paralysis. Death usually results from failure of respiration." A. L. Moxon, *Alkali Disease or Selenium Poisoning*, South Dakota AESB 311 (May 1937).

M. I. Smith and B. B. Westfall, "Further Field Studies on the Selenium Problem in Relation to Public Health," *Public Health Reports*, LII (October 1, 1937), 1375-1384.

⁹Esther P. Daniel, "Trace Elements," *Food and Life, 1939 Yearbook of Agriculture*, USDA (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), 213.

¹⁰K. T. Williams, "Selenium in Soils," *Soils and Men, 1938 Yearbook of Agriculture*, pp. 830-834.

⁷K. C. Beeson, *The Mineral Composition of Crops with Particular Reference to the Soils in Which They Were Grown*, USDA Misc. Pub. 369 (1941), p. 3.

⁸M. L. Wilson: *op. cit.*, p. 193.

pointing to gastric or intestinal dysfunction; and a few instances of apparent hepatic dysfunction, both probably the result of continual selenium ingestion."¹²

Recent research by M. L. Smith emphasizes that *the local population should refrain from consumption of highly contaminated cereals and vegetables in seleniferous areas.*¹³ Conversely, there is little objection to the production of animal proteins, if livestock can be fed large amounts of uncontaminated feeds. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that, in seleniferous areas, home gardens should not be encouraged and the purchase of feed from outside should become a standard practice.¹⁴

While selenium is the only toxic mineral that has been extensively studied, other toxic elements occur in the soil. Among these, *fluorine*, which affects the structure of bones and is especially responsible for the mottled enamel of teeth, deserves some consideration.¹⁵ Mottled enamel has been reported for at least one community in twenty-five states in the Union.¹⁶

Fluorine-containing water has usually been considered the main cause of human fluorosis. However, research in the phosphatic zones of

Morocco has revealed that, quite often, foodstuffs, rather than water, cause fluorine poisoning. Velu and Charnot reached the conclusion that fluorine poisoning might occur when grains grown in fluoriniferous sections are utilized in the household but not when these products are shipped elsewhere and mixed with other grains. The same authors deny the existence of any danger in the consumption of home-grown vegetables.¹⁷ Experts of the Arizona Experiment Station believe that "the danger of toxic fluorine compounds being absorbed by plants used as foods or feeds is a vital question for people living in regions where mottled enamel is endemic and where many of the vegetables used are grown locally."¹⁸ No other harmful element, with the exception of molybdenum¹⁹ has been reported in food and feed crops.

¹²Mottled enamel is characterized by a "dull, chalky, white appearance. . . . In severe cases, the enamel is so defective that it is badly pitted and corroded and the teeth are structurally weak, the enamel tending to chip off. Mottled teeth though perhaps no more subject to decay than normal teeth, do not hold fillings well and deteriorate more rapidly. False teeth, among young adults in a community in which mottled enamel occurs are not uncommon." H. V. Smith and M. C. Smith, *Mottled Enamel in Arizona and Its Correlation with the Concentration of Fluorides in Water Supplies*, Ariz. Agr. Exp. Sta. Tech. Bul. 43 (1932).

¹³This figure is obtained by combining data reported in the above reference with those presented by M. C. Smith in "Iodine and Fluorine," *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1939, pp. 212-213.

¹⁴H. Velu and Charnot, "Encore le Darnous — Étiologie — Pathologie." Reprinted from *Maroc Medical*, N. 191 (May 1938).

¹⁵Arizona Agr. Exp. Sta., *Fiftieth Annual Report* (1939), pp. 78-79.

¹⁶K. C. Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

¹²Smith and Westfall, *op. cit.*, p. 1384.

¹³M. I. Smith, "The Influence of Diet in the Chronic Toxicity of Selenium," *Public Health Reports* LIV (August 4, 1939), 1441.

¹⁴The possible dangerous effect of produce from home gardens upon human health in the affected communities is mentioned by E. P. Daniels *supra* note 9. In this connection see also S. F. Trelease, "Bad Earth," *Scientific Monthly*, LIV (January 1942), 12-28.

Further research is evidently needed to determine those foods grown in areas of harmful elements which can be consumed without jeopardizing human health. Such work will undoubtedly suggest important modification of the "live-at-home" program in areas where selenium poisoning, mottled enamel, etc., are endemic.

For all these areas and because of the implications of monoeopathic diet, "live-at-home" farming cannot be recommended *in toto* until the contents of soil and of locally-grown farm products in regard to toxic elements have been carefully investigated.

The problem of harmful elements seems to be essentially a matter of distribution, which has to be planned so that no toxic concentration of the harmful mineral will occur in the diet of any individual. Mineral deficiencies in soils constitute an entirely different problem. First, there are several ways of increasing the individual intake of essential minerals once a deficiency is established. Secondly, our knowledge of mineral deficiencies is somewhat more satisfactory than it is for harmful elements or mineral excesses.

Lack of *iodine* in the water and food supply is considered the main cause of simple goiter. The "goiter belt stretches along the Appalachian Mountains as far north as Vermont, westward through the basin of the Great Lakes to Washington, and southward over the Rocky Mountains and Pacific States."²⁰ The effects of iodine deficiency have been known

for such a long time and the beneficial action of iodized salt so satisfactorily proved that the goiter areas cannot be considered—*sensu stricto*—"problem areas" when adequate treatment is insured. "Live-at-home" farming, however, calls for larger iodine supplements than with a poliedaphic diet. Whence the questions: (a) How large a supplement becomes necessary with a monoeopathic diet in low-iodine areas? (b) Does a fairly large intake of iodized salt supply enough iodine to the "*milieu interne*"? That is to say, is the human organism able to utilize relatively massive doses of iodized salt just as well as if iodine were supplied from foodstuffs? (c) What is the maximum "safe" intake of iodized salt or other iodine supplements? Such questions as these would have to be investigated if "live-at-home" farming were to be adopted in the goiter belt.

The very importance of manifestations of iodine deficiency makes this condition easy to recognize. Symptoms of other mineral deficiencies, though quite evident, are of little help in establishing the aetiology of the condition. Thus, for instance, nutritional anemias are not rare among the rural population but it is seldom possible to suggest definite causes. A nutritional anemia has been observed by Abbott and co-workers in certain localities of Florida — Alachua County—where the Leon, Portsmouth, and Norfolk soil series (all low in *iron*) are predominant. Hern-

²⁰M. C. Smith, "Iodine and Fluorine," p. 212.

ando and Hoffman series (all high in iron) predominate in districts that have a low percentage of anemia.²¹ Here the effect of locally-produced food upon iron intake is evident. In these areas, diets will have to be carefully planned to include iron supplements from outside sources.

The list of reported cases of localized deficiencies in human diets is indeed very short. On the other hand, deficiencies of *phosphorus*, *calcium*, *cobalt*, *copper*, affecting animal production, have been reported for several states.²² Even allowing for the greater variety of human diets, there seems to be a need for investigating intakes of those essential minerals, where most of the foodstuffs are locally produced.

Finally, one more aspect of monoedaphic diets is worth emphasizing: all chemical analyses show significant variations in the mineral content of foods, as affected by the composition

of the soil. Table I is compiled from Beeson's summary on the mineral composition of crops.²³

Because of these variations, some doubt may be cast upon the usefulness of nationally-adopted diets. A little less than 40 grams of cabbage from the high sample would meet the recommended dietary allowances for iron (12 mg. *per diem*); with the low sample 27 times as much cabbage would be needed. Thus Beeson concludes that the value of a minimum diet of protective foods may be significantly reduced through the use of inferior foodstuffs. Systematic analyses of foods from individual farms or from individual areas would constitute a Herculean task but, where the nature of soils suggests the possibility of deficiencies, nutritional levels should be investigated. Where deficiencies have been clearly established, it seems to behoove action agencies to reduce the home produc-

TABLE I.

Element	Food	No of Analyses	Low Sample Mg/Kg	High Sample Mg/Kg	Ratio High Sample is of Low Sample
Manganese	Spinach	76	84	694	8.9
Iron	Cabbage	67	11	305	27.73
Copper	Celery	30	2	560	280
Iodine	Carrots	35	2	2400	1200

²¹*Proceedings of the 38th Annual Convention of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers*, XXXVIII, N. 3 (1937), pp. 257-258.

²²A list of mineral deficiencies in soils of the United States is to be found in A. M. Hartman, "Deficient and Excess Minerals in Forage in the United States," *Food and Life, 1939 Yearbook of Agriculture*, pp. 1027-1044.

²³K. C. Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 132, 137.

tion of foodstuffs and to provide for the integration of monoedaphic diets with foods that are excellent sources of the deficient element, such as molasses for iron, fish for iodine, etc.

To summarize: a monoedaphic diet enhances the bearing of the composition of farm soils upon food prod-

ucts and nutritional levels. It might thus create new nutritional problems, which need careful investigation. In promoting and adopting "live-at-home" programs, allowance should be made for excesses and deficiencies of minerals in the soil. Reports of selenium poisoning, nutritional anemia, mottled teeth, and goiter indicate the existence of "problem areas" where "live-at-home" farming should not be encouraged or, at least, adequately modified to the end of correcting the diet. Wherever deficiencies and excesses of minerals have been reported in connection with plant and animal production, the effect of such conditions upon the nutritional levels of "live-at-home" farmers should be carefully investigated. Were these investigations to yield positive results, "live-at-home" programs should be modified in order to insure the farmer a low-cost, fully adequate diet.²⁴

III. "Live-At-Home" Programs and the War

"Live-at-home" programs are never more popular than in war time. Distribution is then adversely affected by overtaking, curtailment, and eventual disruption of transportation facilities; supply of essential commodities is reduced; waste has to be eliminated and utilization of idle resources becomes a necessity. The result is an unprecedented blossom-

ing of household enterprises, home gardens, home poultry flocks, household soap-making, etc.

In the last few months, production planning committees, while calling on all producers to contribute to the war effort, have realized that expansion of commercial production is extremely difficult for small farmers. Therefore, "live-at-home" farming is recommended because it reduces the drain from the consumption side of the national food budget on the part of those individuals who can contribute little or nothing to the production side. Another gain from the adoption of such plans is to relieve transportation facilities by increasing the self-sufficiency of isolated communities and groups of farmers.

In a war economy, however, the objective of reducing civilian needs for transportation is but one of the many goals. For instance, in the field of agricultural production, it is also essential that available raw materials and productive services be efficiently employed to produce food and certain essential chemicals. Likewise, in the field of consumption, adequacy of diets for all individuals engaged in the war effort is of utmost importance. How is the "live-at-home" program related to these objectives? Is it compatible with the goal of efficient allocation of resources for the production of raw materials and with the goal of adequate nutrition? In other words, should "live-at-home" farming be modified or furthered in view of the war effort? In the following, an at-

²⁴*Proceedings of the National Nutritional Conference for Defense*, May 1941. Office of the Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Federal Security Agency (Washington, D. S., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 198.

tempt will be made to answer these questions.

The improvement of soils has been one of the most important phases of the live-at-home program, because it constitutes an essential prerequisite for successful, diversified production.²⁵ This action calls for extensive use of commercial fertilizers which are scarce in war time either because of shortage of transportation facilities or because of curtailment of production. Thus, for instance, a shortage of phosphates may occur as the result of increased demand for sulphuric acid, while the supply of our main source of nitrogen, Chilean nitrate, has been greatly curtailed. In a live-at-home program, part of our reduced supply of fertilizer would be used to modify existing soil conditions, adapting them to the requirements of diversified production. Furthermore, fertilizer would be used in small-scale, low-efficiency enterprises. On the other hand, if the battle of production has to be won, fertilizer should be allocated to those producers who can more easily achieve production expansion rather than to those who, because of transportation and storage difficulties, can make less significant contributions to the war effort. The size of returns yielded seem to be the most efficient basis for allocation of resources and one sees no reason for making exceptions in favor of subsistence farmers.

²⁵According to the National Nutrition Conference, live-at-home farming calls for "improvement of soils in certain areas where diversified production is now unsuccessful." Cf. Nat. Nutrition Conference, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Shortage of Chilean nitrate also acquires a special significance in connection with iodine deficiencies in the soil. Mild deficiencies of this element were, in peace time, offset by the supply of sodium iodide in Chilean nitrate. In this manner, sufficient amounts of iodine were made available to plants and thereby to humans. Reduced application of Chilean nitrate will enhance the importance of iodine deficiencies in the soil and especially in monoedaphic diets. Maintenance of peacetime supplies of Chilean nitrate to low-iodine areas seems out of question because this would result in excessive reduction of nitrate supplies for other areas. Therefore, in nutritional planning for low-iodine areas, allowance should be made for changes in the composition of locally produced food-stuffs and provision should be made to modify "live-at-home" programs with an adequate integration of monoedaphic diets.

Another phase of "live-at-home" programs affecting allocation of resources is the conversion of feeds into animal products. Again, farmers are encouraged to produce more feed and to substitute it for commercial feeds. At the same time, a blanket expansion of animal production is encouraged. As a result the number of small units of animal production is increased. Family cows, family-size flocks of hens, and small herds of swine take an increasing share of the national supply of feeds. In this manner, feeds may be converted into foods by inferior animals. This inferiority is explained by the fact that

small farmers can seldom afford to buy high-quality animals and provide them with the most favorable environmental conditions. Feed conversion is therefore less efficient than by commercial herds. Consequently, relatively more feed is needed for the maintenance ration and the output input ratio is lowered.

Home-processing of foodstuffs is one of the most publicized phases of the live-at-home program. Surplus vegetables and fruits produced during the good season are canned at home and stored in the farm pantry for use out of season. In peacetime this procedure undoubtedly makes for more varied and more balanced diets throughout the winter. In a wartime economy the crop of fruits and vegetables must receive special consideration because of reduced imports and of the unfavorable effects of shortages of labor and other productive services upon production.

Of all essential food constituents, affected by processing methods, vitamin C presents perhaps the most complex problem. On one hand, "reasonably generous levels of this vitamin are desirable from the standpoint of protection against injury in case of wound infection. Specific provisions for adequate supplies of vitamin C as a part of the National Defense Program should be recognized also because (1) this vitamin is an important factor in the process of wound healing; (2) a regular intake of the vitamin is necessary to maintain health and efficiency." On the other hand, "the vitamin is extremely sensitive to destruction in stored

food supplies and requires special consideration when there is a restricted intake of fresh fruits and vegetables."²⁶ It is, therefore, important that canning be made as efficient as possible from the standpoint of conservation of vitamin C. The possibility of conserving vitamin C in home-canning as compared with commercial canning is still a debatable subject.²⁷ It is known, however, that vitamin losses in canning could be prevented or reduced through complete exclusion of air during the canning process. If it were necessary to provide for adequate conservation of vitamin C, then commercial canning would be preferred to home canning where such provisions are more difficult to legislate for. Another partial solution of the problem of efficient conservation of vitamin C is, by general consent, to be found in frozen foods. One wonders if it would not be wiser to promote such community programs for food processing, as freezing and cooperative storage of vegetables, rather than home programs, such as canning.²⁸

Community rather than household programs also seem necessary if waste is to be prevented in connection with the processing of animal

²⁶Nat. Nutrition Conference, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 175.

²⁸Indeed, one must agree with the recommendations of the Committee on Economic Policy of the National Nutrition Conference, which suggested "Provisions of more adequate community facilities for processing and conserving foods, such as community-owned and cooperatively-owned cold storage and freezer lockers, canning centers, drying ovens, curing houses, etc." *Ibid.*, p. 99.

products. Slaughtering of animals on the farm might result in the unnecessary waste of bones, hides, blood—products that might be used in a war economy if collected in marketable amounts at a community center.

Typically wasteful is one farm household enterprise often encouraged in wartime, that is, the making of soap at home by utilizing waste fats. This practice results in a total loss of glycerine an essential war material. Were the two billion pounds of fats annually wasted in our kitchens to be utilized by commercial plants, they could yield 200 million pounds of glycerine.²⁹ The household, on the other hand, is in no danger of suffering from soap shortages, for soap being a wartime by-product of glycerine, its production is increased.³⁰ For this reason, it is lamentable that, while collection of waste fats is being organized, little direct action has been taken to discourage the making of soap in the household as part of the program for "live-at-home" farmers.³¹

It is believed that the points raised above warrant the assertion that widespread adoption of "live-at-

home" farming might lead to difficulties associated with problems of nutrition and efficiency. At least in some cases, "live-at-home" programs are conducive to wasteful practices and inefficient utilization of resources. In war-production planning, before promoting the self-sufficiency of the household, it would be worth-while to consider alternative solutions of the community and cooperative type.

Conclusions

I. From a nutritional standpoint a monoedaphic or oligoedaphic diet might have harmful implications. For this reason, allowance should be made for excess and deficient elements in the adoption of "live-at-home" farming. Where the nature of soils or abnormal conditions in plant and animal production suggest excesses or deficiencies of minerals, nutritional levels of the farm population should be carefully investigated. Where needed, "live-at-home" programs should be modified with regard to local conditions, reducing or suppressing consumption of contaminated foods in excess areas and integrating the diet with good sources of essential elements in deficiency areas.

II. Wartime conditions should not be assumed to justify widespread adoption of "live-at-home" farming, because this may lead to less efficient utilization of resources as well as losses in processing of foodstuffs and in the use of by-products. Specialization and community or cooperative activities might, on the other hand, facilitate the attainment of war production goals.

²⁹Data on waste fats from K. Fisher, "You're in the Army Too," *Goodhousekeeping* (June, 1942), pp. 110-111. Estimates of glycerine production have been made from the saponification number of lard and animal fats.

³⁰Soap production in U.S.A. increased 62 per cent between 1912 and 1917 and 37 per cent between 1938 and 1941. See "Utilization of Fats and Oils, by Classes of Products, 1912-1941," *The Fats and Oils Situation*, USDA, BAE (April, 1942), pp. 13-25.

³¹See, for instance, "War Revives Home Soap-Making," *Carolina Co-operator*, XX No. 8 (1942), 11.

III. Both in regard to nutritional levels of farmers and to the war effort, it is believed that "blanket" programs should be abandoned. "Live-at-home" farming should not be recommended *qua* "live-at-home" but instead as a means of improving nutritional levels and utilizing idle resources. Under special conditions a different organization of the farm enterprise may yield better results and, for this very reason, should be adopted.

DISCUSSION

By MIRIAM BIRDSEYE, *Extension Nutritionist*, United States Department of Agriculture

Mr. Sullam's paper applies mainly to the very intensive "live-at-home" programs advocated by the Farm Security Administration. In the case of most of these families, there is little choice between a program of home-grown and feed, and financial disaster for the family. Since the Extension Service originated the "live-at-home" program many years ago, some recognition should be given to that fact.

I think Mr. Sullam's conclusion that an understanding of the mineral composition of the soil should be considered basic to any farm management program, to any resettlement or tenant purchase program, and, in fact, to any extension program, is sound. Until quite recently, of course, few studies have been made connecting deficient soils with the composition of human foods grown on them, and the nutritional status of farm families in the area.

It would seem to me a more practical solution, especially under wartime conditions, to encourage the migration of low-income families from markedly deficient soils or soils containing toxic elements, to become farm laborers in regions better adapted to food production, or to work in industrial or defense plants, than to encourage them to stay on the land and purchase

food raised in other parts of the country. Something of this sort was suggested by Raymond C. Smith, Chief Program Analyst, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in a paper called "The Farm Labor Situation" at the 20th Outlook Conference, on October 21, 1942. Mr. Smith's paper, however, referred to "low-income farmers" and did not mention soil deficiencies specifically.

Experiments and mass demonstrations with school children in the Great Lakes States have shown that the routine use of iodized table salt is an efficient dietary supplement in areas where water and food products are very low in iodine.

Mr. Sullam's suggestion that it is inefficient to can vitamin C-rich foods at home because of the great loss of this vitamin in storage, is not very practical. In home canning directions emphasis is continually laid on the need for allowing only small head space in containers of tomatoes and vitamin C-rich fruits. Enough canned tomatoes are included in food preservation budgets so that even though home canned tomatoes lose some of their vitamin C content in storage, the supply will still provide generous amounts of vitamin C. In the South particularly, green leafy vegetables, especially when eaten raw in salads, properly cooked Irish, and to some extent, sweet potatoes, and citrus fruits when available provide generous amounts of vitamin C during non-growing months. Rutabaga turnips are also good sources of this vitamin.

Perhaps Mr. Sullam does not know that lack of critical materials makes it practically impossible to increase the number of community freezer locker plants for the duration. Low income families have often found it difficult to pay locker rent.

As to soap making, the national "save-the-fat" program is drawn to encourage the use of all edible fats on the farm as human food, and also where this is practical, the making of soap when the fat becomes inedible.

The best point in Mr. Sullam's various wartime suggestions, I believe, is the need for community planning, especially in connection with the slaughtering of farm animals, in order to collect and dispose of

hides, bones, and certain wastes, in the interest of the war effort.

I should say that the following conclusions in connection with "live-at-home" programs might be justified:

1. In areas where soils carry an excess of harmful elements or are marked by a deficiency of essential elements, diets entirely drawn from the soil may have harmful nutritional effects, and "live-at-home" programs for farm families should be undertaken with full recognition of this fact, and should be modified with regard to local conditions.
2. Under wartime conditions certain phases of "live-at-home" programs may well be examined in the interest of efficient utilization of man power, food resources, and by-products. In this connection, the possibilities of community or cooperative activities to facilitate attaining war production goals may well be considered.

DISCUSSION

By MARGARET B. DREISBACH, *Home Economist*, Farm Security Administration,
United States Department of
Agriculture

Our experience in the Farm Security Administration shows us that poor people have poor diets for several reasons. They lack money to purchase food. They lack equipment and supplies needed to produce their own subsistence. They are ignorant of skills and practices necessary for producing and conserving food. Their farms are isolated and located away from stores and markets that might supply vegetables, fruits, milk, meat, and eggs if they had the money to buy and knew what nutritional foods to select. Small country stores do not handle a variety of foods, particularly fresh foods from the "protective" foods group. Transportation problems and expense prevent frequent trips to town.

If "monoedaphic" diets in certain areas result in mineral deficiencies, our home supervisors who are trained in nutrition can make recommendations of accepted

ways to meet such deficiencies. If toxic substances are present in soils, a long time program of resettlement for low income farmers would seem to be indicated. More research is needed first to establish the fact that foods grown in these areas are harmful. The "live-at-home" plan has worked successfully toward the well being of low income families and should not be condemned until there is more foundation of fact than at present. When the choice lies between starvation diets that result in malnutrition as against production on "monoedaphic" soil of a year-round food supply including kinds and varieties to meet bodily needs there is no question in deciding on the latter.

There is evidence that the "live-at-home" program of Farm Security has been justified. The health of FSA families has improved in general. This fact has been confirmed many times by physicians, dentists, and public health nurses. Regular school attendance resulting in improved scholarship indicates improved health among children of FSA borrower families. Dentists and public health nurses in examinations of school children have pointed out that the mouths of children from FSA families are often in much better health condition than those of other children in the same school.

In our southern region an analysis of rejections of selective service registrants within local communities showed fewer rejections of FSA family members compared with others. While it cannot be determined the extent that better diets were responsible for this difference, yet we know that improvement in quantity and variety of food was the greatest single difference between FSA registrants and the others.

Dr. C. E. Lively of the University of Missouri has written a report on "The Physical Status and Health of Farm Security Clients in Southeast Missouri" based on physical examinations of a large group of borrowers made at time of acceptance and again later. The study indicates the effectiveness of the "live-at-home" program in over-coming nutritional anemia and increasing general health.

The value of food canned by FSA families is comparable to that of commercially canned foods since approved methods are taught for handling and preparing food for canning, and the pressure cooker is used for processing. Two families out of three according to recent FSA Progress Reports use pressure cookers.

Canning budgets are planned with each borrower family. A sufficient supply of Vitamin C is provided. That there is some destruction by oxidation during the canning process is taken into account. Since the acid content of tomatoes tends to protect Vitamin C from destruction during canning we depend upon canned tomatoes as a good source during the winter months.

Home canning prevents waste of un-

marketable surpluses. It should not be overlooked that if farmers can be self-sufficient, foods that reach the market either fresh or processed will be available for city families, our armed forces and our Allies. The shortage of tin for cans is another reason for encouraging home canning in glass jars.

Freezing and cooperative storage of vegetables is impractical for isolated rural families even if the materials situation would permit expansion in that type of processing. Trips to freezer lockers cannot be made frequently enough and require the use of gas and rubber. Low income families are not equipped with refrigeration to care for frozen foods from the time they are removed from freezer storage until they are used.

The Community and the Family In Prince Edward Island*

By Enid Charles and Sylvia Anthony†

ABSTRACT

A previous statistical study has shown that in Prince Edward Island the size of the family has remained unusually stable for two generations. Field study of rural life on the Island revealed features which have helped to maintain relatively high fertility.

The rural neighborhood corresponds to the school district. While its primary function is educational, it defines a group of people who recognize mutual obligations. Within the neighborhood, a unified school system and the absence of marked inequalities of wealth have encouraged tolerant and egalitarian attitudes. The organizational basis of the neighborhood gives social prestige and leadership to successful parents of large families, and it appears to function most successfully where there are many children in the group. Geographical and psychological isolation from the mainland has helped till recently to preserve Island ways of life from disintegrating contacts.

The pattern of life described already shows signs of disintegration and is unlikely to endure.

RESUMEN

Un estudio estadístico previo demuestra que en la Isla Príncipe Eduardo el tamaño de la familia se ha mantenido extraordinariamente estable durante dos generaciones. Estudios realizados con relación a la vida rural de la Isla revelaron características que ayudaron a mantener una fecundidad relativamente alta.

El vecindario rural corresponde con el distrito escolar. Aunque su función principal es la de educar, comprende también a un grupo de gentes que reconocen entre si obligaciones mutuas. Dentro de cada vecindario existe un solo sistema escolar unificado y la ausencia de marcadas diferencias de

fortuna entre los habitantes ha fomentado un trato tolerante e igualitario entre ellos. Las bases de organización del vecindario conceden cierto prestigio social y cierta autoridad a padres de familia que han tenido éxito en levantar sus familias. Este sistema parece dar mejores resultados cuando hay gran cantidad de niños en el grupo.

El aislamiento geográfico y psicológico de la isla con relación al continente ha ayudado hasta hace poco a mantener en la isla su propio sistema de vida alejada de contactos disolventes.

El sistema de vida descrito anteriormente ya demuestra señales de desintegración y por lo tanto difícilmente podrá durar mucho más.

Introduction

During recent years population research has studied extensively social and economic factors responsible for declining fertility. Less attention has been devoted to situations where a suitable environment has retarded or arrested decline. In view of the almost universal rule that fertility is higher in rural areas than in adjoining urban centers, farming communities present the most promising field for the discovery of such situations. Many are known to have relatively high fertility, but usually in association with a low standard of life. Few have escaped some decline in fertility. The rural population of Prince Edward Island is of unusual interest because in it the average size of family has been stable at a high level for two generations and because during this period farmers have on the whole enjoyed a moderate degree of prosperity.

The trend of fertility on the Island has been described at some length in

a previous paper.¹ After a period of initial decline, the gross reproduction rate fluctuated round a level of about 1.8 between 1880 and 1932. Since 1932 there has been a decline, possibly a temporary fluctuation similar to those which have occurred in the past, but more probably the beginning of a new phase. The description of a community where the size of the family has remained unchanged, at a time when it was declining rapidly in most parts of the Western World, may assist in planning a biologically stable society.

In order to supplement data on social and economic conditions obtainable from published sources, the authors spent two months on the Island. We studied selected rural communities and visited the families in them. Members of the government, ministers, doctors, nurses and teachers, were also interviewed.

The two districts chiefly studied were Belle River and North Granville, both exclusively Protestant. The former is mainly Scottish, and the latter of English descent. Belle River forms part of township 62 in Queen's County. In 1931 the ratio of children 0-4 to women 15-44 was 651 for this township as compared with

* The material for this article was collected in the course of a research programme on Canadian population problems financed by the Carnegie Corporation and sponsored by the Canadian Council for Social Research. It was completed before the senior author's employment in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and is not an official publication of that body.

† Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada.

¹Canadian Journal Economic and Political Science. Vol. 8, No. 2, May, 1942.

544 for the rural parts of the Island as a whole. This was the highest rate among the mainly Protestant townships. North Granville formed part of township 21 in the same county which had a ratio of children to women of 439. Belle River is at about the average level of prosperity for the Island, North Granville rather below it. Some time was spent in three other districts. North Tryon, Protestant and mainly British, represents the most prosperous rural part of the Island. Stanley Bridge, adjoining North Granville, mixed Scottish and English, Catholic and Protestant, is also prosperous. Fortune Cove is poorer than the other districts mentioned and has a higher proportion of French Catholics. The districts observed thus represent the greater part of the range of economic conditions found on the Island. The principal type omitted was the very poor, all French Catholic, fishing village.

Geography and Population of Two Rural Communities

The term "community" has come to be used by sociologists to mean a nexus of relationships covering a fairly wide extent of territory and including at least one fairly large village centre, together with smaller centers and open country. In this sense the whole of Prince Edward Island is one community. Government and higher education are centralized in the capital, Charlottetown. The two principal centres for shopping and medical services are Charlottetown and Summerside.

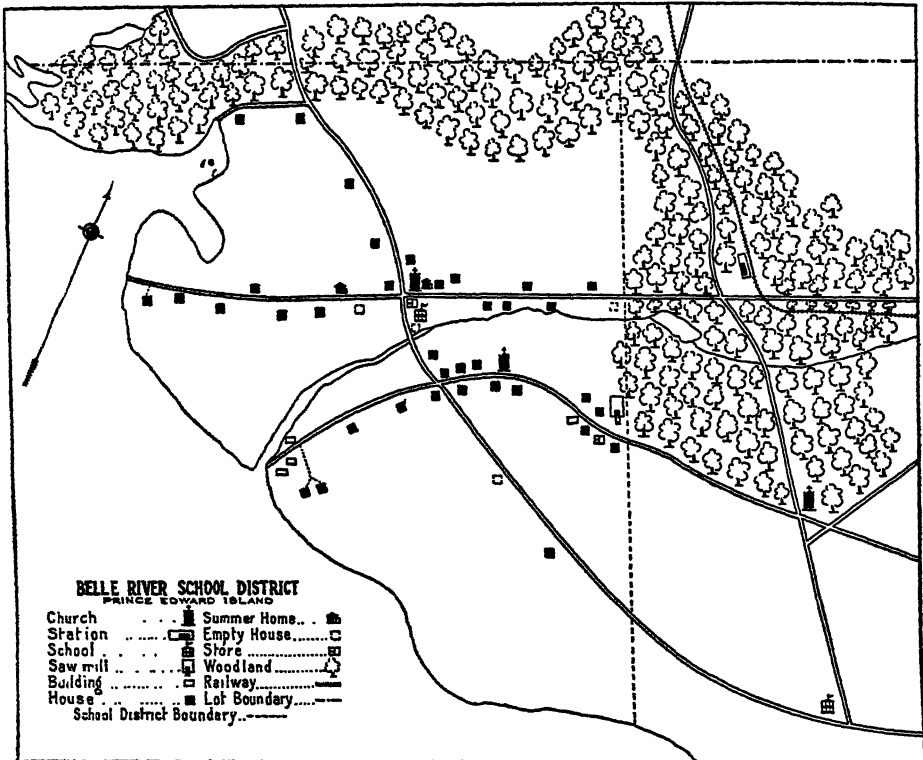
These, with the smaller incorporated towns, provide some services for different parts of the Island, but the capital remains unique in many respects. Among the smaller regional units, the township has no significance except for census purposes. The school district is a more clearly defined unit. Grade schools are located at fairly regular intervals of 3 miles and the boundaries between them are precisely known. The Islander uses the word "community" frequently and with a very definite meaning. Geographically it corresponds most closely to the school district, and is a "neighborhood" in the sociological sense. The island use of the word denotes a group of people who live within easy reach of each other, who share a number of social activities and who recognize collective responsibility for mutual aid. In this article, therefore, the term "Neighborhood" is used in the same sense that "Community" is used on the Island.

The characteristic type of settlement is the scattered homestead rather than the agricultural village. Outside the towns, farm homes are distributed fairly evenly along the main roads, and more sparsely along back roads. At crossroads, at about three to six-mile intervals, the distribution of buildings thickens, and there may cluster a school, church, store, and from two to twelve homes, but any of the institutional buildings may occur in isolation. At longer intervals regular villages are found, with some hundreds of inhabitants and a variety of stores. For islanders living nearby, villages provide ser-

vices intermediate in character between the crossroads group and either Charlottetown or Summerside, but for the majority of the inhabitants, the most frequent contacts for all purposes are either with the services provided at a neighboring crossroad or with the capital.

Figure 1, a sketch map of the school district of Belle River, illus-

a rather isolated district; it is about 35 miles from Charlottetown and 20 from Montagu, the nearest secondary town. Communication with Charlottetown is mainly by automobile, though there is also a daily bus service and a train service mainly used for freight. The nearest cinema (weekly) and the nearest resident doctor are about 16 miles away. The



trates the social geography of the rural neighborhood.² Belle River is

²Cf. Anthony and Charles. "Population Trends in Relation to the Social Background on Prince Edward Island. Geog. Rev., Oct., 1942.

district is on the main route between Charlottetown and one of the mainland ferries 5 miles distant. The district boasts no less than three churches: the United Church served

by a resident minister who also has charge of the adjoining church; the Presbyterian Church served by students in the summer; and a very small edifice belonging to the Church of Scotland where occasional services are held. The school is a two-teacher school, taking pupils up to grade 10.

North Granville is about the same distance from Charlottetown as Belle River, and about 30 miles distant from Summerside. The main road between these two chief towns of the Island passes about 5 miles from the center of the district, and carries a bus service. There is no railway through North Granville, the nearest stations being seven miles away. One of the villages on the railroad has the nearest cinema service, and the minister of the only church (United) in North Granville lives

kitchen. North Granville's nearest doctor, post office, gasoline supply, blacksmith's shop and creamery are at Stanley Bridge. The school is one-roomed, and small even for a one-room school. As is customary, it takes all the children of the district, who, officially, attend up to the age of 15.

The number of people in Belle River and in North Granville, with their sex and age distribution, are given in table I. Belle River district includes a small cooperative group who are in some respects part of the community and in other ways separate from it. They are not included in the following tables.

Economic Structure

The means of gaining a livelihood in our neighborhoods are shown in table II, which gives the occupations

TABLE I. POPULATION OF TWO NEIGHBORHOODS BY AGE AND SEX, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1941

Age group	Belle River			North Granville		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0- 4	9	7	16	7	5	12
5- 9	7	7	14	4	1	5
10-14	11	11	22	4	7	11
15-19	4	14	18	1	2	3
20-29	7	10	17	6	7	13
30-39	9	8	17	6	5	11
40-49	9	8	17	7	6	13
50-59	4	5	9	4	2	6
60-69	5	7	12	3	5	8
70 and over	3	2	5	5	4	9
TOTAL	68	79	147	47	44	91

there. There is a saw-mill in the center of the district, and a grist mill higher up the river. There used to be a store which has now shrunk to a small stock of goods in a cottage

of heads of households, both male and female. When women are heads of households they appear in the table as farmers, though they do little, if any, farm work themselves.

The table, therefore, gives the main source of income of each family rather than the occupations of particular individuals.

TABLE II. OCCUPATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS, TWO NEIGHBOURHOODS OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1941.

Occupation	Belle River	North Granville
Farming, main source of livelihood	21	14
Farm Labourers	..	4
Owners, stores, etc.	3	3
Skilled workers	2	..
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	6	1
Army	2	2
TOTAL	34	24

Farming is the main source of income in Belle River for 62 per cent of the household heads. This is a lower proportion than that found in the rural parts of the Island in general. The district is more thickly wooded than most, and the Compton Community operates a saw-mill giving employment to several men—at one time as many as twenty. A labourer's standard wage is \$1.65 per day, rising to \$2.00 for especially skilled or responsible men. During the brief spring season a lobster-canning plant operates, employing both male and female casual labour; it serves many miles of coast line. There is also a meat-canning business, a very small, one-man affair. Two families are "on relief," both of those are widows on small farms with no son old enough to operate the farm successfully. Non-farm families usually have plots of land rang-

ing from one-half to twenty-five acres, and often keep a cow. The farms proper range in size from 40 to 200 acres, the mean size being 93 acres. Compared with the distribution of farm size on the Island as a whole, Belle River farms conform more closely to their mean, having proportionately few of over 100 or under 50 acres. The large farms have extensive areas of woodland, which provide valuable subsidiary income. The extent of cultivated land is usually between 60 and 100 acres. Farming is mixed, the principal products being cream (for butter), potatoes, hay and oats. Silos and heavy machinery are found only on the farms of the Compton Community. As is customary on the Island, all the farms are owned by their operators.

In North Granville, farming is the main source of income for 70 per cent of the household heads. As the district is a few miles from the coast, there are no resident fishermen. Farms range in size from 50 to about 200 acres, the modal size being 100 and the mean 125 acres. There are 14 farms, every one of which was at the time of this study in the hands of men whose families had held local farms in the previous generation. Nine had passed from father to son.

Migration

The stable state of the population, considered in conjunction with high fertility, shows clearly that our districts must have contributed to the general exodus from the Island. Table III gives the occupation and

TABLE III. OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF CHILDREN OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE, TWO RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1941

	Belle River				North Granville			
	In district	Else-where on Island	Away from Island	Total	In district	Else-where on Island	Away from Island	Total
Males								
Farming—								
Home farm	8	.	.	8	5	1	.	6
Other	2	1	1	4	2	1	.	3
Labourer	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	3
College	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.
Armed Forces	.	.	3	3	.	.	2	2
Skilled Labour	2	.	1	3	.	.	2	2
Labourer	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
Teacher	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.
Unknown	.	.	3	3	.	3	3	6
Total	13	2	9	24	10	5	7	22
Females								
Married—								
At home	3	1	13	17	2	11	1	14
Domestic Service	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1
Single—								
School	2	5	.	7	1	.	.	1
College	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
At Home	4	.	.	4	1	.	.	1
Business	2	.	.	2	.	1	.	1
Domestic Service	.	4	.	4	.	.	.	.
Teacher	2	.	.	2	.	.	.	.
Unknown	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Total	13	10	13	36	5	12	2	19

location (where known) of all children over 15 years of age of mothers now living in these two districts (excluding children of widowers and children who have died.) In all, 31 out of 101 children have left the Island—a proportion which corresponds closely with expectation. The proportion going from Belle River is higher than that from North Granville, the former being slightly over one-third and the latter slightly under one-quarter of the local children.

Size of Family

Table IV shows the mean size of

all completed families in two rural neighborhoods studied. Since the numbers are based on so few cases, the differences between them have no statistical significance, but the figures may be compared with those for the Island as a whole and for the respective townships in 1931. As a previous paper has shown, fertility in the Island has been comparatively stable over a long period, and such comparisons are, therefore, legitimate even though the period covered by the record is not precisely defined. The gross reproduction rate of the Island has fluctuated round

TABLE IV. MEAN SIZE COMPLETED FAMILIES, BY LEVEL OF LIVING. TWO RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1941

Occupation and Residence	MARRIED WOMEN			ALL WOMEN		
	Level of Living			Level of Living		
	Higher	Lower	Total	Higher	Lower	Total
Farm*						
Belle River	3.4	7.9	3.9	2.5	7.0	3.0
North Granville	1.4	4.5	2.5	1.2	2.5	2.3
All	2.6	5.3	3.3	2.0	5.3	2.7
Nonfarm*						
Belle River	4.7	8.0	5.5	4.7	8.0	5.6
North Granville		5.4	3.9		5.4	3.9
All	3.2	5.8	4.5	3.2	5.8	4.5
Total—						
Belle River	3.7	7.3	4.3	2.9	7.3	3.5
North Granville	1.1	5.0	3.1	1.0	5.0	2.9
All	2.7	5.6	3.7	2.3	5.6	3.2

* Residential Categories.

1.8 during the period when these families were produced. From the township data for 1931, it was anticipated that the rate would be higher than the average in Belle River and lower in North Granville, and these anticipations were realized. The Belle River figures are equivalent to a gross reproduction rate of 1.9 for all women (including unmarried) who have completed the reproduction period. The similar rate in North Granville was 1.3. The families in each township have been doubly classified, as (a) farm or non-farm and (b) higher or lower plane of living. The criterion of plane of living is a composite criterion based on observation of the state of health, degree of education and domestic amenities of the families observed. Although all three can be more or less precisely measured, the grading shown in the table was the result of personal judgment on the part of the

observers. As with other plane-of-living indices, which purport to measure the extent to which wants are satisfied, it is a function both of available resources and of size of family. The majority of Belle River families fell into the upper category, of North Granville families into the lower one. Since the plane of living was assessed by visible results and not by resources, it was in general inevitable that the larger families should tend to fall into the lower category. Perhaps more significant is the fact that about a third of all families of four or more children appeared to enjoy a standard of life adequate for health, providing some amenities, and allowing for at least the possibility of higher education. The other classification (farm or nonfarm) is an objective one, and the figures suggest that in the two neighborhoods studied, nonfarm families tended to be larger. This

would still be so even if only parous women were compared. The differences in size of family between the two localities are, however, as striking as those between farm and non-farm families. The range of family size was from 0 to 11. Childless families were the most frequent, followed by families of four children.

Social Relations

We noted earlier that the rural neighborhood corresponds approximately to the school district. As a social unit it has developed around its functions in the service of the Provincial education department, though this is now but one of many functions, and perhaps the one it performs least well. Nevertheless it is notable that educational service was the nucleus from which the effective social unit developed, and thus it is linked specifically with fertility. The need which it was organized to satisfy is common to all the people, but in so far as it interests some of the people more specifically, the distinction is between the child-bearing and the childless. The neighborhood, however, serves a variety of purposes; in particular it provides a means of social security in the form of mutual help in times of distress. Whether it functions well or ill appears to be associated with the amount of social stratification present, the fertility of the whole group, and the relative fertility of different strata—if stratification is present in a marked degree. Of our two communities, Belle River is a comparatively successful neighborhood, while North Granville is

felt to be distinctly less so. Some account of the neighborhood life in these districts may illustrate the relationship between the social pattern and the family situation.

Marked by no important distinctions of race or religion, it is not surprising that the citizens of Belle River should form on the whole a socially homogeneous group. The two churches are centers for social functions. There is no friction between them, and for practical purposes they may be regarded as one institution functioning at different times and places. The Women's Institute is a much valued means of getting together for the married women. The social life of young people is conditioned by the availability of automobiles, which give them access to frequent movies and dances within a radius of about 20 miles. Yet there are several individuals who are socially outside the neighborhood group. This can happen in two ways. Some of the saw-mill workers have only recently arrived. They live in rented homes and expect to move on if employment prospects beckon elsewhere. Principally owing to their migratory character they have not been accepted as members of the group, although the families of other saw-mill workers who are old residents are highly respected. The relief families, on the other hand, have begun to drop out of the group. They are still regarded as a communal responsibility, but their poverty cuts them off from social participation, and the way of life it entails is felt to be outside the range of variation ap-

proved by the community. In the social relations of this community, two aspects call for special mention: first, the reaction between Belle River and the co-operative group which is geographically a part of it; second, the general lack of social stratification within the group, with the exceptions mentioned above. The co-operative group in Belle River comprises four large households. It started two generations ago as a revivalist movement within the Church of Scotland, and early developed along lines similar to those of other Utopian communities of North America. The members do not marry outside the group. They have felt that the maintenance of their pattern of life depended on keeping themselves "unspotted from the world," and to this end they have their own religious services and are not supposed to attend any outside social functions, though this prohibition is now being disregarded by the younger members. The children attend the district school, but none have been educated elsewhere, through dread of the effect of alien ideologies. On the other hand, all families have radios, and censorship of reading matter does not exclude the daily newspaper and *The Reader's Digest*. Communal ownership and distribution according to need are practiced. Money is not used at all within the group. Seen in the Island setting, the communal way of life presents an impressive picture of prosperity. It has produced silos, electric milking machinery, bathrooms and gardens. The average size

of family in this group has been even larger than the high Belle River average.

The ideals of social obligation which form the mainspring of action within the group are extended in somewhat lesser degree, first to relatives who have not accepted the group *mores*, and secondly to all neighbours. As employers of workers not belonging to their own group, the members of the group do not differ from other employers. In the ethical field where the social conscience of the Belle River citizen is most active, the members of the co-operative group more than come up to standard. Hence their leader is also regarded as a leader in the Belle River neighborhood and is consulted on all points of communal action. The general attitude of Belle River to its eccentric group is one of respect and affection, combined with tolerance of differences in behaviour. A contributory factor to this tolerance is that the group is in no sense alien. Its members have relatives in the neighbourhood. They adhere formally to a variety of Protestantism which was the religion of some of the founders of the Island, and their outstanding characteristics, though expressed in a different way, are those which the ordinary Island citizen most respects.

But social and religious tolerance is a common feature of social life on the Island. This is a remarkable fact because rural communities in many parts of the world are distinguished by precisely opposite traits. Tolerance has not always illumined Island history, but is a developing atti-

tude very readily expressed as a conscious ideal. Two contributory factors to its development may be mentioned. The first is relative uniformity of environment, which has not permitted great disparities in wealth and culture to appear. The second is the uniform public school system.

The social pattern in North Granville is in many respects very different from that in Belle River. It is a smaller neighborhood, and since all the households are members of one Protestant Church (United Church) and all the heads of households are of English origin, it might be expected to show the maximum amount of cooperation. But as a neighborhood it is not pleased with itself, and does not appear to function satisfactorily. The school, which 17 children in the district are now of age to attend, had for many years only five or six children on the rota owing to an

invariably men and women of high prestige in the community. Expenditure was reduced to a minimum.

There is no local branch of the Woman's Institute organization. The lack of social amenities is undoubtedly felt by many of the women. Local administration of the church is criticized, and its services are given a definite economic evaluation. The significance of such criticism lay in the fact that it typified an attitude to the social activities of the community which was held in common, in different degrees, and covered the whole field—an attitude of dissatisfaction, conscious and critical but combined with little if any sense of responsibility.

The whole community in North Granville is linked by marriages, and yet the social strata are quite distinct, and correspond closely to economic strata. There are three groups:

A	B	C
10 families owning property from which they derive their main subsistence,	8 families from which they derive their subsistence, viz.—	7 families supported mainly by wages, viz.—
8 farms, mean acreage 148	6 farms, mean acreage 95	3 farm labourers (men)
1 grist mill	1 saw mill	1 farm labourer (woman)
1 filling-station*	1 store	1 casual labourer
		2 heads of households in army
		1 domestic servant (married woman, where husband is farm labourer)

* Not in the district.

unusual number of childless marriages among the local farmers. Under these circumstances the educational system was slackly administered. The elected trustees were not

Further analysis of these groupings shows that the links of marriage relationship within the groups are close, but between them few, while between A and C there are no

such direct links. All families but one are related to group B families. In group B, five families share the same surname; in group C, three are so connected. There are marriage links between groups B and C but none between groups A and C. There are five childless marriages in group A and six children at or under school age. In group C there are no childless families and it has fourteen children at or under school age.

The amount of intermarriage in the North Granville community is not exceptional for the Island. In Belle River, twenty of the families had relatives in the district, falling mainly into six family groups, but the lines of relationship there cut right across such difference in social levels as existed. The closeness of correspondence between marriage groups and economic groups was the remarkable feature of the North Granville community.

Although marked differences have been noted between the various neighborhoods observed, they all possessed the tolerant attitudes to which attention has previously been drawn. Eccentricities did not shock the people, or suggest the rejection of the eccentric from the social life of the neighborhood. Freedom of thought occasionally expressed itself in unorthodox opinions, and was respected in French and British, Catholic and Protestant communities. Aberrant Protestant sects, were occasionally found. In one neighborhood a French Catholic joined such a sect. In most Canadian French-Catholic neighborhoods such an event would be

highly improbable, and still more improbable would be the local reaction of amused contempt rather than shock or horror. Sexual irregularities similarly fail to produce hysterical reactions. In consequence they are perhaps rather less concealed than might be the case in less tolerant groups. In one neighborhood of sixty adults there were two illegitimate children, four marriages broken by separations, and two in which one of the spouses was notoriously unfaithful, making seven irregular households in all. All the persons concerned lived useful lives in the neighborhood and were accepted by it, although none of them held positions of prestige. Local reactions to such irregularities appeared to be based on independent consideration of the individual case rather than on any traditional or borrowed theory of morals. There was no indication that greater frequency of divorce outside the Island was weakening respect for the marriage bond; or on the other hand, that religious influences were powerful in keeping together husbands and wives who wished to separate.

The proportion of irregular households described above was not typical of the Island as a whole. Belle River showed only one overtly disrupted home. It is possible that standards of sexual morality in the latter neighborhood were more rigorous and the limits of tolerance more narrowly drawn. Yet it is certain that nowhere on the Island can one find that sadistic pursuit of deviations from convention which have been

characteristic of some Puritan communities.

Outside Contacts

The Islanders themselves sometimes attribute their tolerant attitudes to their varied contacts with the outside world. These have arisen mainly from the flood of migration out of the Island. Some of the migrants have returned permanently and many make periodic visits to the Island. For its size Belle River is a much travelled neighborhood. Of the present inhabitants, seven have spent some time in the States, three have been in the West of Canada and three have been in Europe. Travelling outside the Island for pleasure is rare, but trips to relatives in Nova Scotia happen occasionally. Contacts with relatives living outside the Island permanently are more numerous still. Among twenty-six Belle River families whose connections were known, eighteen had close relatives now resident in the States and eleven had relatives in other parts of Canada. In North Granville, ten out of twenty-two families had close relatives in the States: connections with other parts of Canada were of various kinds.

The fact that outside contacts need to be described suggests a difference between the Island, and other parts of rural Canada. The extent to which a rural community is influenced by different ways of living is a complex matter not completely to be described in terms of distance and observable contacts. Sometimes through membership of a strongly-knit religious

organization men may preserve in the midst of a great city a way of life peculiar to themselves. The experience of the Island suggests that a geographical barrier may have a similar effect and that this barrier persists even after modern methods of transportation have diminished its importance.

It is difficult to assess the effect of so many outside contacts on the Islander. Apart from the question of the development of tolerant attitudes, there appears to be little direct effect on ways of life. Returned visitors seem to accept Island ways without difficulty. In the poorer French families we had some evidence that the situation produced stress, but whether because standards of living at home and away differed less or for some other reason, this did not appear to happen in Protestant homes. In general, the Island appears to have followed a path of social development not uninfluenced by but largely independent of the outside world. Where the traditional character of Island life is changing, it is doing so as a result of economic instability rather than as a result of the direct impact of outside forces.

Conclusion

The original impetus to our study of Prince Edward Island was a desire to see where by local observation we could reach a fuller understanding of its unusually stable fertility. We did not expect that any single feature of Island life would alone account for the stability of the fam-

ily during the past fifty years. The particular circumstances which, acting together, have seemed to us most significant are:

(1) The type of agriculture, which has been favourable to stable fertility largely because—

(a) It is varied, thus permitting many domestic needs to be satisfied directly, and preventing family fortunes being violently reactive to fluctuations in market prices of commodities; and

(b) It has been relatively prosperous—a fact not unconnected with the previous circumstance.

(2) The comparatively attractive employment opportunities elsewhere for the surplus population;

(3) The comparative geographical and political isolation of the Island, which has helped to preserve its rural economy from the disintegrating effects of close or frequent contact with the ways of life in big cities;

(4) The comparatively egalitarian character of the social structure.

Of the four stabilizing factors listed, the first two are primarily associated with the maintenance of the Island standard of life. The last two primarily describe the absence of disrupting influences, either from outside or within the Island. The social relationships we have noted link up with both these aspects. Perhaps all we are justified in doing from so limited a study is to outline what seems to us suggestive associations. In so far as the following summary suggests causal relationships, this is done to clarify the situation and per-

haps to suggest a direction for future studies.

The neighborhood in Prince Edward Island provides economic security in some degree, and psychological satisfactions for the individuals who compose it. The existence of this type of social organization has helped to make his life satisfactory to the Islander, and in this way has delayed change. The functions described could no doubt have performed equally well by any sort of social grouping of a suitable size and based on a strong mutual interest. For this reason emphasis has been laid in the present paper on the more special effects which appear to result from the form it has actually taken. The fact that the rural group is based upon the provision of education seems to have helped to perpetuate the high valuation placed on the family compared with alternative satisfactions. The production of a large family which is also successful by Island standards, is a source of prestige, and a tacitly accepted qualification for leadership. High fertility, comparatively equal between the more and less successful members of the group, appears to contribute to the satisfactory functioning of the local community.

Compared with other Canadian neighborhoods, the rural neighborhood on the Island appears to act as a partial solvent of racial and religious differences, and to minimize social stratifications. It displays comparatively few gradations of wealth and still fewer gradations of social respect. The incentive to defer or

limit reproduction so as to "get on" in other ways, does not arise. Equalitarian sentiment contributes to a social ethic tending to preserve the family; or we may alternatively suggest that the ethic and the equalitarianism are results of an economic set-up which is consistent with the stability of the large family. When the economic conditions which encouraged them, disappear, tradit-

ional attitudes both to the family and to the group begin to disintegrate. The interactions of such changes are complex, but one may hazard the suggestion that in the Island, increasing poverty of the individual affects group attitudes toward equalitarianism, and thus fertility indirectly; while increasing prosperity affects more directly the fertility of the people who experience it.

Neighborhoods, Townships and Communities In Wright County, Minnesota*

By Vernon Davies†

ABSTRACT

Stemming from Cooley's description of primary groups and Galpin's pioneer ecological study, considerable interest has been shown in locating and delineating farm neighborhoods. It has generally been assumed that such neighborhoods are almost universal, while townships have little or no social and only slight political significance. Wright County, Minnesota, seems to be an exception to both of these assumptions, as indicated by the results of a recent survey. In this survey an effort was made to map the locale of farm-family clusters with some sense of local identification and unity. The data obtained failed to show either the past or present existence of any appreciable number of farm neighborhoods sufficiently well-defined to be designated by names. Townships, on the other hand, have historical, political and name importance in the county, and are the local areas to which a sizeable majority of the farm families identify themselves. Rural communities were readily delineated on the basis of farm family identification and trading preference, thus manifesting a considerable degree of social cohesion and integration.

RESUMEN

Partiendo de la descripción de Cooley y del estudio ecológico inicial de Galpin sobre los grupos primarios, se ha notado un considerable interés en la localización y el delineamiento de las vecindades agrícolas. Ha sido presumido generalmente que tales vecindades son casi universales, mientras que los ayuntamientos tienen poca importancia social y sólo una débil significación política.

El condado de Wright, en Minnesota, parece constituir una excepción a ambos postulados, según se deduce de los resultados de una reciente investigación. En esa investigación se hizo un esfuerzo por establecer las localidades de familias campesinas que tuvieran un sentido de unidad y de identificación local. Los datos obtenidos no pudieron demostrar que, en el pasado o en el presente, existiera un número apreciable de vecindades campesinas lo suficientemente definidas como para ser designadas por sus nombres.

Los ayuntamientos, en cambio, tienen importancia política, histórica y de nombre en el condado, y constituyen las áreas locales que una estimable mayoría de las familias campesinas reclaman como suyas. Las comunidades rurales fueron fácilmente delineadas a base de la preferencia de las familias campesinas en cuanto a su identificación y a sus rasgos comerciales, manifestando de este modo un grado considerable de integridad y coherencia social.

The neighborhood, as a small geographic area inhabited by a cluster of families with a sense of local identification and unity, is usually regarded as one of the most characteristic and significant features of rural social organization. The township, on the other hand, is seldom recognized as having any social significance beyond the few political functions still reserved to it. If exceptions to either of these two generalizations are worthy of noting, then Wright County, Minnesota is of particular interest in that it is apparently an exception to both, as indicated by the results of a recent survey. Before presenting the results of this survey, however, a brief resume of rural neighborhood research is in order.

During the early 1920's, Kolb in Wisconsin,¹ Sanderson and Thompson in New York,² Taylor and Zimmerman in North Carolina,³ Morgan

and Howells in Missouri,⁴ and others made special studies of neighborhoods in their respective states. The impetus for these studies seems to have stemmed from the now classic study of Galpin on "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," and from the stimulating and fruitful concept of the primary group developed by Cooley. Evidently impressed by Cooley's conclusion that neighborhoods, along with family and play groups, "are practically universal, belonging to all times and all stages of development" these investigators set forth to discover the locale of family clusters, assuming that the locality name of which such a cluster was conscious would be a valid indicator of the existence of a neighborhood.

Whatever is employed as an instrument or means of observation should be subject to critical examination. If names are so used, it should be recognized that the designata may be highly relative: varying from time to time, from place to place, and from person to person. Kolb and the others mentioned were conscious of this and all of them made some effort to go back to the locality name to ascertain the type of psychological reaction or social interaction that the name designated at the time of the

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¹J. H. Kolb, *Rural Primary Groups*, Research Bulletin No. 51, Univ. of Wisc. Agr. Exp. Station, Madison, Wisconsin, 1921, p. 7.

²Dwight Sanderson and W. S. Thompson, *The Social Areas of Otsego County*, Bulletin No. 422, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Station (Ithaca, N. Y., 1923).

³C. C. Zimmerman and C. C. Taylor, *Rural Organization*, Bulletin No. 245, N. C. Agric. Exp. Station (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1922).

⁴E. L. Morgan and Owen Howells, *Rural Population Groups*, Research Bulletin No. 74, Univ. of Mo. Agric. Exp. Station (Columbia, Missouri, 1925).

investigation. In the case of Zimmerman's and Taylor's study, it was concluded that locality names could not in a single instance be used to designate a sociological area in the region surveyed.

In the more recent investigation, made in Chilton County, Alabama, Sanders and Ensminger worked on the assumption that if a neighborhood exists in a certain rural area, informed persons living there would know about it. With regard to the county surveyed, they state that "wherever you go the well-informed inhabitant can tell you exactly where his neighborhood ends and the next one begins; if he has a leisure moment, and most likely he has, he can name one by one the families comprising his neighborhood."⁵ The investigators claim to have found 86 white and also a number of Negro neighborhoods, which in most cases, occupied the same territory, although not coterminous with each other. The main point is, however, that these investigators experienced no difficulty in identifying locality groups, which could be delineated on a map, and were therefore mutually exclusive geographic units.

During the summer of 1941 an effort was made to map the neighborhoods and communities of Wright County, Minnesota. This county is located in the south central portion of Minnesota, about 25 miles west of Minneapolis. It is a comparatively level stretch of prairie land, bordered

on the north by the Mississippi River, on the east by a small stream called the Crow River, and on the south and west by straight section survey lines; with a total area of 714 square miles. A branch of the Crow River extends westward through the middle of the county, and this, along with a number of lakes and wooded stretches, constituted the only barrier of internal migration and communication in the original settlement of the area. The soil is very fertile and the climatic conditions are such that a very prosperous farm and dairy industry has developed.

Any isolated clusters of farm families there may have been during the first few years of settlement did not remain isolated for long as nearly all of the land was soon staked out into farms and brought under cultivation. As the farms were of the "homestead" type, and the farmers built their homes on their land, there were no large uninhabited interstitial spaces for any great period of time. Geographic isolation was therefore not destined to be a determining factor in the perpetuation of distinct farm neighborhoods.

A number of nationality groups took part in the early settlement of the county. Some Poles, of the Roman Catholic faith, established themselves in the southeast corner, and a heavy concentration of Germans settled to the north of the Poles, adjacent to the eastern boundary. Quite a number of Swedes located in the western part of the county and founded a number of Lutheran churches. The

⁵I. T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, *Alabama Rural Communities*, Alabama College Bulletin, Vol. 33, No. 1A (1940).

Stockholm Lutheran church, situated in the central part of Stockholm township, became the center of a vigorous farm neighborhood based largely on nationality, kinship and religious ties. A small colony of Dutch purchased a tract of land in the north central part of the county, erected a large house to shelter the whole group, built a church and have maintained to the present a considerable degree of social cohesion. A few hundred Irish migrated into the region, but they became dispersed throughout the general population. Numerous Finnish families settled north of the Swedish colony in the western part of the county. Two distinct Finnish neighborhoods once existed in section 10 and 18 of the Cokato township. These two clusters of families engaged in considerable friendly rivalry during the first years of settlement, but, as more and more land was brought under cultivation, they lost their former isolation and were finally merged into a larger social configuration.

The most numerous of all the early emigrants to Wright County were the colonial Americans, a large proportion of whom established village and farm homes in the northern tier of townships adjoining the Mississippi River. From the time of the first settlement they constituted a majority of the total population. Nearly all of them, as one would suspect, came from north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi rivers. On the basis of their numerical superiority it may be assumed that they had a considerable if not a dominant

influence in shaping the original settlement pattern of the county.

Are There Neighborhoods In Wright County?

The survey, referred to above, was intended to be exploratory rather than exhaustive. It was hoped that, so far as neighborhoods were concerned, some indication of their present delineation could be had without too great an expenditure of time and funds. This hope was based on two assumptions: (1) that the farm neighborhoods in Wright County, as is characteristic of many other sections of the Midwest, East and South, were distinct social groups with some sense of local unity, and (2) that informed persons living in the county would recognize the existence and be able to define the spatial dimensions of these neighborhoods. If the first of these two assumptions were valid, then the second could probably be used as a working basis for mapping the farm neighborhoods. But the second assumption proved to be unworkable. Not only the farm population, but others who were supposedly the best informed—agricultural extension workers, newspaper editors, school superintendents, lawyers, physicians, ministers and merchants living in hamlets or trade centers—were not conscious of any neighborhoods, as defined above. In fact, after more than a week of inquiry, only one farm neighborhood was mapped with any degree of assurance—the Swedish Lutheran group in Stockholm township.

In order to obtain more conclusive information as to the existence of such neighborhoods, a survey was conducted through the cooperation of the rural schools of the county, in which the following data were collected concerning each family represented in these schools: (1) the name of the neighborhood or local area and also community to which each family felt that it belonged,^a and (2) the name of the village or trade center where each family did most of its trading.

Over three-fifths (61.3%) of the families represented in the sample identified themselves with townships, while over one-fourth (27.4%) felt that a village or small trade center was the local area or neighborhood to which they felt they belonged. Less than one family in sixteen (5.9%) identified themselves with school districts.

Considerable caution should be exercised, however, in the interpretation of these figures. If a person were asked concerning the neighborhood or local area to which he felt that he belonged and he replied by giving the name of the township in which he lived, how much should be concluded from a simple answer of this kind? Conceivably a person may feel attached to the environment in which he lives for aesthetic or sentimental

TABLE I. NEIGHBORHOOD OR LOCAL AREA TO WHICH 1,039 RURAL FAMILIES IN WRIGHT COUNTY, MINNESOTA, IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES, 1941

Type of Local Area	Number of Families	Percent of Families
Total	1,039	100.0
Township	637	61.3
Village or small trade center	284	27.4
School district	62	5.9
Uncertain, etc.*	56	5.4

* These include (a) families who did not reply to the question as to the neighborhood or local area to which they felt they belonged; (b) families who made replies, such as giving the name of the county, that showed they did not understand the nature of the question being asked; and (c) a very few scattered families who identified themselves with topographic features, etc., with regard to which a majority of the other families in the same local area did not identify themselves—therefore justifying no definite conclusions as to the existence or non-existence of neighborhoods in such places.

reasons that have little or no social import. As an extreme case, a hermit may feel attached to a certain place for reasons that are non-social if not anti-social.

The hypothesis might be advanced that, with regard to the county in question, there may be few place names outside of the names given to townships by which many of the farm families can designate with any degree of exactness the precise section of the county in which they live. They, therefore, give the name of these townships because no other local name is available. This supposition cannot be sustained, however, as nearly all of the 114 functioning school districts have names, derived

^aThe questionnaire contained the statement: "To what neighborhood or local area do you feel that you belong?" The investigator acted on the assumption that a more complete and representative sample of replies could be obtained from a simple statement of this kind as compared with a more detailed list of questions concerning neighborhoods.

from topographic, personal, and other sources.

On the present school map of the county the individual districts are designated by numbers, but in the meetings of the district school boards with the county superintendent of schools, most of the districts are still referred to by their traditional, informal names. While these districts exist primarily for the education of rural-farm grade school children, the interest here is in the question as to whether or not such subdivisions are also the habitat of distinct neighborhood-conscious groups. Where the name of a district is identical with that of a trade center or village located in or near the district, the name applies to a community with the possible exception of some of the smaller trade centers. However, only 16 of the 101 districts having names go by the same names as villages or trade centers. Of the remaining 85 districts, 52 were named after persons, 22 were named after topographic features, and 11 received names of miscellaneous origin. There is considerable doubt if very many of these 85 districts represent the confines of sociological neighborhoods. With the exception of two, Lilypond and Myrback, they are the habitat of very few families who identified themselves with the name of the district in which they live. The county superintendent of schools, a man of long experience in the county, expressed his doubts as to whether even these two districts may be considered as the locale of genuine social groups.

A number of interviews with the oldest residents and also a careful reading of the available historical material, including two extended historical accounts⁷ and the earliest village newspapers, failed to bring to light any considerable number of place names other than village, small trade center, and township names that were definitely used to designate distinct social groupings; and the one pioneer neighborhood that seems to have persisted with the greatest vigor is called by the same name as the township in which it is located.

The data collected for purposes of this study thus fail to reveal the existence of any considerable number of farm neighborhoods in Wright County—either as regards the past or the present. There is an abundance of place names, but neither tradition, written historical source material or present farm-family identification support the hypothesis that any appreciable number of these names have ever been used to refer to distinct social groups, apart from villages, hamlets and small trade centers.

Significance of the Township

The dominance of native American stock in the early settlement unquestionably had its effect upon subsequent developments in rural social organization. For one thing they had become accustomed to thinking of the

⁷C. A. French and F. B. Lamson, *Condensed History of Wright County* (Delano, Minnesota: Eagle Printing Company, 1935). Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Wright County, Minnesota* (Chicago: H. C. Cooper, Jr. & Co., 1915), two vols.

township as a significant unit of local government, for it was in the Northeast that townships were first organized.⁸ Beginning with the New England town as a model, the township system was established in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other states to the west, but not without modification of the original. In New York and Pennsylvania there was a fusion of the township and the southern county system of local government. As the frontier was pushed westward, other states copied this dual arrangement of local governmental units, the tendency being for the townships to become subordinate to the county. Eventually townships were "laid out by Federal surveyors while the land was still a part of the national domain. Though some attention was here and there paid to natural features of the landscape, these townships were for the most part square areas, six miles in each direction, containing, therefore, 36 square miles. It was the policy of the national congress, seconded by the early state governments in the Northwest territory, to supply the as yet sparse or non-existent population with the decentralized machinery or local self-government then so lauded in New England."⁹

⁸Some students of political science trace the origin of the township to the Anglo-Saxon "tunscape" and to the still earlier Teutonic "mark." "There is no evidence, however, that the New England settlers consciously imitated any existing or pre-existing type of local government when they developed their own system." *Ency. Americana*, XXVI, pp. 724, 725.

⁹L. W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1937), p. 71.

It was against such a social and political background that the county-township pattern of local government was incorporated into the legal framework of the state of Minnesota, when the latter was admitted to the Union in 1858. Most of the townships in Wright County were organized during that year.

Monticello, the oldest village in the county, was founded six years before the organization of townships. It received needed supplies from steamships plying the Mississippi River between Minneapolis and St. Cloud. This village, along with other trade centers that grew up along the banks of the Mississippi, became a supply depot for the adjacent farm population. While interdependence between the village and farm population naturally grew, the farmers themselves were in many respects dependent upon each other. They could not, for instance, rely upon the county seat to build country roads, construct and maintain schools, or maintain adequate police protection. Because of these exigences there was a real need for local units of government within the county and external to villages. For, as Anderson states, "In pioneer days when travel was difficult and modern facilities for communication were almost entirely lacking, the argument for the units (townships) was that the county seat was too far away to provide the local roads, local courts and police needed in every part of the county. It is true that in Minnesota roads began as town roads, and that in early days the justice of the peace and

town constable were of some consequence in law enforcement."¹⁰

Townships thus came to have real significance to the farm population. They were all given names and the people have continued to use these names as means of identifying local areas.

The present township is by no means a mere place-name even though it has lost some functions such as the administration of poor relief. The voters in each township elect a board of supervisors, an assessor, a justice of the peace and a constable. While the last two offices are usually of only nominal importance at present, the board of supervisors and the assessor continue to exercise important functions. The board appropriates money for and supervises the construction and maintenance of township roads, acts as a local Board of Health, and performs other services, while the assessor evaluates farm and other property for taxation purposes. Annual and special meetings of town officials are held which are reputed to be highly democratic in spirit and operation. If there has been unwise expenditure of township funds, those responsible are usually taken to task with certainty and dispatch. As a new and additional function, the chairman of the board now acts as weed inspector in the township for the Federal soil conservation service.

The farm bureaus are currently organized on a township basis, al-

though there are a few examples of two townships merging to organize such a unit. In county agricultural extension work, the township is also the main unit of organization. Local AAA Committees, Land Use Planning Committees, and to some extent, the Civilian Defense Councils, are set up on a township basis. The districts from which county commissioners are elected are aggregates of townships, and a similar kind of procedure is followed by the county board of public welfare in mapping out districts for case workers.

While the farm population is being made increasingly aware of the existence of the township as an operational governmental unit and is concerned over the manner in which the unit operates, is it likely to be true that the townships are neighborhoods in a broader, social sense? One factor having a direct bearing on the answer to this question has to do with the size of the population of these subdivisions. The average population of Wright County townships in 1940 was 906 persons. In a group of this size there should be approximately 200 families.¹¹ What is the likelihood of a primary group relationship developing and being sustained in an aggregate of 200 farm families scattered over a rectangular area of 36 square miles? Manifestly, no one family could hope to visit all or even a majority of the others with any reasonable degree of frequency.

¹⁰Wm. Anderson, *Local Government and Finance in Minnesota* (University of Minnesota Press, 1935), p. 34.

¹¹The average size of farm family in Wright County in 1930 was 4.5. On the basis of this, the latest figure available, a population of 900 persons would contain exactly 200 families.

Any large scale association of these families would depend on the existence of some central place of interest to which all or most of them would be regularly attracted. Such centers of interest, in a prairie farming area, are likely to take the form of an institution located in a trade center or village.

There are nearly a score of co-operative creameries in Wright County located in the trade centers and villages. Outside of occasional business meetings, they have very few social functions. There are also a number of churches in the county that draw many from the surrounding countryside, but with one exception, none of them can appropriately be called township institutions. That one exception has already been noted—the Stockholm Lutheran Church in Stockholm township. This township has one small trade center within its borders and that, too, goes by the name of Stockholm. But the church is undoubtedly the real center of interest of a closely knit religio-nationality-kinship group that comprises a large proportion of the population of the township. The other large churches in the county are community rather than farm-neighborhood institutions.

By way of recapitulation, it may be said that townships in Wright County have (a) name importance: township names have long been the most frequently used means of designating local areas within the county; (b) historical importance: the available accounts of political and social changes within local farming areas

are almost without exception township histories; (c) political importance: the township continues to be a significant local governmental unit, with a number of important functions about which the farm population is very much aware and concerned, and (d) social importance: the township has been used as the unit for organization of the Farm Bureau, agricultural Extension work, the AAA, Land-Use Planning, and Civilian Defense Councils. These non-judicial activities tend to strengthen the local consciousness of the township unit.

Significance of the Community

In the survey the families of rural school children were asked to give the name of the community to which they felt they belonged and also to designate the place where they did most of their trading. On the basis of these replies it was easily possible to delineate the community boundaries on a county map. The data indicate that the farm population in the vicinity of the French Lake, Silver Creek, Clearwater and Hasty small trade centers think of these places as communities to which they feel they belong, but only in the case of Clearwater is the periphery of the community even approximately coterminous with the township in which the trade center is located. Neither do the larger community areas, of which villages are the centers of interest, follow township lines with any degree of consistency. These findings indicate that the natural social areas of Wright County do not follow

township lines, despite the fact that the farm families seem to be very conscious of the existence of the townships in which they live.

There are villages located in eleven of the twenty townships, but to the extent that these settlements are centers of interest to the surrounding farm population they constitute rural communities rather than neighborhoods. If there are neighborhoods within the periphery of these communities, the survey failed to locate them—with the possible exception of two of the 114 school districts.

It may be taken for granted that every farm family has a place in a pattern of visiting relationships, and if all the families were interviewed it would perhaps be possible to ascertain and map this pattern; but to follow this procedure with a farm population in excess of 18,000 persons scattered over 700 square miles of territory was far beyond the scope of this study. However, as the studies made by Moreno,¹² Lundberg,¹³ and Loomis¹⁴ have shown, people who are neighbors geographically may not be neighbors socially. With the widespread use of the automobile, the improvement of roads, the extended use of the telephone and other means of communication and the rise of special

interest groups in rural areas, socially self-contained locality groups have been exposed to processes of disintegration. As far back as 1909, Cooley was conscious that such disintegration was taking place: "In our town life the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken by the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts which leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house. And even in the country the same principle is at work, though less obviously, diminishing our economic and spiritual community with our neighbors."¹⁵

It is possible, however, in surveying the effect of centrifugal forces that have brought about the diversification and spatial expansion of social contacts and relationships in rural life to overlook the effect of centripetal forces pulling in an opposite direction. Old patterns of adjustment give way to new ones; disorganization may be counter-balanced by reorganization.

While the visiting relationships of rural people have become much more dispersed and varied, it does not necessarily follow that primary group contacts in the county are any less congenial or significant. In fact, such contacts may be even more congenial and significant as a consequence of the greater freedom of choice resulting from the extension and acceleration of communication and transportation facilities. By the same token, the scarcity or non-existence of geographic neighborhoods is no sure

¹²J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (Mental and Nervous Disease Publishing Co., 1934).

¹³G. A. Lundberg and Mary Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, I (Jan.-Apr., 1938), 375-419.

¹⁴C. P. Loomis, *Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven Rural Communities*, Soc. Res. Report, XVIII, Bur. of Agric. Econ. 1940).

¹⁵C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 26.

indication of the underdevelopment or lack of rural social organization in a given area, for the rural communities which encompass the area may be all the more cohesive and integrated as a consequence of the lack of small locality groups within their boundaries. Despite the scarcity of neighborhood clusters among the farm families of Wright County, the survey did not produce any evidence of rural community disorganization. Instead, these families almost without exception identified themselves with this or that village. Moreover, 78.4 percent of the farm families reported that they did most of their trading with the village with which they identified themselves which lends support to the Galpin concept that the rural community is coterminous with the trade area serviced by the village.

With regard to the several small trade centers in the county, only in the case of French Lake, Silver Creek, Clearwater and Hasty did the survey show that any considerable number of the surrounding farm families identify themselves with the center in preference to a more distant but larger village.

Conclusions

It may be stated in conclusion that (1) with the exception of Stockholm and a very few other clusters of families identifying themselves with small trade centers, locality-name-conscious farm-neighborhood groups do not appear to exist in Wright County; and there is little reason to believe that they ever existed to a significant extent. This does not deny the existence of "neighborhood" informal social relations among farm families, which may or may not be limited to an identifiable locality. (2) Townships have historical, political, and name importance, and, while they are losing some functions, they have gained others of social and economic importance, and are the local areas to which a sizeable majority of the farm families identify themselves. (3) The rural communities of the county seem to have a considerable degree of integration and social cohesion, as evidenced by the readiness with which they could be delineated and the high correspondence between community identification and trading preference.

Rural-Urban Variations In the Age of Parents At the Birth of the First Child*

By Otis Dudley Duncan†

ABSTRACT

A study of the age of parents at the birth of the first child is a feasible approach to the problem of relating residence differentials in fertility to rural-urban variations in the age patterns of marriage. Employing data taken from Oklahoma birth certificates, comparisons are made between open country, village, and urban populations. The rural populations begin effective fertility a year or more sooner than the urban. Age differences between parents and correlations between mothers' and fathers' ages are also found to vary according to residence.

RESUMEN

Un estudio de la edad de los padres con respecto al nacimiento del primer hijo constituye un acceso factible al problema de relacionar los diferenciales de residencia en cuanto a la fertilidad con las variaciones en el modelo de las edades en el matrimonio entre las zonas rurales y las urbanas. Empleando datos obtenidos de los registros de nacimiento de Oklahoma se hacen comparaciones entre la población de las siguientes zonas: el campo raso, las villas, y los pueblos. Las poblaciones rurales comienzan su fertilidad efectiva un año antes que las urbanas. Se encuentra que las diferencias en las edades de los padres y en las correlaciones entre las edades de los padres y las madres también varían de acuerdo con el lugar de residencia.

A sharp fertility differential between the rural and urban populations of the United States is widely recognized. It is also known that the ages of husbands and wives at marriage vary according to residence. That these two sets of facts are closely related is a matter of common hypothesis, yet reliable data and tested generalizations on the subject are largely lacking. A feasible approach to the problem is to consider the age at which parents in rural and urban populations begin their re-

productive careers. A demonstration of the existence of significantly large variations in this respect between residence groups should be of aid in explaining observed fertility differentials. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to test whether variations exist among the three residence groups, open country, village, and urban, with respect to the age at which these populations begin effective fertility, or the age of parents in these populations at first childbirth. Accordingly, the hypotheses of the investigation are that the rural populations begin effective fertility earlier than the urban population, and that age differences between parents vary according to residence.

Due to the inadequacies of published statistics, it is necessary to use

* This paper is a condensation of the main body of the writer's thesis. (Otis Dudley Duncan, *Comparison of Age of White Parents at Birth of First Child for Urban, Village, and Open Country Populations: An Analysis of Oklahoma Birth Registration Data*, M. A. Thesis, unpublished, University of Minnesota, 1942).

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a special tabulation of data taken directly from the original birth certificates.¹ The findings of this study are based on the complete registrations of first births (including live births, still births, and infants born alive who later died) to white parents in Oklahoma for the years 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, and 1938. These years were selected in order to obtain a reasonably complete representation of the decade 1930-1940. It is desirable that the results be as free as possible from the influence of disturbing factors; therefore, only those cases are considered in this paper in which (1) both parents were of the white race, (2) the birth was the first birth to the wife by the present or any previous marriage, (3) the child was legitimate, (4) the ages of both parents were given, and (5) the place of residence of the mother could be ascertained. Births were classified by place of residence rather than by place of occurrence.² The number of births for which complete records are available is 62,690, of which 16,934

are classified as open country, 16,694 as village, and 29,062 as urban.³

At the point at which the analysis begins, the data are in the form of three cross-tabulations of mothers' ages by fathers' ages in one year intervals, the figures for the separate years being combined into single tables, one for each residence group.⁴ The methods of simple descriptive statistics are employed in analyzing the data.

An examination of the age distributions of mothers and fathers, presented in Tables I and II, is enlightening. A striking fact is that the modal ages of the three groups of mothers are the same, as are those of the fathers. The most typical age of mothers at first childbirth, regardless of residence, is 19; that of fathers, 22. However, it is also apparent that the proportional frequencies of par-

¹This tabulation is a product of a larger cooperative research project undertaken by the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station and the Oklahoma State Health Department. The latter agency furnished the basic material, and the clerical work was done by W.P.A. labor. The writer is greatly indebted to these agencies, and to the Department of Sociology and Rural Life of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, through which the data were made available.

²A major purpose of the cooperative project mentioned in footnote 1 was to reclassify births by place of residence. The information available for this purpose on the birth certificate includes (1) usual residence of mother, township, village, or city, (2) mail address of mother, (3) usual occupations of father and mother.

³As used in this study, places having 2500 or more inhabitants are considered as urban. Population centers with fewer than 2500 inhabitants, whether incorporated or unincorporated, are classed as villages. All population not falling into either of the foregoing classifications is designated as open country. This deviation from the usual Census nomenclatures was adopted because the larger study of which this analysis is a portion has undertaken to reallocate births according to residence whereas the birth certificates were recorded by place of occurrence. The designations "rural-nonfarm" and "rural-farm" do not comprehend, therefore, the totality of persons residing in those areas. This is especially true of the "rural-farm" category adopted by the Census in which the implication is that all persons thus classified are engaged in farming, which is not the case in the present study since there are in the open country many persons engaged in extractive industries and not a few who merely prefer to live in the open country while they are employed in various "urban-like" occupations.

⁴Limitations of space preclude the reproduction of these large tables.

ents in these age groups are not identical for the three populations. While 14.41 per cent of open country mothers and 13.88 per cent of village mothers are 19 years of age, only 10.94 per cent of urban mothers belong to this age group. Similarly, 11.49 per cent of open country fathers and 11.17 per cent of village fathers belong to the modal group aged 22, whereas only 9.43 per cent of urban fathers are of this age. Furthermore, it can be observed that 46.11 per cent of open country mothers and 42.24 per cent of village mothers are less than 20 years of age, while only 31.59 per cent of urban mothers fall in this group. Likewise, 36.97 per cent of open country fathers and 35.02 per cent of village fathers are found to be 22 or younger, while 27.73 per cent of urban fathers fall in or below the modal class.

Thus it is clear that although the modal age of parents does not vary according to residence, the effect of urbanization is to increase the proportion of parents in the older age groups. This difference is made most apparent by comparing the mean ages of the various groups. The mean age of open country mothers is 20.7, that of village mothers 21.0, and that of urban mothers 22.3 years. The corresponding figures for fathers are 25.1, 25.3, and 26.3 years, respectively. Thus open country mothers are about a year and a half younger than urban mothers, on the average, while open country fathers are a little over a year younger than urban fathers. Village parents, too, are con-

TABLE I. AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF OPEN COUNTRY, VILLAGE, AND URBAN MOTHERS

Age of Mothers	Per Cent of Total		
	Open Country	Village	Urban
Number	16,934	16,694	29,062
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
12		.01	
13	.01	.01	.01
14	.25	.20	.14
15	1.61	1.34	.98
16	5.56	4.57	3.13
17	10.25	9.00	6.53
18	14.02	13.23	9.86
19	14.41	13.88	10.94
20	12.28	12.46	10.68
21	9.44	9.67	9.14
22	7.31	8.45	8.61
23	6.11	6.48	7.34
24	4.60	4.72	6.28
25	3.33	3.84	5.30
26	2.54	2.74	4.19
27	1.84	2.26	3.72
28	1.51	1.78	2.90
29	1.15	1.15	2.38
30	.86	1.03	1.93
31-33	1.52	1.81	3.39
34-38	1.06	1.10	2.10
39-45	.33	.25	.44
over 45	.01	.02	.01

siderably younger than urban parents, there being a difference of only a small fraction of a year between the average ages of village and open country fathers and mothers.

The distributions of age differences between fathers and mothers, shown in Table III, also exhibit variations with respect to residence. It will be noted that the urban cases are somewhat more concentrated in the interval -1 to 3 than are the village and open country cases, with proportionally fewer cases, in general, appearing at the extremes of the distribution. The modal age difference between urban parents is two years, while the modal age difference be-

TABLE II. AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF OPEN COUNTRY, VILLAGE, AND RURAL FATHERS

Age of Fathers	Per Cent of Total		
	Open Country	Village	Urban
Number	16,934	16,694	29,062
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
15		.01	
16	.06	.08	.05
17	.44	.40	.24
18	2.06	1.75	1.38
19	4.80	4.43	3.28
20	7.34	7.09	5.37
21	10.78	10.09	7.98
22	11.49	11.17	9.43
23	10.63	10.59	9.05
24	9.43	9.31	8.72
25	8.30	8.49	8.19
26	6.38	6.33	7.34
27	5.39	5.84	6.29
28	4.33	4.51	5.51
29	3.16	3.70	4.64
30	2.78	3.04	3.80
31	2.03	2.00	3.22
32	1.71	1.85	2.80
33	1.35	1.42	2.29
34	1.03	1.22	1.81
35	1.03	1.00	1.60
36	.87	.87	1.21
37	.72	.74	.96
38	.67	.74	.94
39-41	1.20	1.02	1.78
42-46	1.13	1.40	1.40
47-53	.61	.65	.50
54-66	.23	.25	.20
over 66	.05	.01	.02

tween village parents and between open country parents is three years. The mean age difference between parents is 4.4 years in the open country population, 4.3 in the village, and only 4.0 years in the urban. It is clear, too, that the tendency for fathers to be older than mothers is somewhat more pronounced in the two rural groups than in the urban group.

This relationship may also be demonstrated by considering the mean ages of mothers for given ages of

fathers and the mean ages of fathers for given ages of mothers, as presented in Tables IV and V. In Table IV it is apparent that the mean ages of mothers increase regularly with increases in the designated ages of fathers, in the case of all three residence groups. However, the increase is somewhat more rapid for urban mothers than for village and open country mothers; for fathers aged 21 or above, the mean ages of urban mothers are consistently higher than those of village and open country

TABLE III. DISTRIBUTION OF AGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FATHERS AND MOTHERS

Father's Age minus Mother's Age	Per Cent of Total		
	Open Country	Village	Urban
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Less than -5	.42	.35	.33
- 5	.32	.31	.25
- 4	.50	.50	.49
- 3	.95	1.04	.94
- 2	1.91	1.72	1.89
- 1	3.62	3.83	4.01
0	7.49	8.20	9.38
1	9.22	9.60	10.59
2	11.53	11.89	12.61
3	12.51	12.21	12.38
4	11.19	11.63	10.86
5	9.50	9.22	9.15
6	7.88	7.41	6.89
7	6.02	5.09	4.74
8	3.76	3.80	3.66
9	2.79	2.80	2.59
10	2.49	2.57	2.28
11	1.71	1.64	1.59
12	1.29	1.36	1.15
13	.96	.95	.85
14	.64	.68	.74
15	.56	.57	.57
16	.41	.48	.43
17	.40	.40	.36
18	.36	.27	.28
19	.20	.25	.15
20	.32	.22	.20
more than 20	1.05	1.01	.65
Mother older	7.72	7.75	7.91
Same age	7.49	8.20	9.38
Father older	84.79	84.05	82.72

TABLE IV. MEAN AGE OF MOTHERS FOR GIVEN AGE OF FATHERS

Age of Fathers	Mean Age of Mothers		
	Open Country	Village	Urban
15		15.0	
16	16.4	17.0	16.6
17	17.5	17.4	17.0
18	17.7	17.8	17.5
19	18.1	18.2	18.0
20	18.5	18.6	18.6
21	18.8	19.0	19.0
22	19.3	19.6	19.8
23	19.8	19.9	20.2
24	20.4	20.4	21.0
25	20.8	21.0	21.8
26	21.2	21.5	22.3
27	21.7	21.7	23.0
28	22.1	22.6	23.5
29	22.6	22.8	24.2
30	23.3	23.4	25.1
31	23.6	24.2	25.6
32	23.5	24.5	26.0
33	24.2	24.9	26.3
34	25.2	25.1	27.0
35	26.1	24.9	27.5
36	25.8	25.5	27.7
37	26.4	26.5	28.3
38	26.1	26.2	28.6
39-41	26.1	27.9	29.4
42-46	28.1	28.3	30.4
47-53	29.8	29.9	31.8
54-66	31.1	28.7	31.3
over 66	26.3	31.0	25.8

mothers. Thus the smaller mean age difference between urban parents noted above holds also for the age specific differences. This is also demonstrated, though not so clearly, by the data of Table V. In the middle range of the distribution, the three residence groups are almost indistinguishable, but at the extremes, urban fathers are clearly younger than village and open country fathers.

Since inspection of Tables IV and V reveals the relationships of mothers' ages to fathers' ages to be practically linear, it is instructive to compare correlation coefficients for

the three residence groups. The correlations shown in Table VI are ordinary product-moment coefficients showing the degree of association, first, between mothers' ages and fathers' ages, second, between fathers' ages and the corresponding age differences, and finally, between mothers' ages and age differences. It will be noted that the correlation between mothers' ages and fathers' ages is considerably higher in the urban population than in the two rural populations. It is thus shown that in addition to having a higher degree of similarity with respect to age, as indicated by the mean age differences, urban parents are more consistently similar than are village or open country parents. An explanation of this fact is available in the

TABLE V. MEAN AGE OF FATHERS FOR GIVEN AGE OF MOTHERS

Age of Mothers	Mean Age of Fathers		
	Open Country	Village	Urban
12		18.0	
13	21.0	18.0	19.0
14	20.2	21.9	21.4
15	21.9	21.6	21.5
16	22.1	22.4	22.1
17	22.7	22.7	22.4
18	23.1	23.0	22.7
19	23.6	23.5	23.4
20	24.2	24.1	24.2
21	24.9	24.8	25.0
22	25.4	25.7	25.8
23	26.5	26.3	26.7
24	27.4	27.3	27.5
25	28.0	28.0	28.1
26	28.3	29.2	28.9
27	30.5	29.9	30.1
28	31.2	31.1	31.1
29	31.1	31.8	32.0
30	33.4	33.4	32.9
31-33	35.0	35.8	34.6
34-38	40.2	39.8	38.3
39-45	46.6	46.7	44.7
over 45	54.0	50.5	44.0

correlations of fathers' ages with age differences. In all three populations there is a marked tendency for the age difference to increase as the age of fathers increases. This tendency, however, is considerably more pronounced in the rural populations than in the urban. This in turn is probably a consequence of the age and sex selectivity of rural-urban migration and the sex ratio of the marriageable portions of the rural population. Finally, it may be pointed out that there is a very slight tendency for the magnitude of the age difference between parents to decrease as the age of mothers increases, the tendency being most marked in the urban population. That this association is small is to be expected, partly because biological limitations on child bearing truncate

the age distribution of mothers at a point considerably below the maximum age of fathers.

It should be pointed out that in the case of almost all the characteristics examined above, the village population occupies a position intermediate between that of the open country and urban populations. However, the village patterns of age of parents at first childbirth are distinctly rural, for they are much more similar to the open country than to the urban patterns.

Recognizing the limitations incumbent on studying the populations of only a single state over a restricted period of time, it may be stated that the hypotheses of the study are sustained. As far as the materials of this investigation are concerned, the rural populations experience a considerable advantage over the urban with respect to reproductive efficiency by commencing effective fertility on the average a year to a year and a half earlier. The findings of this study are consistent with what is known concerning differential fertility and rural-urban variations in the age patterns of marriage.

TABLE VI. CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS EXPRESSING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AGE OF MOTHERS AND AGE OF FATHERS*

Population	r_{xy}	$r_y(y-x)$	$r_x(y-x)$
Open Country	.578	.713	-.160
Village	.588	.709	-.154
Urban	.670	.616	-.172

* x = age of mother; y = age of father.

NOTES

Edited by Paul H. Landis

RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE FOLK SOCIETY

In the September 1941, issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY Professor Heberle applied Tönnies' well-known contrasting concepts *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, to North American rural communities, and suggested that consideration of such communities in the light of these concepts will clarify problems and advance knowledge. Citing some of the best known works on rural communities, he indicated a prevailing disposition of their authors to consider chiefly the *gesellschaftliche* aspect of the communities studied, and suggested that our various rural communities would be more justly understood if they should be considered as ways in which *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* are variously combined and emphasized. In a note stimulated by Professor Heberle's paper, and published in the March, 1942 issue, Professor Brunner made some observations in part minimizing the value of the Tönnies concepts in the field of rural sociology and in part making use of the concepts in proposing certain characteristic forms of social change in such societies. In the same number of RURAL SOCIOLOGY appeared a brief rejoinder by Professor Heberle in which he again supported the value of the concepts, and again declared that rural sociologists have been relatively inattentive to the *gemeinschaft* aspects of the communities they study.

The reference made by Professor Brunner to anthropological materials provides one who has some familiarity with such materials with an excuse for entering into the discussion. Among other comments, Professor Brunner makes the point that Professor Heberle must be wrong in implying that self-interest is absent in certain *gemeinschaft* relationships. This observation seems to me to fail to recognize that *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* are, as Professor Heberle clearly says, ideal construc-

tions, more or less corresponding with any real society. Self-interest may be present in the communal wood-lot; it cannot be a part of a *gemeinschaft* relationship. If the communal wood-lot in some New England towns arose out of consideration of the need to resolve conflicting individual interests and was deliberately agreed upon as a measure contributing toward the good of all, then to that extent that New England town represents *gesellschaft* and not *gemeinschaft*. The fact reported merely reminds us that it is not simply the existence of a collective action or a community responsibility that attests the presence of *gemeinschaft*, but the fact of growth of such an action or institution out of customary morality rather than out of deliberative action and agreement. I will add that I am not as sure as Professor Brunner apparently is that certain institutions of primitive communities have resulted from the skilful manipulation by occupants of the top social ranks.

These are small matters. The interchange between Professors Heberle and Brunner does, however, raise two related matters of some consequence. The first question is whether or not students of American communities have done adequate justice to those aspects of rural community life which Tönnies pointed to in developing the notion of *gemeinschaft*. Heberle says they haven't. For what it may be worth, I report that I am inclined to agree. On the whole the emphasis has been upon marketing and trading connections in studying American rural communities. The recent publications of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics do something to right the balance. But I do not know any study of an American rural community which presents such a penetrating and balanced study, doing justice to both *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, as is

done by any one of several studies of literate rural communities that have been made by anthropologists. I have in mind Horace Miner's *St. Denis, A French Canadian Parish*, John Embree's *Suye Mura, A Japanese Village*, Edward Spicer's *Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona*, and *Family and Community in Ireland*, by Arensberg and Kimball.

This expression of a personal opinion does not, of course, decide the point. For one who holds this opinion it is the basis for a conclusion, not that anthropologists are any abler than rural sociologists, but that any one kind of society ought to be studied with reference to other kinds. More particularly stated, the conclusion is that studies of American rural communities will be enriched if considered in comparison with primitive communities, and vice versa. The comparison will be the better if the investigator has first-hand knowledge with both kinds. Until recently anthropologists had not studied urbanized societies, and the knowledge sociologists had of primitive societies was book-knowledge. This situation is changing; the monographs I have cited above are some indications of this change.

The second matter of interest is whether the use of the Tönnies concepts is helpful to that study of the nature of society which rural sociologists are carrying on. The comparative study of societies tends to become a reality on the level of intensive empirical study of particular communities. The societies of the world are ranged, under the eye of the student, in a single continuum. The rural sociologists occupy the strategic center of this continuum. The groups they study look on the one hand toward the metropolis, which is predominantly market and *gesellschaft*; on the other they look toward the primitive societies which are predominantly family and *gemeinschaft*. The recognition of the critical importance of rural (and peasant) societies for the comparative study of society grows as studies of particular communities by sociologists move out of the framework of social problem and social action, where they began, both in urban sociology and in rural

sociology, and into a more theoretical scientific framework.

We had been told this, by implication at least, by many a philosophical student of society. That is, among other things, what Tönnies was telling us. Durkheim points in the same direction: using his terms, we see that the rural and the peasant societies represent forms of compromise between the social segment and the social organ. His concepts, like those of Tönnies, require us to consider, in studying an Iowa farming community or a Chinese peasant village, what aspects of the whole reality bear comparison with a society that would be all social organ, and what aspects bear comparison with a society that would be all social segment. Maine suggested the same unilinear range of societal types in his contrasts between the familial and the territorial, the society of status and the society of contract. And there are many other concepts which have reference to the same essential contrast of ideal types. The essential value of employing the Tönnies concepts, or the Durkheim concepts, in the study of rural American societies lies in the fact that they require that these societies be placed in relation to other societies so as to illuminate major differences and to lead to the definition of significant problems.

The anthropologist may make a contribution toward the development of understanding of society by formulating the ideal society which, according to the guidance of these antithetical concepts, lies at one hand of the bipolar continuum. The rural sociologist might then in part measure his subject matter against such an ideal primitive or folk society. Students of any sort of society may by this means be invited to consider special problems as to the interdependence of any two characters among those making up the ideal type.

I have attempted one such formulation of the ideal folk society.¹ A shorter version follows.

"The conception of a 'primitive society'

¹Robert Redfield, *La Sociedad Folk*, Revista Mexicana de Sociología, Vol. IV, No. 4, October-December, 1942.

which we ought to form," wrote Sumner, "is that of small groups scattered over a territory." The folk society is a small society. It includes within it no more people than can know each other well. It is also an isolated and a homogeneous society. An aspect of this isolation is the absence of books and writing as means to communicate with other times and with other peoples. The members of the society have a strong sense of belonging together: the group which an outsider might recognize as composed of similar persons different from members of other groups is also the group of people who feel strongly their identification with one another and their difference from outsiders. Technology is simple, and the division of labor correspondingly so: aside from the division of function between the sexes there is little other division of labor. So the folk society is a group economically independent of other groups.

These considerations are familiar and preliminary. They might be summarized by saying that the folk society is a little world off by itself in which the recurrent problems of life are met by all its members in much the same way. It now needs to be emphasized that in such a society the ways in which problems are met are conventionalized as a result of long intercommunication within the group in the face of these problems, and that these ways have become interrelated with one another so that they constitute a coherent and self-consistent system. This is what we mean by "a culture." The society is to be described and distinguished from others largely by presenting this system. Thus it is not enough to say that in the folk society conventional behavior is strongly patterned; we must also say that these patterns are interrelated, in thought and action, so that one tends to evoke others, and to be consistent with the others. We may add to this that the more remote ends of living are taken as given. The folk society exists not so much in the exchange of useful functions as in common understandings as to the ends given. In the trite phrase the folk society has a "design for living."

Moreover what is done in the folk society

is done not because somebody decided that it should be done, but because it seems "necessarily" to flow from the very nature of things. Correspondingly there is little disposition to reflect upon traditional acts and to consider them objectively and critically. Behavior is spontaneous, traditional and uncritical. As men act with reference to one another by understandings which are tacit and traditional, there are no formal agreements. The right and duties of individuals flow from their positions in a customary system of relationships, not from special undertakings. Institutions are "crescive," not "enacted." Legislation has no place, still less jurisprudence. Knowledge is unsystematized; there is no science.

Behavior is personal, not impersonal. All human beings are treated as persons, not as things, and much in nature that is not human is regarded as if it had personal attributes; the motives and sentiments of the individual are projected into all objects with which he comes in contact. Relations in the society are not merely personal; they are familial. The kinship connections provide a pattern in terms of which all personal relations are conventionalized and categorized. Special sorts of behavior are expectable from certain categories of kinsmen. There is a disposition to extend the patterns of kinship outward from those genealogically connected with the individual to all with whom he comes into sympathetic contact. The folk group is a body of relatives. There is strong solidarity within smaller familial groups, and it seems to be the family group rather than the individual that acts and is acted upon.

In the well-known language of Sumner, the ways of life are folkways; further, the folkways tend to be mores. The value of traditional acts and objects is something which, it is felt, should not be questioned. The folk society is a sacred society. The sacredness of objects is apparent in the ways in which the object is hedged about with restraints that keep it from the commonplace and the matter-of-fact. There are abundant taboos, and rituals are sacred rituals. All activities, even the work of production, are ends in themselves, activities

expressive of the more remote values of the society.

As there is little or no systematic and reflective thinking, the customary solutions to problems of practical action only imperfectly take the form of really effective and understood control of the means appropriate to accomplish the desired end; instead they tend to express the states of mind of the individuals who desire the end: there is much magic in the folk society.

Within the ideal folk society its members are bound by religious and kinship ties, and there is no place for the motive of commercial gain. There is no money and nothing is measured by such a measure of value. The distribution of goods and services tends to be an aspect of the conventional and personal relationships of status which make up the structure of the society: goods are exchanged as expressions of good will, and in large part as incidents of ceremonial and ritual activities.

Such a characterization of an ideal folk society (with which, of course, no real society precisely corresponds) results from a re-statement of the conceptions of Durkheim, Tönnies and Maine, in the light com-

ing from consideration of the real primitive societies. It is less generalized and abstract than any of the sets of concepts. It may help the making of comparisons of particular rural societies with one another, with primitive society and with metropolitan urban society. It may suggest some special problems: What are the interconnections between the increasing division of labor and secularization? Between the decline of the family relative to the individual on the one hand and commercialization on the other? Under what circumstances, such as the Amish exemplify, may a rural society maintain a local culture, strongly sacred, with commercial farming? And so on. It is not suggested that these problems never occurred before to rural sociologists. They are quite familiar with them. It is merely suggested that by the use of concepts such as Tönnies gave us, one is encouraged to study rural communities in the light of primitive and modern urban communities, and so to enlarge the significance of what is studied and concluded.

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FARM LABOR LEGISLATION PROPOSED BY THE SENATE "CIVIL LIBERTIES" COMMITTEE

Students of farm labor in the United States may well rejoice in the voluminous data which have been accumulated in the past three years by two congressional committees; namely, the House Select Committee to investigate migration of citizens, commonly referred to as the Tolan Committee, and the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, which has investigated the "violations of free speech and the rights of labor."

The latter committee has recently issued Parts I, II and III of the summary report of its work to date. The hearings of the sub-committee, consisting of Senators Thomas (Utah), LaFollette (Wisconsin) and Walsh (Massachusetts) amassed 75

volumes of testimony on all phases of the general subject, including farm labor. Part III of the summary report is entitled "The Disadvantaged Status of Unorganized Labor in California's Industrialized Agriculture."¹ It summarizes the general condition of labor in California's "large-scale" farming, reviews the history of attempts of labor, on the one hand, to improve its condition through organization and collective bargaining; and the efforts of employers, on the other hand, to frustrate labor's efforts. Finally, the committee makes definite recommendations for governmental action to protect the rights of labor.

¹Senate Report No. 1150; Part III, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, pp. 253.

Before giving details regarding this report, which is unmistakably one of the most important documents in the annals of labor to appear in this country, it is significant to note that on the voluminous and often spectacular revelations of the Hearings, there was only the most meager recognition in the public press. It is not too much to say, that the American public is almost totally unaware of the Hearings or of the reports and recommendations of the Committee. Because the farm laborers themselves are the least articulate and most unorganized occupational group in our society, the work of this Committee may come to naught unless nuclei of interested persons can bring their influence to bear in its behalf. Even the large labor organizations of the country have manifested only intermittent interest in the problem of farm workers. True, the problem of effecting organization among them presents almost overwhelming difficulties; but, at the same time, it is highly important that some means be found by which this group can become articulate, and make its own contribution to the solution of its problem. As it is, such amelioration as may come must be the result largely of the benevolent interest of individuals, in Congress and out. The democratic process presupposes that the laborers themselves share effectively in making the decisions which affect them so vitally.

The picture which the committee portrays of California agriculture is already familiar to those who have interested themselves in farm labor. It is characterized by a highly centralized control of the entrepreneurial function, to a considerable extent in the hands of corporations primarily interested in marketing and processing. The main products are fruit and vegetables, requiring large numbers of seasonal workers, particularly in the harvesting operations. Since these products are highly perishable, the time limit on the harvest is short, and the necessity of having adequate labor supplies at the right time and place, is especially acute. This "vulnerability" of industrialized agriculture creates a highly sensitive situation for the employer, and in his

anxiety to make certain of an adequate labor supply, he has broadcast appeals widely for labor, a device which in recent years at least has resulted in "over-recruitment" with its well-known tragic consequences in unemployment and destitution. The fact that there exists no organized farm labor market, has left the growers with no alternative method of satisfying their requirements. Moreover, because of the perishability of the commodities involved, the growers have been highly vulnerable to labor strikes. The possibility that laborers might call a strike during the critical harvest season, hangs menacingly above their heads. Their anxiety deriving from this hazard has led them to strive to prevent the organization of unions, and to keep out of the ranks of the laborers anyone who might assume leadership. Such individuals are labelled "agitators," and by various tactics are "discouraged" from any activity. Thus we have the basis for social conflict between two interest groups, both inter-dependent, and with a common interest in agricultural production.

The description given by the report of the techniques of industrial warfare carried on by both groups, constitute highly important information for the sociologist interested in the social process of conflict. It is not too much to say that it is the best material available anywhere on this phase of rural conflict. The behavior of the two groups in attempting to achieve their ends is described, step by step. But almost invariably the conflict is resolved by the ascendancy of the employer group, and the suppression of the laborers. In the words of the report:

"It is an historical fact that the civil rights of agricultural laborers in that state (California) have never been successfully exercised despite a long record of unrest, misery, and repression." In other words, it has never yet been possible to resolve the conflict by collective agreements between employer and employee. The two groups do not meet for joint discussion and peaceful settlement of disputes.

The recommendations of the committee

are that legislation be enacted to the following purposes:

1. Protection of the rights of agricultural workers to organize and bargain collectively.
2. The decasualization, organization and protection of the agricultural labor market.
3. Regulation of private recruiting of agricultural labor, interstate and intrastate.
4. Regulation of child labor in agriculture.
5. Amendment of existing legislation to extend the benefits of the social security act, and wages and hours act to farm labor.
6. Establishment of machinery for determining wages.
7. The improvement of housing and health facilities of farm workers.
8. Adoption of public policies looking toward "full employment" not only of farm wage workers, but small subsistence farmers as well, and provision for resettlement of surplus or under-employed farm people on reclamation projects.

Since the publication of this report, five bills have been introduced in Congress by

Senators LaFollette and Thomas, which are designed to implement most of these recommendations.

It is of great importance to the future of agriculture, especially in its "industrialized" aspects, that these measures be carefully considered, and long-time policies be set up. Are these proposed measures the most desirable? Are there alternatives which should be considered? Is the kind of legislation which we have adopted for non-farm workers the most appropriate type for farm workers? (Present proposals largely assume such to be the case.) Could we develop a system—comparable to that in England—whereby the wage-worker has certain rights to land occupancy, akin to those of a tenant? Certainly, it is unthinkable that we allow conditions of the past to go on indefinitely. Public policies are in the making, and the best thought of the rural leadership of the country should be brought to bear on the question to see that the best possible measures are adopted.

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SIZE OF FARM FAMILY IN RELATION TO HOMOGENEITY OF PARENTAL TRAITS¹

Several years ago W. C. McKain, Jr., and N. L. Whetten reported the results of an investigation into the relation between size of family and homogeneity of parental traits.¹ The study was based on data from two field surveys made in Connecticut, one conducted in a suburban area and the other in a rural part-time farming area. The inquiry indicated that insofar as these groups were concerned there was a positive correlation between the homogeneity of parents, as measured by the number of common traits, and size of family. The present

paper is a summary of an investigation made to test this conclusion on a sample of the Oklahoma rural-farm population.

The study is based on information obtained by means of a field survey made in 1938 for the purpose of studying the social correlates of farm tenure status. The survey was conducted in four Oklahoma counties which were selected to represent the farm population of the State.² Only those

¹For a further discussion of the criteria used for the selection of the sampling area, the sampling procedure, and the representativeness of the sample, see William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Okla. Agri. Exp. Sta. Technical Bull. No. 9 (April, 1940), pp. 21-26.

²Published as a contribution of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.

³"The Size of Family in Relation to Homogeneity of Parental Traits," *Rural Sociology* 1 (March 1936), 20-28.

schedules on unbroken families which contained complete information on all the characteristics studied were used. The total number of schedules meeting these requirements was 797.

The parental traits studied were residential background, age, religion, and education. The basic difference between this list and that used by McKain and Whetten is that national origin is not included in this study. The reason for this is that less than one percent of the persons upon whom data were available were foreign born. The definitions followed in determining these factors were the same as those employed by McKain and Whetten except that for "residential background" and "religion" slight modifications were made to fit the data.

1. *Residential background.* The residential background of the subjects before marriage was not available directly from the schedule. However, the usual occupation of the father of each was given and from this the residential background was inferred.³ Thus, if the usual occupation of the father was agricultural, the person was considered to have had a rural background. Conversely, if the occupation of the fathers was one which is usually followed in urban communities, the person was classified as nonrural. Then, if both the husband and wife had rural backgrounds or both had urban backgrounds, they were considered alike in this characteristic. If the background of one was rural and the other was urban, they were considered to be unlike.

2. *Age.* The couples were considered to be unlike in age if the husband was younger than the wife or if he was more than seven years older.

3. *Religious affiliation.* Religious affiliations were divided into the major denominations of the Protestant religion common in this area: Baptist, Methodist, Christian, Presbyterian, Church of Christ, Nazarene,

etc.⁴ Followers of the Catholic and Jewish faiths also were considered as distinct religious groups. When the husband belonged to one of these religious groups and the wife to another, they were considered to be unlike in this trait. Also if one of the two belonged to a religious group and the other did not belong to any religious group, they were considered to be unlike in their religious affiliation. If both the husband and wife belonged to the same religious group or if neither belonged to any religious group, they were considered to be alike.

4. *Education.* If the husband and wife had received within three years of the same amount of formal schooling they were considered to possess this trait in common.

In the statistical analysis of the data, the method used by McKain and Whetten was followed closely. The only exception was that measures of variation were used so that the statistical significance of the differences noted could be determined. The procedure consisted of the following steps: First, all schedules were classified according to the number of parental traits held in common. Second, the mean number of children per family and the standard errors of these means were computed for each of the above classes. Third, the differences between the successive classes and their standard errors were computed and the ratio between them (the critical ratio) was determined to discover the reliability of the observed differences.⁵

To conserve space, only the means are given here. These are shown in the column headed "total" in table I. From this it is apparent that the general trend is for the

³McKain and Whetten did not consider a husband and wife who belonged to different denominations as being unlike in this characteristic. However, differences in denomination are emphasized in this area and are often a source of emotional conflict between husband and wife.

⁵The formulas for the standard error of a mean and the critical ratio are given in all recent statistics texts. For an excellent discussion of the significance of differences, illustrated with sociological data, see Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: 1941), Ch. 17.

⁴Even though this method of determining the residential background was the only one possible in light of the information available and is subject to some question, it is perhaps a better index than is place of birth (used by McKain and Whetten).

average number of children per family to increase with the number of traits possessed in common by the parents. The average number of children for the whole group is 3.72 and ranges from 3.29 for those couples possessing either one or no traits in common to 3.80 for those having all four traits in common. However, the differences between the successive groups are not great and not even the difference between the extreme groups is great enough to be statistically significant.⁶ McKain and Whetten in their study found the same trend but a smaller average size of family and more marked differences. However, it seems doubtful that many of the differences they observed could have met the statistical tests of significance had they been made. In general the results of our analysis thus far, while they do not disprove the claim that there is a relationship between size of family and parental similarity, do make the claim questionable. However, before dwelling on this point we will turn to the analysis of the effect of age of wife on the findings.

the fact that in recent years there may have been a trend toward marriage of persons having different characteristics. Another advantage in holding this factor constant is that it makes possible comparison of groups in different phases of family development. Thus, in the breakdown employed in this analysis, families in which the wife is under 30 will ordinarily have most of their children in the age group under 10 years, those in which the wife is 31-43 will be composed of grade school and high school ages, and finally those 44 and over will have ceased having children and the family will be entering the phase of family dissolution.

When the families were classified into these three age groups, still holding constant parental characteristics, it will be observed from the table that the mean size of family again tends to follow the same trend, i.e., it is largest for those couples with the most traits in common, regardless of the age group. Moreover the trend is somewhat more pronounced than when the groups were undivided. However, the

TABLE I. AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF COMMON PARENTAL TRAITS

Number of traits in common	Total		Age of wives (in years)					
			30 or less		31-43		44 and over	
	Number of families	Average number of children	Number of families	Average number of children	Number of families	Average number of children	Number of families	Average number of children
0 or 1	45	3.29	9	1.11	14	2.50	22	4.68
2	148	3.57	43	1.93	41	3.39	64	4.78
3	307	3.80	105	2.06	101	3.94	101	5.48
4	297	3.78	105	1.97	96	3.91	96	5.63
Total	797	3.72	262	1.97	252	3.76	283	5.31

The effect of lumping together all of the couples regardless of the length of time they have been married may have the effect of canceling out differences which would stand out in bolder contrast if this factor were controlled. This is possible because of

tendency for the number of children to increase is less true for the two younger groups than for the oldest family group. In the case of the families in which the wife is 30 years of age or less, only the differences between those couples with one or no traits in common and those with two, three, or four, are statistically significant. The same is true for the group in which the wives are 31-43 years of age. However, for the group

⁶The critical ratios are less than the usual standard (2.0) for significance in samples of this size.

44 and over, the families in which the parents have one or no similar traits have significantly fewer children than those in which the parents have three or four common traits. Likewise those with two common traits have significantly fewer children than those with three or four common traits.⁷ The fact that there are statistically significant differences in the case of the oldest families is of considerable importance to the general hypothesis, since this group represents completed families whose effective fertility has ceased and therefore the full influence of differences in parental characteristics has been exerted completely.

From the analysis of the Oklahoma data it appears that when age of wife is controlled there is a direct relationship between the number of common parental traits and the average number of children

The differences between the two low groups themselves and those between the two high groups are not significant.

born to farm families. This is in keeping with the conclusion of McKain and Whetten for the groups they studied. However, the validity of the hypothesis has not been demonstrated completely either by their results or the findings of this study. Certainly the relationship is by no means high when the rather small and usually non-significant differences between the successive groups are considered. Probably more rigorous definition of the traits studied and the use of additional factors, such as socioeconomic background, characteristics of parental family, and personality traits, will be necessary before a more satisfactory conclusion can be reached concerning the relationship between homogeneity of parental traits and fertility.

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SMALL FARMERS SHARE FARM TOOLS

War rationing of farm machinery in the Pacific Northwest, along with the rest of the United States, is now an actuality. Authority to ration farm machinery was delegated by the War Production Board to the Office of Price Administration which in turn re-delegated the authority to the Secretary of Agriculture. Secretary Claude Wickard, on September 17 then ordered the State and County USDA War Boards to set up County Rationing Committees.

All this has been done in the Pacific Northwest. County Rationing Committees are now at work. Farmers, desiring to purchase farm machines which are scarce and contain war-critical metals, must first obtain permission from their County Rationing Committees. This means the acceptance by many farmers of new patterns of economic behavior, attitudes, and habits. It means, in reality, widespread acceptance of the cooperative and joint-use principle in sharing available farm equipment.

Small farmers in the Pacific Northwest, however, have learned during peace time the many advantages which accrue from sharing farm equipment. They are willing and anxious to support the new rationing order; for they know that it is a sound method to insure a fair distribution of available machinery. Even now there are approximately 1,800 joint-owned services operating in the region. All of the services have been established with the technical assistance of County Farm Security Administration Supervisors.

These FSA sponsored joint-services are of all types and kinds. Two small farmers in one county, raising about 25 acres of grain each, lived in a rural community where it was difficult to hire a combine or threshing machine when needed. They decided to purchase a second-hand machine and take turns using it. Total cost was \$110; but the cost to each operator was \$55.

In another county recently a group of 5

small farmers helped themselves by helping each other. They pooled their funds and purchased a grain and grass seed drill. Not only did they economize on machinery in War time, but they also saved funds. Total cost was \$220; but the cost to each operator was \$44.

These joint-use services, and hundreds like them, have permitted the small farmers to utilize modern equipment and yet keep their initial investment low. More important at the present, they are serving as one of several methods to help small farmers contribute directly to the Food for Freedom program. Many different kinds of equipment co-ops are being established, including joint-use of tractors; hay chopping mills; manure spreaders; irrigation pumps; plows; hay rakes; harrows; land levelers; corrugators; cultivators; etc. Farm equipment repair centers are also being developed.

Co-ops for small farmers are not limited solely to farm equipment. Others are pure-bred sires; farm trucks; fruit packing sheds; sheep grazing land; slaughter

houses, etc. All are designed to permit small farmers to pool their resources so that their mutual effort will make a substantial contribution to the all-out War program.

In conclusion, it is well to remember that small farmers play an important role in the Pacific Northwest agricultural economy. According to the 1940 U. S. Census, there are 187,178 farms in the region. Of this total approximately 43 percent received under \$600 gross annual income. Some of these small farmers have deserted their farms in response to the lure of high industrial wages. But thousands of them remain, toiling to produce the food and fibre which will go to win the War and write the peace.

It is for this mighty army of *under-employed* small farmers that the community and cooperative services program of Farm Security is designed. It has a real War function. Not only is it facilitating the spreading of scarce farm machinery, but it is also helping thousands of "little men" to feel that they have a tangible part in smashing the Axis.

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Farm Security Administration.

AN OBSTACLE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY

Among the thousands of letters concerned with topics of special interest to rural people received by the writer during the past few years from residents of Michigan farms and small towns, only six have made any mention of the matter of farm odors, even by definite implication. There is good reason to believe, however, that it is a subject of concern of far greater importance to rural people than the small space it has taken in the correspondence would indicate.

Quotations from each of the six letters will be presented, along with certain comments. These will be followed by some general discussion of farm-village relations suggested by the quoted statements.

1. "It has been my experience that the city lady thinks the farm woman smells

of cows and doesn't want anything to do with her."

This writer is active in farm neighborhood affairs, especially those related to the school. The "city" women whom she has in mind are urban-type village residents, of whom there have been increasing numbers during the past few years. In the words of one correspondent, "Due to the villages being closer to the cities because of wonderful roads, city folks—lots of them—move to the villages. In this way, everyone is made strange to everyone else, with the exception of certain groups."

2. "Very often the farm woman is shy of the town or city groups because she feels inferior. Her nails are shabby and she wonders about that much-talked-of 'farm odor,' and she can't be herself. But

never does she feel that way about the village groups. These women in the villages are neither farmers' wives nor city slickers; and secretly the farmer's wife often feels sorry for the women in the village, and for that reason can go ahead and be a leader."

This farm woman was formerly a city teacher. The villages near which she lives are very small, and are decidedly rural in make-up.

3. "A town woman can very nearly complete her toilet for the evening before the evening meal and be ready for an evening out soon after. But after I come from the barn and milking and have wrestled with the supper dishes and milk utensils, I hardly have the energy left to go through with the extensive toilettries it would take to make me presentable."

This farmer's wife apparently doesn't consider herself at all inferior to the women of the town. It simply is too much of a burden to make the requisite effort to put herself upon a basis of congeniality with the town women.

4. "The thing that distresses me most (and I have not used too strong a word) is the tendency of some farmers to drop in on errands or to go to the village to shop dressed just as they come from the barns and their chores. We have to air out the whole house after a five minute visit, and their presence is hard to endure. I have heard the merchants complain about this also."

While this woman lives in the open country, she and her husband are not farmers. Her neighbors probably consider them to be "city people." She and her husband are not of the "aloof" sort, as are many nonfarm families whose homes are in the country. The neighbors whose calls she finds "hard to endure" are quite certainly entirely unaware of the true situation. Their own houses and the occupants "endure" as a matter of course all farm odors that come their way.

5. "In my extension classes, I always tell the women to make their husbands leave their dirty, smelly overalls behind when they are their escorts to town."

It is quite certain that this energetic leader among farm women is only partially successful in attaining even her somewhat limited objectives for the women in her classes.

6. "Our boy welcomes vacation because he 'doesn't have to think' and is glad when school starts because he 'sees the fellows more and doesn't smell horsey all the time.'"

Many farm boys do as much work in the barn during the school year as at any other time. Sometimes "city children" in the village schools object to being thrown into close contact with those from the farms.

The following quoted statement is taken from a recent class paper written by a girl from a farm family who has lived for some years in town: "Stable odors are sometimes extremely unpleasant to those who are not used to them. I have heard several town women object to the attendance of farm people at their churches on this account." Another student writing of the five churches in her home village says, "Three are not too anxious to have farmers become a part of their congregations."

Occupations other than farming have their distinctive odors which are fully as offensive to those not habituated to them. In fact, it would seem that there is something to be said for the animal smells of the country as contrasted with some odors that are distinctively urban. The fact remains, however, as indicated by the quoted statements, that they are a hindrance to the development of truly cordial community relations between farmers and townspeople. In any thoroughgoing study of rural community relations, they must be taken into account along with various other imponderables.

If farming were carried on by individual members of families, instead of whole families, as most urban occupations are, and if the farming occupation were as distinct from the farm home life as most urban occupations are from the home life of those who are in engaged in them, then the farm occupational odors would not assume the importance that they do now in the matter of social relations. Farm wives and chil-

dren are, in general, as truly members of the occupational work unit as are husbands and fathers. Women and children as well as men bear the marks of their occupation in their clothing and upon their bodies. There is no separate home life that can guard itself against occupational intrusions. This fact is bound to be sensed by city-type people of the villages. Urbanized women and children viewing women and children of the

farms from the vantage point of their own relative freedom from family occupational controls and marks or labels are likely to assume attitudes of superiority toward the latter. It is not merely the desire to avoid contact with unpleasant odors. It is a feeling of difference between two ways of life.

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CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited by Conrad Taeuber**

CULTURE OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN RURAL COMMUNITIES

"El Cerrito, New Mexico," by Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, pp. 72 (Sept. 1941).

"Landaff, New Hampshire," by Kenneth McLeish and Kimball Young, pp. 117, (April 1942).

"The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," by Walter M. Kollmorgen, pp. 105 (Sept. 1942).

"Sublette, Kansas," by Earl H. Bell, pp. 113 (Sept. 1942).

Published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. (Processed)

These four published reports are part of a series of six rural community studies projected by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, the general purpose of which was apparently the description of rural culture under varying conditions of stability or instability. In none of the publications is the purpose explicitly stated, although the objective is implied in the following quotation for a foreword, to three of the four publications under review, by Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, who initiated the studies:

"The communities selected for study—

El Cerrito, N. Mex.; Sublette, Kans.; Irwin, Iowa; The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pa.; Landaff, N. Y.; and Harmony, Ga.—were not selected in an attempt to obtain a geographic sampling of contemporary rural communities in the United States, but as samples of, or points on, a continuum from high community stability, to great instability. At one end of the continuum, an Amish community in Lancaster County, Penn., was selected. At the other end, a "Dust Bowl" community in Kansas was chosen. The other four communities range themselves between these extremes."

Again as to method of study, there is no explicit statement in the documents themselves, but in the foreword Dr. Taylor explains that the communities "were studied contemporaneously by six different participant observers or field workers during the year 1940. Each study was sufficiently independent of the other five to make separate treatment and publication desirable, but the reader will gain full understanding of the findings only when he has read the reports of the six studies as a group." And, of course, the reports themselves indicate the general method employed, namely that of the participant observer and informal interview. The interviewers frequently recorded *verbatim* responses of informants, many of which are included in the text. The

* Assisted by Elsie S. Manny, Ralph R. Nichols, Josiah C. Folsom, Margaret J. Hagood, and Earl H. Bell.

interviews are supplemented by such social and economic data as can be gleaned from U. S. Census and other sources.

The reports all follow a rather set outline, under the following major headings (slightly modified in some of the studies): Identification and Characterization of the Community; History and Background of the Settlement; Making a Living; Community Organization and Values; The Farmers Expanding World; and Integration and Disintegration in Community and Individual Life. El Cerrito and the Amish reports are rather generously and effectively illustrated with photographs. The outline appears to have been faulty in that some categories are not mutually exclusive; a fact which has given rise to a great deal of repetition in textual matter.

While the contents are treated under a common system of categories they constitute descriptions of communities widely divergent in many characteristics. Two of them (El Cerrito and the Amish Community) deal with groups which might well be classified as "cultural islands," although the differences between them are very great. The other two reports deal in the one case (Landaff) an old American community, and in the other (Haskell) with one which is relatively new.

In view of the fact that the implied hypothesis underlying these studies apparently involves the demonstration of qualities of stability and instability and their correlatives, a reviewer might logically be expected to orient his comments accordingly. But this is impossible in view of the absence of any explicit statement of the hypothesis and of definition of the terms as used in the study. For example, Dr. Taylor states that the Amish were chosen as representing the most stable of the six communities, while Haskell County was chosen as the most unstable. Yet it could be argued that from the standpoint of tenacity in the face of great odds in the form of extremely adverse physical conditions, Haskell shows remarkable stability. The same can be said perhaps even more truly of El Cerrito. In fact, the communities seem to differ more on many other factors than they do on

stability. So like so many other concepts in social science, that of "stability" requires careful definition before it can be used effectively as a tool in research.

By way of general comments on the project, one who reads carefully the individual report is impressed with the importance of recognizing the fact of heterogeneity in community types in this country. When we speak of "the rural community" in America, the phrase inevitably connotes a uniformity which in reality does not exist. Yet it is vitally important, practically as well as theoretically, to know the similarities and especially the differences that exist. I stress the differences because of the obvious implications they hold for the development and implementation of action programs. Such considerations are especially important in time of crisis when "mobilization" of effort is crucial, but they are no less important for times of peace.

The studies as a whole are extremely valuable in revealing the social changes that are taking place in American rural society, involving such items as the use of the land, and the relation of the people to it; the modifications over time in the institutions of the community; and above all, the differential responses of communities of various types to the geographic environments and to the changes immanent in the "Great Society."

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

RURAL YOUTH

*The rural youth of Ross County, Ohio: Their level of living and social achievement*¹ is the fourth of a series of bulletins presenting the findings of the Ross County Rural Youth Survey made in 1940 in which 1,602 rural youths between 18 and 27 years of age were interviewed. Previous bulletins in the series have presented information on the youths with respect to their Education and Training; Home, Family and Community Life; and Employment and Occu-

¹A. R. Mangus and Robert L. McNamara. *The rural youth of Ross County, Ohio: Their level of living and social achievement*. Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 635. 27 pp. Wooster, Oct. 1942.

pation. The authors begin with the assumption that differences in levels of living arising from differences in wealth and income of their parents are responsible for the youths' unequal opportunities and their unequal chances of satisfactory achievement of desirable goals. By the use of a simple measure of level of living the informants are classified into four groups: "more advantaged," "less advantaged," "disadvantaged," and "greatly disadvantaged." Their achievements and attainments in education, health, employment, home, family, community living and personal adjustment are then related to these. The findings indicate the need and support the recommendations for equalization of educational opportunity, maintenance of full employment, adequate public health, medical, and recreational programs and equalization of the economic burden of child rearing.

Occupations of Washington youth *six months after commencement*² are influenced largely by socio-economic conditions, cultural background, and sex, according to a recent report from the Washington Agricultural Experiment Station. The highest proportion of youth go to college during a time of normal business activity. Post-graduate work in high schools was pronounced in the depression period. Because of the war emergency, many teen-age girls have secured employment and others are taking specialized training after high school graduation. In the 1941 graduating class, more of the boys began work in the cities, fewer work on farms than in any previous year. Youth in urban areas are twice as likely to attend college as the youth in rural areas. A higher proportion of girls from rural high schools than from other schools attend business college. The excess of girls over boys graduating from high school is much greater in rural than in urban communi-

ties. After high school more girls than boys continue their education in some type of school but in both rural and urban areas more boys than girls go to institutions of higher learning the year after high school graduation.

*Facts about rural youth in Ward County, North Dakota*³ were obtained by contacting everyone, 17-29 years of age, living in four townships in May 1941. By April 1942, 23 of the 117 previously interviewed had left the area. There was a loss of almost one-third of those graduating from the eighth grade during the period 1924-1938. The majority of these had gone to the cities to live. More than one-half of those remaining on farms were living with their parents. Over 50 percent of the young people out of school indicated an interest in more education, particularly training in trades, agriculture and home economics. Community needs of the rural young people were ranked as follows: "(1) More opportunities to get started in farming, (2) More social activities, (3) More adequate community meeting place, (4) More adequate vocational guidance and counselling, (5) More community emphasis on religious matters."

*Will we help youth preserve democracy?*⁴ analyzes the data from 732 schedules taken in two towns in Colorado, in addition to furnishing information on changes in youth population, the employment situation, farming opportunities, educational status and social participation. It has the further purpose of interpreting the data in the light of what is happening to youth and to the institutional structure of the community, evaluating these trends in terms of the assumptions upon which democracy are based, and pointing to the direction of change needed in our institutional structure in order to help youth satisfy its basic needs. Its read-

²Paul H. Landis. *Six months after commencement*. An analysis of the occupational roles of 133,651 graduates from Washington high schools, classes of 1934 through 1941. Youth Series, No. 1, Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 420. 31 pp. Pullman, Sept. 1942.

³North Dakota Agr. Expt. Sta. and Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. *Facts about rural youth in Ward County, North Dakota and questions for discussion of these facts*. 15 pp. Fargo, Nov. 10, 1942.

⁴R. W. Roskelley and others. *Will we help youth preserve democracy?* Colo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 473. 47 pp. In cooperation with WPA. Fort Collins, Oct. 1942.

ability and usefulness is augmented by an unusual method of presentation, in which the "Aspects" of a subject contain the statistical and graphic material followed by the "Implications" which discuss the significance and interpretative comment. These are further implemented by a concluding section which suggests and outlines actual projects which may be carried out by local community leaders and planning groups.

FARM LABOR

A nation-wide farm labor survey⁶ in which 6,100 farmers in 567 counties were interviewed, indicated that about 381,000 farm operators or managers and 1,234,000 farm family workers and year-round hired workers entered industry or the armed forces between September 1941 and September 1942. Of this number 694,000 farmers and farm workers entered the armed forces and 921,000 took nonfarm jobs; since 224,000 of the latter continued to live on the farm, they may be available for part-time farm work. No information was secured as to the losses of workers hired for short periods or seasonal hired workers. According to current estimates, there are about the same number of workers on farms in September of this year as in September 1941, but the composition of farm workers changed—the number of men, 18 to 44 years of age, decreased 10 percent in the past year. They were replaced by older men, women, young people, and children. This replacement is not equal to losses in all sections. The larger farm units, in general, are able to secure workers more readily than the smaller farms. Although farmers expected further losses of manpower, 67 percent planned to handle as large a crop and livestock program in 1943 as in 1942. The highest proportion of these were on small farms; over half of the farmers operating units of 500 acres or more said that they expected to reduce operations next year. The majority of farmers thought that their production of every class of livestock would increase in 1943.

⁶U. S. Dept. of Agr. *The agricultural manpower situation*. 13 pp. Washington, D. C., Nov. 1942.

*Migratory beet workers in Michigan*⁸ is a study of sugar beet labor in 28 of 46 Michigan counties growing the beets. The extent and seriousness of economic and social problems centering around sugar beet laborers in the State are indicated by the following facts: 4 out of 5 beet growers hire hand labor on the crops; 12,000 beet workers are ordinarily employed; 7,000 are migrants; 8,000 are Mexicans, largely from Texas; beet acreages assigned workers are considerably below their ability to handle; average individual earnings for the 6-month beet season are low; there is little additional opportunity to earn more at other work. The bulletin gives excellent outlines of methods of recruiting laborers in Texas, and of giving them health examination there by Michigan authorities; of methods of transportation to Michigan, of sugar beet field work; of the role of sugar company fieldmen; of housing conditions. Compliance with the child labor restrictions of the Sugar Act of 1937 is stated to be increasing. A gratifying improvement in transportation methods by shift from truck to truck from Texas to Michigan in the last 2 years is reported. As in other areas, Michigan farmers like Mexican labor for its availability, dependability, willingness to take orders, to work for low wages and under difficult conditions. This attitude results in hardship for the beet laborers, and their later need for assistance, amounting to subsidy of the industry. The work of official and unofficial welfare agencies, in behalf of sugar beet laborers is outlined—educational, recreational, religious, public relief. The writer makes a number of practical recommendations for improvement of relations between beet growers and laborers and of the laborers' economic and social situations.

*The farm labor situation in Ohio*⁷ gives an appraisal of the State's farm labor sit-

⁸J. F. Thaden. *Migratory beet workers in Michigan*. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Special Bul. 319. 47 pp. East Lansing, Sept. 1942.

⁷Univ. of Ohio and Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. *The farm labor situation in Ohio*. Dept. of Rur. Econ. and Rur. Socio. Mimeo. Bul. 157. 31 pp. Columbus, Dec. 1942.

uation in 1942 and a forecast of the wartime problems of 1943. Loss of manpower to armed forces and industry in 1942 and prospective losses in 1943 have raised critical problems, notably replacement of labor from unusual sources, and housing for the families of married men—who now make up an enlarged proportion of available full-time labor. Recommendations include some for these and other problems, for increased contacts between farmers and the U. S. Employment Service and improvement of its service, increased recruiting of labor from school children, nonfarm people, nonfarm women, out-of-State labor, better advance planning and forecasting of labor needs by farmers. Better utilization of labor (including operators) on small farms is desirable, together with maximum use of available labor.

PART-TIME FARMING

Part-time farming has been a controversial subject. Its advocates have presented it as the best means of preserving rural values and obtaining security for individual workers. Its opponents have pictured it as a threat to profitable full-time farming. In *Satellite Acres*⁸ the agricultural practices and the division of labor between agricultural and nonagricultural work of 1,100 "rurban" households are examined. The locale is Rhode Island where many decentralized industries, type of industry, and geography have combined to make part-time farming more common than in other areas. The material is lucidly presented by text and graphics. Especially commendable are the succinct summary statements. The aim of the study, "to ascertain in what particulars the conventional patterns of commercial farming and rural living are modified by the excitation of urban influence," is achieved from the economic aspect. Another and equally thorough report devoted to the sociological and psy-

chological aspects of "rurban" life would round out the picture.

*Part-time farming in Columbiana County, Ohio*⁹ was considered satisfactory by the majority of the operators of farms of 10 acres or more interviewed late in 1941. Specific difficulties were long and irregular working hours and inability to secure help when needed. Forty-three percent of all part-time operators were formerly full-time farmers and 46 percent formerly had lived in town. Many began work off their farm because it was not yielding enough income. The majority moved from town because they preferred the country or sought to live cheaper with more security from the lack of steady work in town. Size of farm and extent of farming were found to have little relation to home facilities ratings or regular employment of operator off the farm. "Part-time farms of 10 acres or more which were proving generally satisfactory to the operator had approximately 20 to 25 acres of productive cropland, with about 6 animal units of livestock, and more important, the operator had regular employment off the farm. Farmers living in the poor areas were farther from work, drove the oldest automobiles, and were employed the least number of days per year, averaging 195 days. In the good areas, which were nearest the industries located in the northern sections of the county, the distance to work averaged only 6.5 miles and the average number of days worked was 250 per year."

RURAL HOUSING

*Evaluating rural housing*¹⁰ is a report on a project designed to determine the extent of change in housing conditions in selected communities in which housing in-

⁸W. R. Gordon. *Satellite acres. A study of 1100 households in rural Rhode Island combining agricultural production and nonagricultural employment.* R. I. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 282. 80 pp. Kingston, Mar. 1942.

⁹R. C. Headington and J. I. Falconer. *Part-time farming in three land use areas of Columbiana County, Ohio.* Dept. Rur. Econ. and Rur. Socio. Mimeo. Bul. 152. 25 pp. Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. in cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. Columbus, June 1942.

¹⁰Charles I. Mosier. *Evaluating rural housing.* 88 pp. Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, 1942.

struction has been stressed in schools. The report is concerned with the measurement phase of the project and explains how the houses in selected communities were rated at the beginning of the project. It presents a development of a housing inventory and an index of housing adequacy. One of the unique items of the procedure is the use of a set of photographs as one supplementary source of information. With 25 judges the reliability of housing adequacy as judged from photographs was 0.95. Somewhat lower than the reliability of the more detailed housing inventory, but still high enough to make the photographic scale appear feasible. Correlation between judgments from photographs and the housing index, when corrected for the unreliability of the observed measures, was 0.85. The report includes detailed tables, instructions to raters, and instructions to computers.

POPULATION

A sampling of nearly 4,000 records of workers in war industries and supplementary interview material from 400 migrants provided the data for *Migration to the Seattle labor market area, 1940-1942*.¹¹ Allowance of one nondefense worker for each two defense workers and of one dependent for each migrant worker gave an estimated total of 100,000 to 110,000 migrants into the area from January 1940 through March 1942. The author assumed that other immigrants such as military persons not in Army camps, families of workers going to Alaska, and unemployed migrants would balance the undetermined number of outmigrants during the period, so that his estimate of over 100,000 gross immigrants of workers and their families might be taken as an estimate of the total net immigrants during the period. This increase in population to the Seattle labor market area, which was around 750,000 at the beginning of 1940, was more than two-thirds as great as the increase in the pre-

vious two decades. The monograph contains sections on volume and sources of the migration, on characteristics of the migrants, on factors affecting movement, and on consequences and policy. The finding most relevant to the interest of rural sociologists is that only 10 percent of the migrants worked on farms before moving, although a third of them came from districts largely dependent upon agriculture.

A study of *fifty years of population growth in Washington*¹² shows that in each decade since 1910 there has been a smaller increase for the State as a whole, but a marked difference exists between counties. The irrigated areas in the central part of the State have grown rapidly in population while some of the wheat areas have declined in population. In 1940, more than a third of the total population lived in the three largest cities, more than a fourth in the rural nonfarm areas. Washington's population is aging rapidly because of the increasing proportion of early settlers now reaching old age, and because of the falling birth rate. In 1890 half of the population was in the 20-44 age group, in 1940 only 38.5 percent was in this group. Until the last decade the death rate in the State was lower than that of the Nation but due to the aging population it probably will continue to rise. The low birth rate has been accompanied by a low infant death rate, small families, and a relatively high standard of living. More population has been gained by migration than by natural increase and it is likely that the State will continue for some time to make a net gain through migration.

RURAL COMMUNITIES

A study of *participation in community activities*¹³ of active standard rural rehabilitation families found that one-fourth of the heads and homemakers and about half

¹¹Clark Kerr. *Migration to the Seattle labor market area, 1940-1942*. Univ. of Washington. Publications in The Social Sciences, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 129-188. Univ. of Washington Press, Seattle, Aug. 1942.

¹²Paul H. Landis. *Fifty years of population growth in Washington*. Series in Rural Pop. No. 8. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 419. 47 pp. Pullman, Sept. 1942.

¹³U. S. Dept. Agr., Farm Security Administration. *Community activities of F.S.A. families*. 1941 RR Family Progress Report, Release No. 7, 6 pp. Washington, D. C., Sept. 8, 1942.

of the children took no active part in any community activity in 1941. Church attendance in the southern and some western States gave these sections the highest proportion of family members participating in community activities. Although families with the lowest income were generally the most socially isolated, economic factors are not the only causes to be considered. Failure of the community to accept them as responsible citizens prevent their integration into neighborhood groups. "Rehabilitation into the community includes the attainment of social status, which involves more than a reinforced economic base or more than an increase in the material level of living. . . the job of the supervisor is that of dealing with personal problems of people who have been struck down by adverse conditions, and of overcoming hostile community attitudes toward change in the clients' status."

MISCELLANEOUS

Problems in American life is the general title of a series of publications by the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the National Council for the Social Studies, designed to provide teaching aids on various topics in the social sciences. The units are prepared for teachers and provide information and suggested methods from which to build a teaching unit to be used in a class. For 9 of the 28 units, a subject matter specialist was asked to prepare an analysis of 10 to 15 thousand words and in addition a master teacher prepared teaching aids and pupil activities in terms of pupil behavior. Units 7, 8, and 9 include *The American family, the problems of family relations facing American youth*,¹⁴ with an analysis by Ernest W. Burgess; *Agriculture, Teaching youth about the problems of the farmer and rural America*,¹⁵ with the analysis by Chris L. Christensen and Noble Clark; *Crime,*

The causes and extent of criminal behavior, its prevention and treatment,¹⁶ with the analysis by Thorsten Sellin. Other topics which have been covered in units already available include *Man and His Machines*, *Teaching American Youth How Invention Changes the Modern World*, with analysis by W. F. Ogburn; *Race and Cultural Relations*, *America's Answer to the Myth of a Master Race*, with the analysis by Ruth Benedict. Among those planned are *Urban and Rural Living*, by Louis Wirth and Ray Lussenhop; *Income and Standards of Living*, by Faith Williams and Mary P. Keohane; *Population*, by Frederick Osborn, Frank Lorimer, and Kenneth J. Rehage.

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¹⁴Chris L. Christensen, Noble Clark, and Royce H. Knapp. *Agriculture—Teaching youth about the problems of the farmer and rural America*. 52 pp. Problems in American Life: Unit No. 8. National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1942.

¹⁵Thorsten Sellin and Paul R. Busey. *Crime—The causes and extent of criminal behavior, its prevention and treatment*. 64 pp. Problems in American Life: Unit No. 9. National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1942.

¹⁶Ernest W. Burgess and Joseph C. Baumgartner. *The American family. The problem of family relations facing American youth*. 56 pp. Problems in American Life: Unit No. 7. National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1942.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Reed H. Bradford

Rural Sociology and Social Organization.

By Dwight Sanderson. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942. Pp. xvii + 806. \$4.00.

Beginning by defining "rural sociology" as a science of life in the rural environment and "social organization" as an application of scientific principles to the solution of problems of rural community life, the author stresses the fact that rural sociology must be concerned especially with structure and organization. Rural sociology as a science, he believes, has not developed sufficiently to justify any extensive attempt to consider the functions and processes of human society in the rural setting.

The ultimate aim of social organization being the improvement of rural life, the criterion for evaluating community organization is its effectiveness in ministering to individual welfare, in developing personality, and in integrating group and community life.

After this presentation of the theoretical framework in Part I, Part II is given to a discussion of "Environmental Conditions"—physical and social. Herein is discussed geographic factors, population, population movement, the socio-economic problems and policies of agriculture, and the cultural environment.

Part III deals with rural institutions, groups, and classes. Under biological organization, the family is discussed; under spatial organization, the rural neighborhood, the agricultural village, the rural community, and regions and districts; under institutional organization, the rural church and its problems, the rural school, extension service, libraries and press, rural government, health and public welfare; under interest groups or associations, farmers' organizations and other rural groups and organizations, play and recreational organizations. Under rural classes, there is a discussion of class and caste in rural society.

Part IV is a study of rural social organization in relation to the great society. The emphasis here is on social interaction, social trends and change, town and country relations, rural community organization and on the country life movement and its future. In the appendix the author presents case studies which are cited in the introductory chapter where exercises for the student are based upon them.

At many points the treatment tends to be descriptive and encyclopedic rather than analytical; for example: chapter 14 on regions and chapter 16 on the rural school. This is perhaps not entirely a weakness considering the fact that the book is intended for beginning students, many of whom have had no work in sociology.

In this book more than other rural texts emphasis is placed on institutions springing from "organized social movements. Somewhat less than the usual attention is given to specific social problems. Its special appeal will be to those who wish to stress community activities, community organizations and rural movements not ordinarily given much space in rural textbooks. Chapter 17, for example, dealing with the origin, history, functions and problems of the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics should be required reading for everyone in training for any kind of professional work in rural areas.

PAUL H. LANDIS.

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The Small Community. By Arthur E. Morgan. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. xxi + 312. \$3.00.

Mr. Morgan, reclamation engineer, Antioch educator, and T.V.A. administrator, out of a lifetime of experience and observation, study and thought, has distilled a sort of philosophy of society in his little book called "The Small Community, foundation of democratic life." Chief ingredients of

that distillate are *family* and *community*. They have a unique function in transmitting that portion of our cultural heritage which makes for the democratic way of life. This point of view is both timely and fundamental.

How does he deal with it? The statement falls into two main divisions, although there are four parts in the book: (1) Community—what is it, an historical and theoretical reference; (2) how to achieve it, a ways and means for its organization and the development of its interests.

In the first division (and the first part too) is his rationale, theory of the why: that the small community during recent times has been neglected, that the cities have skimmed its material and human resources, that its progressive disappearance constitutes a crisis, that the roots of civilization are elemental traits of slow growth and are learned in the intimate world of family and small community at an early age. "A community is an association of individuals and families that, out of inclination, habit, custom, and mutual interest, act in concert as a unit in meeting their common needs." The idea is traced from Sir Edward Maine through Tönnies, Cooley, Galpin, and MacIver; and the fact is described from village life in China and Korea, through the English, Indian, and Burmese villages, the New England town and its "curious off-shoot," the Mormon settlements, to the neighborhood councils of the Ohio Farm Bureau.

Although Mr. Morgan disclaims any attempt to write a systematic book for the academic reader, but rather aims his message at practical people, with "too little perspective" of the small community in relation to the rest of society, including, as he says, individuals who are living and working in such communities; nevertheless, one is a little troubled by the lack of consciousness in the elaboration of the theme. Granted the idea is difficult to define and that "quality" emphasis is central, yet one is not quite sure of the metes and bounds of the concept under discussion. He states that "... the neighborhood is not a community ... unless," yet it would appear

that sometimes the terms are made synonymous (*e.g.* pp. 106 and 162). So much space and emphasis are given the village that the conditions for a junction with the "surrounding farm area" are not clear. It is encouraging, however, to have attention directed to the fact that all small community dwellers are not engaged in farming, an assumption which some "rural" writers often make.

There are a few questions: *Common* needs or interests exist, but which are they? The author speaks of a "considerable degree" of *unity*, but we may ask: how much of it is needed as a minimum? With respect to *size*, he states, "many different-sized groups have this quality in some degree—the family in the highest degree." Are family and community different only in "name"? How large is "small"? Finally, he affirms, "... the ultimate social ideal ... sees the entire race as one community." The last assertion is too broad and too indefinite to have any meaning, and it is quite unnecessary to the task at hand. These questions are raised only with the purpose of encouraging the author, because of his vantage point and perspective to explore further, to write more, and to help perfect much needed tools for clearer thinking and for better communicating.

A real contribution *has* been made; the author recognizes that community is fundamentally a process, not alone a structural thing. Most praiseworthy of all, he sees *his community* in the larger society of culture, tradition, and pattern of relationships. Therefore, he can write of the "creation" of *new* communities; he can describe the "design" of a particular community in respect to an encompassing social "fabric;" he can relate a *general-purpose* group to *special-purpose* or functional societies through a theory of "regionalism" (T.V.A., an example) and he can formulate a principle of "unity and economy of experience" whereby the small community can harmonize its interests with those of other units of society, whether larger or smaller. These are definite accomplishments.

In the second division of the statement, he strikes a vigorous stride and writes,

with an assurance born of maturity and wide experience, a series of short chapters with headings such as, "study of community," "community councils," "leadership," "followership," and "community interests" (economic, health, social welfare, cooperation, recreation, culture, religious, ethical, and government). He concludes with his theory of the task of democracy: "... to eliminate compulsion to uniformity whether by physical force or social pressure, and to develop community outlooks and aims by mutual inquiry, mutual interest and mutual regard." That *process*, he holds, seldom if ever takes place on a large scale. "True democracy results from intimate relations and understanding with the emergence of common purposes." This is the role of the small community in a great society. "The community is the natural home of democracy. . . ."

Surely, the student of, the leader of, and the dweller in, the small community, whether urban or rural, will profit by reading this book; he will find appended a good list of readings, carefully selected and annotated.

JOHN KOLB.

University of Wisconsin.

French Predecessors of Malthus. By Joseph J. Spengler. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 398. \$4.50.

Spengler concludes this survey of population, wage, and related theories in eighteenth century France with a discussion of the reasons for the failure of the French writers to posit the Malthusian antithesis, if only to refute it. Many of the writers accepted the view that population growth is conditioned, if not determined, by subsistence and that population sometimes presses upon the means of employment or tends to outstrip subsistence. These theories were not expanded and developed, primarily because in France the threat of population pressure lay in the future; Montesquieu and his followers were concerned with the alleged decline in the population of France.

This analysis of the politico-economic literature of the eighteenth century in-

dicates again and again that the writers of the period were not concerned with population questions as such. Their major attention was devoted to criticisms of the existing institutional framework and to finding the cause of the prevalent mass poverty. The optimists who developed the notion of cumulative cultural progress concluded with Condorcet that if population pressure ever threatened, enlightened man would take the necessary steps to prevent it. Even though some of the writers viewed population pressure as a source of poverty and condemned charity on the ground that it wasted resources and fostered idleness, there was no clear statement of a population problem as such.

Spengler's objective was primarily to present a detailed and complete study of the population and wage theory of eighteenth century France. This he has done with admirable skill. He is less concerned with explanations of the development of schools of thought and the interplay of ideologies and social conditions, though this is occasionally touched upon. Nor is there any effort to link Malthus directly to the body of literature surveyed.

Chapter I deals with pre-eighteenth century population theory; in Chapters II and III the views of the Neo-mercantilists, the agrarians, and the repopulationists are described. Cantillon and the "Theory of Luxury" and Quesnay and the "Physiocrats" are followed by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Buffon, Condorcet, and the other "Philosophers." Then attention is drawn to the non-physiocratic economists and the extreme anti-physiocrats. The final chapter summarizes the main trends of doctrines and attempts an interpretation of the circumstances leading to their development.

CONRAD TAEUBER.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, BAE, USDA.

The Social Economics of Agriculture. Revised Edition. By Wilson Gee. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. xii + 720. \$4.00.

Ten years have passed since the first publication of this book. The author stated

at that time that his purpose was to "view the agricultural problems not simply as an economic, sociological, historical, or governmental one, but in the combined perspective of all these approaches," so that schools that were not in a position to offer more than one course in this field would have a well adapted book for the purpose. The first edition received a cordial reception and has justified the publication of a revised volume, according to the author's introduction.

The changes in the social and economic realms of agriculture in the last decade have forced the author to rewrite the major part of the book. He retains the scheme of organization previously used, but has found it necessary to omit the discussion of some of the topics previously included, which leads the reviewer to state that perhaps the major limitation of the work is in the omissions found. However, there may be a justification for this, for when you are trying to cover the economic, social, and political problems of rural life, and describe its institutional organization as well, you are seeking to include what really takes four volumes to do adequately and so something must be omitted. Perhaps if the author is able to get a few colleges and universities to introduce a course that will acquaint a part of its student body with some of the important problems of agriculture he will have achieved something worth while.

The reviewer has never used the first edition in any courses he has taught. His work has been more specialized and has been in one major field, rural sociology. But he has used some of the material for reference so that he is acquainted with the work. A reading of this new edition, and comparison with the old, leads him to conclude that the revised volume is an improvement. Teachers will find, I think, that their students will consider it interesting and informative, and since it is a textbook, this is the important thing. There are good lists of questions and suggested readings at the end of each chapter to help with instruction.

W. A. ANDERSON.

Cornell University.

Social Economics of North Dakota. By John M. Gillette. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co. 1942. Pp. vii + 245.

Professor Gillette has become something of an institution in North Dakota. In this book, he not only passes in review the salient facts bearing upon the economic and social life of the State, but also draws upon his 35 years of academic experience within its borders to interpret the facts he has assembled. His aim has been to "give the public as much authentic information as is obtainable about most of the chief lines of activity and interest in the State," and the reviewer believes he has succeeded in large measure. No punches are pulled. History, physical conditions, resources, population, agriculture, industry, highways, health, education, churches, recreation and public welfare are reviewed in a concise and impartial manner. The author has an eye for the future of the State and believes that the people should be realistic in appraising their present situation and the trends which have brought them to this point. The reviewer believes that a chapter on government might strengthen the presentation.

To no small degree the volume is built around the 44 tables and 59 charts contained in it. In spite of that the book is both readable and interesting. Good bibliography accompanies each chapter. The large number of study questions supplied should make it useful as a text. The book should be read widely by the people of North Dakota and by others who may be interested in that state.

C. E. LIVELY.

University of Missouri.

What Do We Eat Now?—A Guide to Wartime Housekeeping. By Helen Robertson, Sarah MacLeod and Francis Preston. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942. Pp. xiii + 370. \$2.50.

The wartime changes in food supplies affect every household and every housewife in the United States. Meal planning and the feeding of the family are in process of wartime adjustment. This adjustment is not simply a matter of less of this and that food. Foods have both nutritional and food

habits aspects. England has demonstrated that with proper emphasis on nutrition and planned distribution of food supplies the nutritional status of the people in wartime can actually be raised. This book is a very satisfactory "Guide to Wartime Housekeeping." It is sound from a scientific and home economics standpoints and well and attractively written. One of the authors is a home economics editor. Another is a consultant in connection with family services and an instructor in home economics, and the third is a home budget consultant for the Society for Saving in the City of Cincinnati. Working together they have produced a book which is much more than a book of recipes. It contains important chapters on "Wartime Management of Family Finances," "Patriotic Economy," "Planning Menus," etc. The housewife will find the recipes up to the minute, clearly written, and published in an attractive form. The authors have done an excellent job in preparing "A Guide to Wartime Housekeeping."

M. L. WILSON.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Country Editor. By Henry Beetle Hough. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940. Pp. viii + 325. \$3.00.

Country Editor is the story of the twenty years that Mr. Hough and his wife have spent editing a weekly newspaper in a small island town off the coast of Massachusetts. The author gives a detailed intimate picture of the years, including his early struggles with the antiquated printing equipment and his experiences as he gradually acquired modern printing machines.

Rural sociologists may not find much to interest them in the details of editing and printing, but the book is not solely the story of editing a country newspaper. Mr. Hough presents, with a great deal of insight, the village changes which have taken place during the twenty years. He describes different people, from the village minister to the town drunkard. He shows well the importance of the town in the lives of the older people. The community Mr. Hough is

describing is not a typical American community. It is an old-time fishing and whaling center which has become a summer resort.

The underlying thesis of the book is found in the rather philosophical analysis of the differences between the small town and the city. The author speaks as the champion of the small town. "People cannot imagine what a small town and a small newspaper are like, because they assume that anything small is simply an early and imperfect version of something big. They do not realize that these small things are more different in kind than in size. They are not underdeveloped. They are mature, complete specimens of what they have always been and always will be."

The book is written as a series of anecdotes which are often unrelated and sometimes approach the monotonous. It is definitely a book for idle moments.

JUDSON T. LANDIS.

Southern Illinois Normal University.

Soil Exhaustion and The Civil War. By William C. Bagley, Jr. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. xi + 101. \$2.00.

Students of soils and of social sciences will find much of interest in this little book. The premise of the work is that soil exhaustion was an underlying cause of much of the movement which eventually led to the Civil War. In the author's own words (pp. 83, 84, 85) the main points are: (1) "to establish the seriousness and wide extent of soil exhaustion in the South"; (2) "to suggest the possible reasons for the extensive wearing out of land"; (3) "to make clear that slavery, because of soil exhaustion, had to expand into new territories in order to survive"; and (4) "to indicate the tremendous economic significance to the slaveholder of the territorial limitation of slavery."

Numerous papers, books and periodicals were reviewed to obtain the data. For people not acquainted with the region such statements as "... in Maryland, on the best soils, twelve to sixteen bushels of wheat and twenty to thirty bushels of corn were

obtained," or "On the more exhausted land four to five bushels was the average," are apt to be quite surprising especially when compared to present day yields.

An interesting point brought out in the discussion of soil exhaustion is that many of the agricultural leaders of the day recognized its seriousness. Yet lack of competent labor prevented the use of improved practices known to the farmers. Jefferson was quoted as having stated (p. 17): "The indifferent state of that (agriculture) among us does not proceed from a want of knowledge merely; it is from having such quantities of land to waste as we please. In Europe the object is to make the most of their land, labor being abundant; here it is to make the most of our labor, land being abundant." It was also Jefferson's opinion that a new acre of land could be purchased for less than an acre of land already in cultivation could be manured.

Lack of competent labor and continuous production of soil depleting crops establishes the author's premise that slavery had to expand into new territories to survive. Low prices because of over-production and inherently poor soil were also closely associated with the distressed condition of agriculture at that time. Some readers may not agree with the author in the importance attached to the various reasons for the unprofitableness of farming with slaves. More importance may need to be given to the cost of high living rather than the inefficiency of slavery. Part of the high cost was due to "the expensive style of living," (p. 32) but part of it was also due to the failure to produce food for home use. Part of the latter deficiency may be attributed to the inability to supervise slave labor in any operation which required much skill.

In the discussion of political implications relating to the expansion of slavery the author necessarily encounters controversial material. The estimate of the change which would have occurred in the value of slaves if slavery had been allowed to expand appears to be somewhat inflated. According to the data presented, some of the plantation owners experienced difficulty paying their debts, so it appears unwise to assume

that the value of slaves could have been increased as much as the various statements indicate and still maintain the values at that level. All readers may not agree with the analysis of political questions. A good example is the statement (p. 88), "The issue of states' rights was primarily an excellent *weapon* with which to defend the territorial extension of slavery because there was widespread belief in both the North and in the South that the rights of the individual states should not be infringed upon by the federal government." However, the author's approach to these main issues raises interesting questions relative to the interpretations usually given.

Soil conservation proponents will find many of their statements substantiated. They will also be interested in statements still popular in some circles. For instance in speaking of the overseer system (p. 74) the author states, "From his point of view, time spent on contour plowing to prevent erosion, on repairing incipient gullies or on manuring the fields was detrimental to the raising of a larger crop and a larger immediate income."

The titles of some of the chapters are somewhat disconcerting to the reader. The chapter containing data on crop yields is dressed up as "Quantitative Measurement." The chapter on "Institutional Causes" repeats, in part, earlier discussions and also includes material which may not be associated with institutions by all readers. One also wonders what place the discussion of modern erosion control techniques has in this book.

The author is to be commended on his effort to determine the relationship between mismanagement of our greatest natural resource and one of our greatest national disasters. Other writers would do well to follow his example.

DONALD M. KEYES.

West Virginia University.

Mormon Country. By Wallace Stegner.
New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce,
1942. Pp. x + 362. \$3.00.

Young Stegner's parents moved with him to Salt Lake City. A few years later he

entered the university there. He must have realized soon that the Mormons and the Intermountain West are subject material for a good story. He filled notebooks about both, adding to and working over his material in his next few years of graduate study and fiction writing. When Erskine Caldwell, editing a series called the American Folkways books (Desert Country, Ozark Country, Short Grass Country and others) got around to Mormon Country, he gave Stegner the assignment and the assigned title. From these circumstances arise both the high quality of the book and its limitations.

The author's notebook proves to have been well laden, and his treatment is discerning and warm. But his collection contained too many good stories of the kind that make chapters without making a book. And his title gave too much license to shift back and forth between geography and humanity. Possibly too the direction was loose, for however the editor views the whole (Folkways) series, this book is not anthropology, not "the colorful story of American life . . . being told . . . through . . . the customs of the people." It is a combination of folkways with history, anecdote, personality and colorful geography. It is neither consistently first class art nor scholarship, but it has brilliant spots of both with enough continuity to make the whole well worth reading.

Sample statements will illustrate his insights:

Mormon village culture is a "curious mixture of provincialism, parochialism, and cosmopolitanism." (p. 19.)

Brigham Young's one revelation was "as if God were a business man dictating to his secretary. 'And so no more at this time,' God said. There was no more at any time. The secretary had taken over the administration of the business." (p. 62.)

Pioneer Mormonism was a "fierce religious dynamism that even yet, though grown static and in some quarters fat, has not worn itself out." (p. 62.)

Early British converts "were the

technologically and spiritually unem-ployed. . . ." (p. 72.)

" . . . the people who started out a hundred years ago to build the future have built instead a past." (p. 234.)

One of the keenest jobs of analysis is done when he compares the Mormon church-society with Naziism, although it comes as a shock to a Mormon. He hastens to call the former benevolent despotism, not fascism. His description of temple baptisms for the dead is sensitive yet very witty. In many of the narrative sections there⁴ is a highly fidelity to even minor facts. One can only be sorry that some sections, possibly unavoidably, will have too much the tone of fiction to be given the credit they deserve.

Dr. Stegner has brought together an unusual number of essential facts about the Mormons and their country, including some items infrequently treated. In this category are the Home Evenings, present traces of polygyny, missionary farewells, the Three Nephites stories, the Hawaiian conversion, family reunions, the United Order, the Deseret alphabet, and especially J. Golden Kimball. Part II of the book, the last 100 pages, on the Gentiles in Mormon country, was perhaps necessary, but it is episodic and unsatisfying.

As a scholarly study, the book fails in omitting treatment of education, Mormon scientists, outmigration, farmers, and occupations generally. The omission of Alberta and Chihuahua is understandable but it makes some of his generalizations creak. The author may be forgiven for not treating the very recent but portentous factor of the boom in big war industries in Utah.

Sociologists will be interested to know that the book has no bibliography and quotes other writers hardly half a dozen times. Yet he seems to have read most of the sources and digested them. The eleven page index is mostly place names. The chapter headings are confusing, and are neither good labels nor bait.

This book ought to entertain the general reader and provide him with both under-

standing and appreciation. It should prove useful reading to social scientists.

F. HOWARD FORSYTH.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics. ▼

Argentina, The Life Story of a Nation. By John W. White. New York: The Viking Press, 1942. Pp. 366. \$3.75.

Any writer who attempts to encompass in one volume the "life story of a nation" almost automatically puts himself in the category of a popularizer. However, it is a relief to find a work which narrows itself to one Latin American nation instead of all Latin America as do so many of those which are now flooding the book stores.

The author undertakes to fill a huge order. He states that "Argentina has rather prided herself on being a thorn in the flesh of the United States," and that Americans are the most disliked of all foreigners in Buenos Aires. Feeling that this Argentinian attitude is in no small measure due to the failure of Anglo-North Americans to understand the Argentineans, the author claims his book will make for better relations between the two countries. However, some of his assertions cannot be calculated to make Argentineans more friendly:

"What distinguishes Argentines from all other Latins is the seriousness with which they take their pleasures. The Argentinean is so concerned with maintaining his dignity that he forgets to be gay. He has no sense of humor. . . . dances the tango with set face." He more resembles the disliked North Americans than other Latin Americans being more "materialistic, imperialistic, hypocritical, overbearing and insincere." The Argentineans, like the North Americans, "talk too loudly in public places," "are intense individualists." Courteous to friends, they seem "to lack any sense of public politeness" to strangers. The *porteño's* head controls his heart being "convinced that his masculine dignity requires him to be a constant seducer of women." The cruelty of Spanish conquistadors lives on and "persists today in the cruelty and absolute lack of feeling of the lower classes towards animals." The author

does not spare the upper classes saying that "In Argentina the landowners wax rich by collecting from one-third to one-half of what the worker produces." For the 2,000 families which own holdings of more than 45,000 acres each, "the corporate form of the Fascist state offers exactly the pattern they need for insuring their permanence of control and for crushing for all time the political power of the masses." The author explains that these great land holders are now in control and think an Axis victory will profit Argentina more than an allied victory. This partly explains Argentina's present position in the war.

Sociologists will pounce upon the author for his claim that in Argentina "the family is a miniature dictatorship" which "tends to perpetuate an autocratic state" and his inference that the weakening control of the parents over the children and the husband over the wife will result in a more democratic state. History has demonstrated that democracy is not incompatible with strong family systems and that some of the most hated tyrants have ruled during periods when parents have lost control over their children. Furthermore the present day usage of the word dictator is more fitting to the jail warden than to the Argentinian parent who always has loved his children.

The author, a newspaper correspondent, with 25 years' experience in Latin America, very clearly explains the present disrespect which Argentina has for the United States. He contrasts this with the greater respect accorded England and Germany and the earlier high regard for America. Aside from a few statistics on illegitimacy (ranging from 12 percent of all births in Buenos Aires to 66 percent in Formosa) little of the book is strictly sociological. However, it is the best recent over-all picture of Argentina.

CHARLES LOOMIS.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, BAE, USDA.

Negroes in Brazil. By Donald Pierson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xxviii + 392. \$4.50.

This book describes the results of the

contacts between whites of Portuguese descent and Negroes brought from Africa as slaves, in the picturesque Brazilian northern seaport of Salvador, capital of the State of Bahia. Here the author, professor of Sociology at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, carried on research for a period of almost two years. It constitutes a valuable contribution to the literature of racial and cultural contact, and race relations.

The book opens with a description of this city of 350,000 inhabitants and of their ecological distribution, showing how the social organization follows class lines. The author analyzes the numbers and provenience of Africans brought to Brazil, discussing miscegenation as it occurred historically and as it is taking place at the present time. The Portuguese and their descendants associated freely with the Indians at first and with the Negroes later and the result is that probably more than half of the population of Salvador is mixed-blood. Miscegenation still goes on freely in Bahia and intermarriages are not uncommon, but their proportion is highest in the lower classes. Dr. Pierson suggests, although statistical data are not available, that marriage cuts across race lines more than it cuts across class lines, and he observes that miscegenation . . . "extends personal relations to the point where they inhibit the rise of caste prejudice" (p. 135). It has been the personal attachments which the whites have had for the blacks and the mixed-bloods that have facilitated their rise in status, so that at present Bahian society is characterized structurally by the presence of blacks and mixed-bloods in all its social strata. As might be expected, the blacks and the dark mulattoes have the lowest paid jobs and form the absolute majority of the lower class, while the whites and the lightest mixed-bloods, who have the best paid and prestige giving positions, form the upper class. The middle position thus falls to the mulatto group.

This discussion is followed by a chapter on "Racial Ideology and Racial Attitudes" and by a comprehensive description of African survivals in Bahia. African atti-

tudes, ideas and world views, of which the *candomblé*, as the African cult-groups are termed, is the most characteristic manifestation, are sympathetically described. The author points out the cultural contrast between this Afro-Brazilian culture with which the Negroes are identified, and the European culture that characterizes the whites. It is indicated how in the process of acculturation both whites and Negroes have taken over something of each other's culture, but it is Dr. Pierson's opinion that African survivals are dying out.

In the last chapter of his book, Dr. Pierson gives an over-all view of the Brazilian racial situation, which is explained in terms of several factors. First, he points out that the Portuguese are a "color-blind" people, who did not bring any racial prejudices to Brazil with them; second, miscegenation, which favored the rise of the mixed-bloods, was greater in Brazil than in any other country; third, the relations between whites and Negroes continued cordial and intimate after abolition of slavery; finally, unlike the case in the United States, there was no period of reconstruction in Brazilian history to increase the psychic distance between the races, and to exacerbate mutual hatreds.

The reviewer, who is acquainted with the Brazilian situation, agrees with the author that class feeling is more important than race feeling and that this former feeling is directed both towards Negroes and whites in the lower classes. This fact, however, marks the Negroes as its chief victims, since they form the bulk of the lower class-group. Though birth, education or money can raise the status of a black or mixed-blood, color is of some importance and should not be taken out of the picture. There is no doubt that a very light mixed-blood will be considered and generally treated as if he were a white. But with a dark mixed-blood or a black it will not be the same. Although his status will not be determined by his color, yet he will be slightly and subtly discriminated against in some situations. This consideration, however, does not alter the fact that Dr. Pierson describes the Brazilian racial sit-

uation with great insight. He has done an extremely good piece of work and his contribution must be regarded as one of the best in the field of racial contact and racial relations.

OCTAVIO EDUARDO.

Northwestern University.

Coarse Gold. By Edwin Corle. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1942. Pp. 251. \$2.50.

Small Town South. By Sam Byrd. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942. Pp. 237. \$2.75.

These two books, although Corle's is fictional and Byrd's factual, have several things in common. On the superficial side, they are of approximately equal length and are written in similar styles. But beyond these facts, they resemble each other in the earthiness of their material and in a common simplicity of mood. Corle's book, which in the beginning gives promise of being rather dull and tortuous, develops into a coherent and quite interesting philosophical novel; Byrd's, on the other hand, opens in a tone of delightful nostalgia and degenerates into pseudo-sociological monologues by Southern "characters."

The philosophy in Corle's novel is expounded by his protagonist, Chris Wick, an intellectual hermit who lives in a ghost town in Nevada. Baldly speaking, he is seeking truth. He finds it, in a sense, although he is unable to communicate his discovery readily, being a mystic of sorts. What it amounts to, however, is that all values and truths are relative, that truth is mind and mind truth, that truth must concern itself with the observer as well as the object observed, and that patterns of human behavior are ever-recurring, so that the first word uttered is at the same time the last. Gertrude Stein's "A rose is a rose is a rose . . ." therefore stands as a great insight to Wick. Wick is seeking constant values, values which remain when the desires of the ego are eliminated. In other words, he is trying to see things from a cosmological point of view, as though he were not an inhabitant of the Earth but an intellect travelling at the speed of parsecs

in the vicinity of a distant galaxy and observing human activities on the Earth. Everything is relative, he says; an atom is a universe and a universe an atom, death is life and life is death. His moral object is to banish fear from men's souls by showing them the continuity of "existence" and "non-existence," life and death, man and God.

What I have just stated is the basis of Corle's novel as well as of Wick's philosophy, and while the novel is no great shakes as such, it is interesting in its development of theme and in the suspense it sustains through intelligent manipulation of plot and dialogue. Its theme is recurrence; this is made clear explicitly through Wick's thoughts and implicitly through the fact that *Coarse Gold*, a gold boom town in the early nineties, and a ghost town for forty years after, experiences another boom, this time because of the discovery of tungsten in its vicinity. Corle indicates that just as the town experiences a rebirth, so do the patterns of human behavior which were evident in the *Coarse Gold* of 1895, and he prophesies through Wick that *Coarse Gold* will again be a ghost town, etc. Being a novel, things in *Coarse Gold* are not as flatly put as I have set them down. They are developed and played with; there are also some interesting characterizations; but, best of all, there is a feeling for the desert, the appreciation of the simple and earthy, and an accurate acquaintance with geology and chemistry as well as with astronomy and nuclear physics. On the whole, I find Corle's book more pleasing and instructive than Byrd's.

The trouble with *Small Town South* is that it presents not a real or, to be more blunt, intellectually honest picture of the South of Mr. Byrd's experience as it does his conception of it derived from having given more than a thousand performances of Dude Lester in *Tobacco Road*. I am not saying that Mr. Byrd is consciously dishonest in describing his impressions of his trip back home; nor do I wish to imply that he is insensitive to certain details of life in North Carolina and Florida. I am simply saying that he picks up almost bodily the

prejudices of *Tobacco Road* and seeks characters and situations to expound these prejudices. How else is one to explain the preponderance of black-and-white characters, the "nigras" and "poor white trash" and "Southern gentlemen" and the absence of panchromatic, realistic types, unless one is to infer that Mr. Byrd himself is full of prejudices? What can be excused in Mr. Caldwell's play on the grounds of utility, message and unity of effect cannot be similarly excused in Mr. Byrd's book because Mr. Byrd has not written a play or a piece of fiction but a factual account of a trip. On the other hand, it is clear that Mr. Byrd has a sincere love for the scenes of his childhood and the people therein. His trip was well-intentioned; consequently it is regrettable that he did not present more of his reactions to people and topography in an impressionistic manner. Such reactions are arresting when present, but unfortunately they are too infrequently in evidence.

CHARLES NEDER.

New York City.

Man and Society in Calamity. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1942. Pp. 352. \$3.00.

If there is a first-class mind among living American sociologists, it is that of Professor P. A. Sorokin of Harvard University. This ought to be acknowledged even by his critics. For the boldness of his thinking, the breadth of his researches, and the fruitfulness of his hypotheses for the understanding of the present condition of our human world are undeniable. Moreover, Professor Sorokin does not concern himself with the narrow problems of inter-personal relations or local community welfare. He has concerned himself with the nature of our civilization and the tragedies of our time. Finally, his prolific writing, together with the solidity of his work, is amazing. This is the third volume dealing with the problems which he has undertaken to investigate published within the last two years.

The subordinate title of the book under review is *The Effects of War, Revolution, Famine, Pestilence upon the Human Mind,*

Behavior, Social Organization and Cultural Life. This sub-title describes exactly the contents of the book. It may be regarded as a monograph in extension of his great work on *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, the fourth and final volume of which was published in 1941. Like that work, it employs mainly the method of historical and psychological analysis, although a large use is made of statistical measurements, so far as they are possible. The first four parts of the book may be considered rigidly scientific. They show the complexity of the influence of calamity upon the human mind and human behavior, and also upon the various aspects of human culture. They are of vital interest to all who are concerned with world-wide problems of human relations and group behavior as they manifest themselves in the present crisis. They are a substantial refutation of those who claim the sterility of sociology as a guide in present emergencies. For they lay a foundation for a rational program of meeting present emergencies and of rebuilding our institutions and system of values.

It is only when we come to Part Five, which is on "Causes and Remedies of Calamities," that there is opportunity for much disagreement. Possibly some might say that a discussion of war, revolution, famine and pestilence is not broad enough to include all human calamities, and indeed the author does not claim this. He does say, however, that "War and revolution are the most fruitful parents of calamities," including famine and pestilence. Sorokin finds the causes of war and revolution in the disintegration of the system of religious, moral, juridical, and other values of a given society. Thus Sorokin's remedy, or way of preventing calamities, would be the rebuilding of a new and adequate system of values. Revolutions and wars, he tells us, can hardly cure the evils they seek to cure; neither can any dabbling with external social machinery suffice. Only the radical reconstruction of our system of values is adequate to free us from calamity in the future. We need a reintegrated system of both sensory and transcendental values. Sorokin, as a social philosopher, finds these

values in the Christian conception of a Kingdom of God. Upon the basis of this social philosophy he presents the conclusion that the great calamities of our time are "the only educative instrument that by pitiless ordeal can restore the demoralized human animal and remind him of his Divine mission on this planet."

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD.

Duke University.

A Study of War. By Quincy Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. 2v. Pp. xxii, xvii + 1552. \$15.00.

There is no study of war with which this one may be compared except the hundred odd volumes of the Carnegie *Social and Economic History of the World War*. The Carnegie series might bear the subtitle "how a fight a total war" while Wright's attention is on "why we have wars." No study of war by any single or small group of authors is as comprehensive, judicious, and authoritative in analysis and documentation as *A Study of War*. This is the "must" book of 1942 for sociologists, in this reviewer's judgment.

It is a large book: 1100 pages of text and 400 of appendices; over 1500 authors are cited. While many special studies and theses contributed directly to the report, Wright appears to have woven them into his own pattern. Following a preliminary sketch of the frame of reference and the development of a definition of war, the history of warfare comprises the first volume. Animal, primitive, historic, and modern wars are compared with respect to their characteristics, drives, functions, technics, theories, and fluctuations. Then the changes of war in historic civilizations are examined more thoroughly in relation to military, political, economic and cultural changes and social stability. The integrations and contradictions of the basic traits and values of modern civilization reveal the embracing and indigenous character of war today.

The introductory section of the second volume displays the tools of analysis suited to the study of war. The importance of the perspective adopted if one will study war is illustrated by an exploration of the

points of view of those who see war as military action, a high tension level, abnormal law, or political integration respectively. Case studies of six modern wars reveal the diverse approaches of scientists, historians, and practical men.

Four succeeding sections of the book cover the political, legal, cultural, and economic-psychological aspects of war in our day. These include: (1) governments and the struggle for power (balance of power, armament in foreign policy, influence of governmental structure); (2) states and the divergence of law (law and violence, sovereignty, international procedures); (3) nations and rivalries of cultures (the family of nations, nationalism, social integration, and international organization); and (4) peoples and competition for a living (public opinion, population changes, type of economy, personality types). These four sections are the heart of the study, and they are first rate sociology.

A penultimate section explains the temporal and spatial incidence of war as influenced by legal, military, sociological and psychological factors. Attempts to measure the flow of international relations represent ingenious applications of attitude-scale techniques. Finally, the merits of alternative controls over war and an analysis of the structure of peace focus the whole study upon the immediate world situation.

The appendices contain elaborate statistical tabulations of primitive, historic, and modern wars: frequency, length, intensity, correlation with stage of civilization and type of economy, etc. Here also one finds analysis of basic concepts and cultural values.

One appreciates the profundity and scope of Wright's analysis when one considers how the material might be recast for teaching purposes. The causes of war might be divided: contacts in the absence of cultural unity, nationalism and sovereignty, incomplete social and symbolic integration, inadequate techniques for handling tensions and administering large-group relationships. Each of these sectors can be illustrated from various societies

and also considered analytically. Or, one could discuss the relation of war to type of culture, stage of development of civilization, type of government, and form of culture, successively.

The essentially social and cultural character of war has never been demonstrated so well. No previous book so persuasively shows how central is the position of war in our society. Sociologists will find this study invaluable for verification of hypotheses about "culture integration." The "formal approach" is represented by the analysis of war as a type of social relationship, the comparison of war to other relations as violence, conflict, etc., and the dynamics of inter-group interaction. It is a pleasure to follow Wright's tracing out of the instability and the polarizing tendency of balance of power situations. Much of our work on pressure groups, strikes, and assimilation might profitably be reconsidered.

The reviewer was particularly interested in the history of international law, and the discussion of factors raising international relations to the status of law. A closer union of sociology and law is overdue. The whole book is in the best sense sociological. "Naturalistic" explanations are debunked. Handman's thesis on the symbolic nature of the economic "reasons" for war is upheld. The futility of short-cut solutions for the problem of war is proved to the hilt. It speaks well for the author that war hysteria is nowhere evident; he goes behind "totalitarianism" and "despotism" as causes.

As sociologists we should be especially interested in the comparisons of Wright's statistical studies with those published earlier by Sorokin. The two studies support each other. Those who believed that Sorokin used pseudo-statistics, those who asked for more statistics, and particularly those who thought he was expressing pique, may revise their conclusion.

Of course the study has defects. First of all, the book is repetitious; it could have been a third shorter. The book is misnamed; it is a study of the causes of war. This objection goes deeper than a complaint about the scope of the study, for Wright

inadequately admits that what happens during a war affects the conditions limiting or fostering the next war. Among the effects of war that are discussed, the emphasis is disproportionately political. There is a curious neglect of the voluminous sources of the Carnegie study on the last war.

In our opinion Wright has been overly impressed by the psychoanalysts. He also fails to demonstrate the relevance of the data on animal "wars." These two sets of material are never integrated with the social and cultural interpretation that pervades the rest of the book. Although the author admits the League of Nations failed to establish procedures for peaceful change, he does not pay enough attention to the question "why aggressors?". It would have been helpful also to have found some consideration of the relations of war to the total culture of particular leading nations today. And the emphasis on the role of conflict in maintaining group integration seems overworked.

When one has added up all the faults of *A Study of War* the list is short compared to the virtues. This review should make it clear that the study of war has particular interest for rural sociologists.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON.

Iowa State College.

The Economics of Total War. By William Henry Spiegel. New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1942. Pp. xviii + 408. \$3.00.

This book is apparently intended to be used as a text for a special course in war economics to be taken by college students any time after having had a course in the elementary principles. It will be read more understandingly after courses are taken in addition in money and banking, marketing and prices, and industrial organization; but in that case it may not seem to offer enough that is new. For the student majoring in economics, the best way to bring in the war is by adaptation of the separate causes. But unfortunately many of the professors are not equipped for this or will not take the trouble to become equipped. A separate

course even for majors may therefore be advisable in some colleges and universities. Then there are the students who want only a second course in economics to orient them in the war situation.

Of the books designed for such courses that the reviewer has examined, Professor Spiegel's represents the best combination of balanced treatment of topics and grasp of the subject. Other texts may show more discernment from a particular point of view; but not from the several approaches that are needed. Of particular advantage are the sections introducing European backgrounds and comparisons.

Of course such a book is outdated from the moment it appears. What the world now needs is a great book on the economics of *warfare*, that will lay out and analyze the economics of the problems connected with the actual conduct of the war. But that would be setting a gargantuan task for a classroom economist. He who writes such a book even after the war has been over for a decade and most of the records have been studied will be more than a great analyst—he will need the habits of mind of a great general in addition.

It was with anticipation that the reviewer noted in the preface the author's approval of the statement that "the task of financing the war is to see that nothing is decided on financial grounds." The book follows this lead; but not as positively and constructively as a production economist would like to see. If finance could be reduced to this role in the postwar, what would the new "modern economics" be like?

JOHN D. BLACK.

Harvard University.

Civilian Morale. By Goodwin Watson, Editor. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942. Pp. 463. \$3.00.

The crisis of war has impressed upon American psychologists and sociologists the fact that the performance of a people is the result of something more than their numbers, ages, health, and skills, their material resources, and their social organization. That intangible, ill-defined, and complex something more is their "will" to do;

and "morale" is the term used to refer to it. *Civilian Morale* is the first of what will no doubt be a steady stream of books attempting to define, delimit, and evaluate the morale of the American people for the war in which they are involved. It is the Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

The book consists of nineteen essays of varying quality, representing different and sometimes rather contradictory approaches to the problem and adding up to a fragmentary rather than systematic analysis of the nature and quality of American morale. Most of the essays were written before Pearl Harbor; and, although this fact does not lessen the value of the analytical sections of the book, it does mean that some of the descriptive parts are already out of date. Many of the essays give evidence that they were prepared, quite understandably, in considerable haste. If we were to await the normally slow and cautious scientific process for our knowledge of wartime morale, that knowledge might become available for the next war, but certainly not for this.

The following brief comments on some of the more significant of the essays will, perhaps, serve to indicate the scope of the book and to suggest the varied nature of the materials from which it has been compiled. In "The Nature of Democratic Morale" Gordon W. Allport attempts to set up eleven criteria by which the morale of democratic peoples can be distinguished from that of a people under dictatorship. In "Five Factors in Morale" Goodwin Watson summarizes the results of a round-table, in which a number of psychologists of national repute, participated on the subject. The results are exceedingly vague. In contrast Kurt Lewin in his "Time Perspective and Morale," makes a definite point, namely that, if a people have a long historical perspective, they will, all other things being equal, have a higher morale during a crisis than will a people without such a perspective. S. S. Sargent and Theodore Newcomb each touch briefly on the relations between propaganda and morale. Material gathered by the Office of Public

Opinion Research and the American Institute of Public Opinion on the state of American morale during the months just preceding Pearl Harbor is presented by Donald Rugg. These opinion polls indicate that, generally speaking, the American people were strongly pro-British and anti-Axis, were well agreed on the necessity for defeating the Axis, but were reluctant to take a really active role in bringing that defeat about. Much the same conclusions are presented by Joe and Eugenia Belden concerning student morale. Otto Klineberg advances evidence indicating that Jewish morale for the war is high. Kenneth B. Clark finds ample reason to believe that Negro morale, on the other hand, is at low ebb; and he suggests some means which might be taken to improve it. Three longish papers on morale in industry would seem to be valuable in themselves; but their relevance to the theme of the book—to the extent that there is any central theme—is rather distant. In the concluding paper Gardner Murphy speaks with considerable fervor on behalf of a program for the improvement and maintenance of American morale which will be in keeping with the Jeffersonian tradition. This would seem to mean that the man in the street should be told the truth about the war and the war effort and that reliance should be placed upon his loyalty, integrity, and good old common sense. It is already evident, however, that our political leaders are determined upon a quite different course.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE.

Stanford University.

Dimensions of Society. By Stuart C. Dodd. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. lx + 944. \$12.00.

This work, described by its author as an "attempt to systematize statistical forms and societal data," offers as a means to this end a formula: $S=s/s(T;I;L;P)s/s$. Presented as a device for describing and classifying the data and concepts of the social sciences, this generalized formula is applied here mainly to materials in the field of sociology. This formula is not as formidable as it may appear at first sight to

readers untrained in mathematical statistics, since the symbols in the equation refer to concepts in daily use. Thus, S denotes a societal situation; T refers to its time aspects; I (indicator) denotes any measurable characteristic not subsumed under the other three major categories within the parentheses; and P designates its population component. The subscripts and superscripts outside of the parentheses are used in conjunction with each of the four major symbols to describe the Time, Space, Population, and Indicatory components of a specific situation when it is described by a specific formula following the general form of Dodd's initial equation.

In the application of the formula to describe specific concepts or observations, the four major indices and the scripts are combined by means of conventional mathematical symbols denoting addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, equality, inequality, etc. What we have, in short, is a system of algebraic symbols applied to concepts and data in the social sciences, so that these can be represented in quantitative form as formulae and "quantic numbers." Dodd's quantic numbers are simply a combination of the exponential scripts attached to T, I, L, and P, after these scripts have been converted into numerical form.

Dodd says of his system of quantic numbers (p. 841):

"This clear-cut classifying of societal situations, of observed portions of the life of human society by their quantic numbers is believed to be a unique contribution of S-theory among systematizing theories in the social sciences. Like Mendeleev's classification of the atomic elements in Chemistry into a periodical table, the attendant properties of each class and family of classes may cumulatively be discovered and developed with the research of decades, so that the utility of the classification may become far greater than its bare neatness gives promise of at first. The classification does not follow conventional thoughtways and will consequently seem to

lack 'meaning' to many sociologists and social scientists."

This reviewer is dubious regarding both the meaningfulness and the utility of Dodd's quantic numbers, and regards it as improbable that a classification of sociological concepts or observations according to these quantic numbers can result in classes sufficiently homogeneous to serve the needs of research workers interested in specific fields of inquiry. Considered as an encyclopedic classificatory system, these quantic numbers do not appear to yield categories of sufficient sociological significance to justify the labor involved in classification.

As a specific illustration of the lack of homogeneity within classes resulting from the use of these quantic numbers, it may be sufficient to point to the fact that the same quantic number, 9001, designates an advertisement of the vacation pleasures in Sun Valley (p. 622), a scale to measure religious opinions (p. 624), and a chart showing increase of population in the United States and the principal countries of Europe from 1800 to 1910 (p. 603). Although each of these phenomena may be of interest to sociologists, a sociologically significant system of quantic numbers could hardly place them in anything else than mutually exclusive classes.

Among the many claims made on behalf of S-theory by its author is the virtue of *precision* in the definition of concepts contained in the theory. This claim is recognized as valid by this reviewer in the sense that Dodd's 16 basic concepts appear to be defined with sufficient precision so that, taken in conjunction with the 100 rules for writing S-theory listed in the Appendix of this book, independent investigators can achieve substantially the same formulae and quantic numbers.

Dodd believes that the use of algebraic symbols contributes to precision for the following reasons (p. 834):

"In contributing increased precision to societal data, the use of algebraic symbols is important. They strip the words naming current concepts of their subjective and emotional connotations, leaving the agreed upon denota-

tion of the concept. The mathematical and logical rules for manipulating algebraic symbols are more precise and therefore distinguish between truth and falsehood more exactly than the grammatical rules for manipulating words in sentences."

Unfortunately, the algebraic symbols contained in Dodd's formulae cannot be manipulated according to algebraic rules but only according to the rules of S-theory which are more like those of shorthand or grammar than they are like those of algebra. Thus, S-theory employs the symbols for addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, but the meanings attached to these symbols are not the operational ones they possess in algebra. By this is meant that these symbols in algebra denote operations to be performed in solving for unknowns, whereas in S-theory they denote relationships only.

The critical test of precision in the evaluation of S-theory might be stated as follows: Does this set of symbols differentiate precisely enough between unlike things to yield categories that are homogeneous in content, the communality within the category being one that has considerable significance for the understanding of human behavior? Irrelevant bases of classification result in gross classification rather than precise classification, as is evidenced by the unlike and fundamentally dissimilar phenomena assigned the same quantic numbers in S-theory.

The usefulness of Dodd's theory remains to be demonstrated. Until this is done, it appears improbable that sociologists will accept it as their own. His exposition of S-theory does, however, enrich the culture base upon which future system builders may draw in their efforts to give precision to sociological concepts. There are many thought-provoking pages in this book and it is recommended for this reason as a desirable addition to college libraries.

RAYMOND F. SLETTÖ.

University of Minnesota.

A History of Social Thought. By Paul Hanly Furley. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xiii + 468. \$2.75.

This book is a Catholic interpretation of the history of social thought. The book and the author proclaim it from the ecclesiastical censor's "Nihil Obstat" to the "Bibliographical Essay" at the end. This is, from the reviewer's standpoint, unfortunate. Not that it is unfortunate that a Catholic should be learned or publish a book, but that it should make any difference in the scientific appraisal of social theories. These strictures aside, the book is noteworthy and commendable in a number of respects.

The author rightly defines social thought more broadly than is customary in books of this kind. Not only the formal philosophies, metaphysics, and quasi-scientific treatises of the past are discussed, but codes of laws, orations, and that ill-defined group of writings commonly known as "literature" are held to contain the ideas and ideals, the theories and pragmatic considerations, which indicate various views of the nature of the social order. The range of time and space is broad, from "Primitive Social Thought" and the "Ancient Near East" to the "Great Disillusionment, 1914-1939." Obviously the attention to any segment of this range is brief and inadequate for many scholarly purposes. Yet the author summarizes the main currents and tendencies succinctly, and pretends to do nothing more.

The range of materials covered is so vast, indeed, that the author has wisely refrained from extensive critical treatments of the outstanding works. Rather, he has attempted to characterize the significant aspects of the theories or points of view represented. All the "great names" are here, and many lesser ones. The author attempts, perhaps with too much brevity, to tie social thought to the time and place of its appearance. This is more in the way of tying the threads of ideas together than a genuinely *wissenschaftssoziologische* analysis. The account is readable, but occasionally marred by exhortation and special pleading.

The reviewer would not be misunderstood. The fact that the book is written by

a Catholic might not alone be significant. The fact that it is written *for* Catholics is. The book includes materials, especially those of Catholic origin, sometimes slighted in social thought texts. This should recommend it to the attention of persons wishing brief but informative summaries of Catholic social tenets. It will not be found suitable for use as a text in non-Catholic institutions. This may represent equal bias on both sides. The reviewer's objection is that of the scientist and not the religious partisan; until such a time as scientific canons of relevance and truth supersede religious or metaphysical ones in this field, that objection will remain.

WILBERT E. MOORE.

The Pennsylvania State College.

Sociology, A Study of Society and Culture.

By Kimball Young. New York: American Book Company, 1942. Pp. x + 1005. \$4.00.

The present study is a volume in the American Sociology Series under the general editorship of the author. Those who have used Mr. Young's *An Introductory Sociology* will be interested to know that this is not just a revision of the earlier work but is virtually a new book.

The first part of the book deals with the fundamentals of society and culture. The manner in which culture grows and develops is stressed and ample attention is given to ways in which it changes. Beginning with a discussion of the primary community, the second section of the book shows how the boundaries of our cultural lives have expanded beyond the community to become national and international in scope. How geography and race help to determine social-cultural patterns forms the third section of the book. The part of the chapter on "Race and Racism" which deals with German Aryanism is especially illuminating. The third section also introduces the study of the individual with a chapter on "Heredity and Environment" and a further chapter entitled "Personality."

Part four contains an analysis of the family, education, religion, play and art.

Professor Young emphasizes the effects of mass production and all its attendant forces on those institutions. The last two sections of the book are especially valuable in the present hour. The impact of the war and economic changes upon our society has been staggering. No student (or teacher) could study the three hundred pages devoted to those problems with all their implications without being more intelligently aware of the issues and philosophies involved in the present conflict. The last three chapters deal with the social control of group behavior to promote a stable society and the increasing importance of social-cultural planning in a democracy.

The author has provided varied helps for both teachers and students. There are many excellent illustrations, maps, and diagrams. Each chapter is followed by bibliography, questions, and suggested topics for further study. At the end of the volume a glossary is included as well as a two-fold index—one of authors and one of subjects. All these aids in addition to Mr. Young's clear and readable style make this an eminently useable book.

GEORGE C. OSBORN.

Bob Jones College.

Living in the Social World. By James A. Quinn and Arthur Repke. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942. Pp. viii + 536. \$1.92.

This is a book designed to be used as a basal text in high school sociology and social problems courses. This text differs from many of those in the field in that the emphasis is placed upon the normal aspects of social life and upon organization rather than upon the abnormal aspects and disorganization.

The book is divided into nine units and 27 chapters. The first half of the book treats the nature of man as a social being, the growth of culture, and the individual as controlled by the group. The last half deals with the chief institutions of society.

With each chapter the authors have included a set of objectives at the beginning and a detailed summary at the close. The teaching aids at the close of each chapter

are very complete. These include a list of words for study, questions for class discussion, exercises and problems, sets of objective tests, and two reading lists. The book is very well illustrated with pictures and sociographs.

High school teachers will like this text for its simple style of exposition, for its illustrations, short chapters, and many teaching aids. Some will not like the text because of the many topics it fails to treat and because of the sketchy nature of some of the chapters. The teacher who makes up his own study helps will desire a text which gives more in content in the chapters. From one-third to one-half of each chapter is made up of study helps. Very little material is given to problems of social welfare, such as poverty and dependency, social security, defectives, delinquency. One short chapter of nine pages attempts to treat all of these topics. It would seem that a text written for the average course in high school social problems should be more inclusive and thorough in its treatment of these problems. The authors are to be commended, however, for their emphasis upon the normal rather than the abnormal.

JUDSON T. LANDIS.

Southern Illinois Normal University.

Charles Horton Cooley: His Life and His Social Theory. By Edward C. Jandy. New York: The Dryden Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 319. \$3.00.

As the title states, this book deals with the life and works of Dr. Charles Horton Cooley. About eighty pages are biographical in nature and the remainder considers the contribution of Dr. Cooley to social theory. Due to the cooperation of Mrs. Cooley, the author of this volume had access to the files, records, and correspondence of Professor Cooley. Moreover, Dr. Jandy was a student in Cooley's classes and was therefore well prepared to write such a treatise. He has great admiration for his teacher, but as a true disciple, the treatment is consistently guided by facts and logical inferences from them. Sociologists of the present will gain a certain perspective from reading the biography. It will verify the

idea again that Sociology has a rich heritage in the life and works of its pioneers such as Cooley. Although bothered by poor health in his early years and embarrassed at times by the notoriety of his father, Cooley travelled, studied, and reflected until he found a field of thought which to him was personally satisfying, socially useful, and methodologically sound. That field was Sociology. If ever a life demonstrates the inter-relationship of personality and social environment, that of Charles Horton Cooley does.

The biographical sketch appears to be complete and will help sociologists to become acquainted with this pioneer in the subject. One omission seems regrettable. In these days when photography is being so widely and effectively used, it is unfortunate that this source of information was not employed to add interest and completeness to the written material.

An analysis of the contribution of Cooley to social theory is a difficult task; partly because the period of time since he wrote has been brief and partly because his writings are synthetic and interpretative. They have a positive influence not only in Sociology but in other social sciences as well. Rural sociologists will remember that his theory of primary groups has been useful when making sociological studies of small rural groups. Continued observation and research add increasingly to the importance of this theory. Also, if rural sociologists become concerned about the appearance and persistence of stratification in rural communities as some recent studies might indicate, they may gain much insight and understanding of social classes by reading Cooley's *Social Organization*. As Dr. Jandy states "One would go far and wide in the field of Sociology to get a better, more balanced, saner view of the matter." (p. 199.)

Cooley had great faith in democracy and the role of the common man in shaping its destiny. He concluded that democracy should not mean uniformity but the fullest measure of differentiation, a development everywhere of special spirit in communities, in occupation, in culture groups, in dis-

tinctive personalities (p. 185). He recognized that sentiments regarding democracy in the United States were mixed, but in his thinking, public opinion facilitated by modern means of communication would be effective in making democracy experimental and therefore dynamic. When the principles of freedom and democracy are being defined as goals in a global war, it is reassuring to find a man who thought so deeply and correctly about social relationships expressing these views concerning democracy.

It now appears that Cooley's views on public opinion were somewhat faulty. He thought rationality would be dominant in its formation, just as it tends to be in the thought processes of an individual. Propaganda and other confusing elements were not so prevalent when Cooley wrote. Nevertheless, it may be that in time his ideas will be substantiated. The use of social science in analyzing the content of public opinion and factors which influence it is just beginning.

Cooley's views regarding methodology are of interest and significance. He insisted perhaps more consistently than any other sociologist of this time that all information, qualitative as well as quantitative, is necessary in sociological explanation. Science and scientific methods must be regarded as means to human understanding, not ends in themselves. His views regarding methodology helped to give a theoretical basis and an incentive for the numerous case studies which have enriched the subject of rural sociology within the last fifteen years.

These points and many others are considered by Dr. Jandy in his analysis. His study is well undergirded with references to the work of Cooley and other sociologists. This information, plus a postscript by the author and a bibliography of Cooley's writings which have been published, make the volume a useful contribution to the field of sociology.

CHARLES R. HOFFER.
Michigan State College.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Robert A. Polson

TO MEMBERS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: It is to be regretted that the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society scheduled for Cleveland, Ohio, December 29-31, had to be cancelled. Although earlier in the year it appeared to be feasible to hold the meetings, by December 1st the strain upon transportation facilities had become so great that little could be done except cancel them. Since the program had been arranged prior to cancellation of the meetings, an attempt is being made to carry the papers to completion with a view to publishing them. Probably most of them will appear in RURAL SOCIOLOGY during 1943. In this manner some of the best fruits of the program may be made available to the members of the Society.

The outlook for a meeting of the Society in 1943 is uncertain. It was the hope of your Executive Committee that a meeting could be scheduled for the spring or early summer, but nothing definite can be said at this time. It may be that rural sociologists will find it necessary to limit their meeting plans to that which is possible in connection with the various regional Sociological societies. Small conferences at other vantage points may be possible. May I urge all members to be on the alert for such possibilities as it is vitally important that we exchange ideas with a view to giving the utmost service to the war effort.

By the time this communication reaches you, the results obtained by the special ballot sent you January 1st will be known and your mandate will have been carried out. Let me assure you that in submitting this ballot your Executive Committee was motivated only by the desire to act according to the wishes of the majority of the membership in this irregular situation. The constitution does not provide for the several situations which arise when the Society holds no annual meeting. It would be appropriate to provide an amendment in the near future to cover this situation which may occur again at some future date.

Cordially yours,

C. E. LIVELY.

RESULTS OF SPECIAL BALLOT TO MEMBERS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: Dr. C. E. Lively, President of the Rural Sociological Society, reported just before this issue went to press that the membership had approved proposition No. 1 on the ballot by a vote 4 to 1. The proposition stated that the 1942 officers were to remain in office until they could arrange an annual meeting, at which time new officers would take their place. Proposition 2, that the 1942 election should determine the officers to be installed at the next annual meeting, was approved 3 to 1.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE SOCIETY

1942

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand, December 24, 1941		\$ 306.31
389 Total Memberships, 1942		1,099.50
322 Active Memberships, 1942	\$966.00	
3 Active Memberships from subscribers	1.50	
1 Honorary Membership		
12 Student Memberships @ \$2.50	30.00	
47 Student Memberships @ \$2.00	94.00	
1 Student, ½ year's subscription	1.00	
2 Joint Memberships	7.00	

1 Membership, 1941	3.00
Miscellaneous cash receipts .....	.80
<i>Total Receipts</i>	<u>\$1,409.61</u>

EXPENDITURES

To RURAL SOCIOLOGY		
340 Subscriptions, 1942 @ \$2.50	\$850.00	
47½ Subscriptions, 1942 @ \$2.00	95.00	
1 Subscription, 1941 @ \$2.50	2.50	
1 Journal .....	.75	
<i>Total due RURAL SOCIOLOGY</i>	\$948.25	\$948.25
Less Debits to RURAL SOCIOLOGY		
3 Active subscriptions @ \$2.50	\$ 7.50	
2 Active memberships @ \$3.00	6.00	
3 Student memberships @ \$2.00	6.00	
<i>Total debits to RURAL SOCIOLOGY</i>	19.50	
<i>Total credit, RURAL SOCIOLOGY</i>	928.75	
+ Overpayment	1.00	
<i>Checks to RURAL SOCIOLOGY</i>	\$929.75	
Printing	\$ 60.09	
Office Supplies and Postage	57.80	
Telegrams	13.24	
Galpin Subscriptions	16.00	
Miscellaneous Expense	10.14	
Extra Journals	22.50	
<i>Total Expenses</i>	\$179.77	
<i>Total Expenditures</i>		<u>1,128.02</u>

Cash on hand, December 31, 1942 \$ 281.59

The president, C. E. Lively, appointed W. A. Anderson and William M. Smith, Jr., auditing committee. The following statement was made:

The committee has examined the books of the Society and the Treasurer's report and finds them to be in order.

Respectfully submitted,
W. A. ANDERSON
WILLIAM M. SMITH, JR.

MEMBERSHIP: The membership of the Society this year is 389 as compared with 386 last year, an increase of 3. Of this total there are 60 student members as compared with 46 student members last year.

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR

General Statement

During the past year the JOURNAL has been published by the College Print Shop in Raleigh at a considerable saving. A new modern style type, and a longer two column page has been adopted which permits publication of about 20 percent more material per page. Furthermore, the 1942 volume

contains 486 pages as compared with 384 in the 1941 volume. Actually, therefore, we have been able to publish about fifty percent more material at less cost.

The format has received wide approval. The quality of the printing has been exceptionally high; and few errors have crept into the composition. Errors in the Spanish translations of one issue are to be regretted but steps have been taken to have all Spanish abstracts checked, if not made, always by Spanish speaking scholars or natives of Spanish speaking countries.¹

¹Neither Dr. Loomis nor Dr. Whetten are responsible for errors in translations.

The managing editor will appreciate any suggestions relative to improving the JOURNAL. Each member should take a personal interest in the JOURNAL and inspect it carefully for qualities needing improvement or changes.

The circulation of the JOURNAL could be extended if each member would take every occasion possible to call the JOURNAL to the attention of interested libraries and individuals.

The material published in the JOURNAL may be greatly improved if members of the Society would send in more good articles, notes and news items. Particularly is this true of research notes and news items. The JOURNAL goes to press on the 20th of January, April, July and October of each year. Send your material to the appropriate editor in ample time for it to be included.

The managing editor will appreciate it if each member will keep his permanent and forwarding addresses up-to-date. During the war, so many of our members are moving that a substantial number of JOURNALS of each issue are lost. However, the JOURNAL guarantees forwarding postage. Therefore, if members will always leave their forwarding addresses there is no reason why the JOURNAL should not reach them.

In the case of the men in the services, we shall be glad to either hold their JOURNALS, send them to their permanent home addresses, or to whatever addresses they suggest. In the case of students going into the armed services, we shall be glad to extend the student rate for the duration. Service men are urged to keep up their memberships.

The following financial statement has been corrected for several small errors in the statement published in the March 1942 issue. Also, 1941 now includes receipts and expenditures up to January 16, 1943. In 1941 it was necessary for North Carolina State College to pay \$250.00 of the cost of printing the JOURNAL; but in 1942 it was not necessary to depend upon this subsidy. This change in fortune is accounted for by two factors: (1) Increased income from non-member subscribers, and (2) Decreased cost of printing.

Although a cash balance of \$440.21 as of January 16, 1943 is indicated, the JOURNAL has very little net assets because approximately \$400.00 of the balance represents advance payments of non-member subscribers, mostly libraries.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT — RURAL SOCIOLOGY

1941 and 1942

Fiscal Periods Ending January 16, each year

RECEIPTS

	1941	1942
Cash on hand beginning of year	\$ 173.37	\$ 339.89
Rural Sociological Society subscribers	956.25	948.25
RSS sample copies	25.00	
Subscriptions and sales	749.60	836.83
Advertising	80.85	68.00
Reprints		160.91
North Carolina State College	250.00	
<i>Total Receipts</i>	<i>\$2,235.07</i>	<i>\$2,353.88</i>

EXPENDITURES

Printing—Journal	\$1,666.87	\$1,438.54
Printing and mailing reprints		179.33
Stationery and envelopes	74.71	82.85
Postage, telephone, and telegrams	101.12	142.45
Drayage	18.48	.80
Copyright	4.12	12.00

Set of cover plates	12.50	.....
Transfer mailing permit	10.00	.....
Two volumes of R. S. Journal	5.50	.....
Books: Manual of style and synonyms	2.43	3.60
Account book: Journal .....	.....	2.00
Electrotype	1.45	.....
Louisiana State University Press		
Five 1936-1940 Volumes R.S.J.		12.50
Postal guide		1.60
Rubber stamps		2.50
Membership in Educational Press Association		5.00
Labor—Addressograph		12.50
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$1,895.18	\$1,913.67
Receipts	2,235.07	2,353.88
Cash on Hand, end of fiscal period	339.89	440.21
Expenditures	1,895.18	1,913.67

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR

Circulation of the Journal

	1941	1942
Total circulations December	823	851
Members, domestic	385	389
Members, foreign	7	8
Libraries, domestic	249	269
Libraries, foreign	23	26*
Individuals, domestic	29	16
Individuals, foreign	3	0
Exchanges, domestic	41	55
Exchanges, foreign	9	20**
Complimentary, domestic	68	66
Complimentary, Foreign	2	2

* 12 of these being held for delivery after the war.

** 5 of these being held for delivery after the war.

Respectfully submitted,

C. HORACE HAMILTON,
Managing Editor.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION:

The Executive Committee of the American Country Life Association has appointed a special committee "to reassess the Association's functions and explore the possibility of uniting forces interested in the country life field into an effective movement for war and postwar planning and program building." The committee: D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, chairman; Mrs. Raymond Sayre, Ackworth, Iowa; Miss Marjorie Luh, President of the student section of the American Country Life Association, Ohio State University; Rev. George Nell, representing the Catholic Rural Life Conference, Effingham, Illinois; Dr. Floyd Reeves, National Resources Planning Board, Washington, D. C.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY: Edmund Brunner

has been acting as Special Adviser to the Director of Extension, U.S.D.A., paying particular attention to the problems and organization of the neighborhood leader system and making spot studies of the use of high school youth in farming operations during 1942 with a view to helping determine possible 1943 programs.

Mr. Nathan Mendelsohn, formerly assistant in rural sociology at Columbia University, is now with the Office of Price Administration and has been working on the farm and nonfarm data with respect to consumer income.

The American Council on Education has published "Working with Rural Youth" and the University of North Carolina Press

has issued "Community Organization and Adult Education" both by Professor Brunner and both reports of studies of programs subsidized by the General Education Board. The first deals with the results of the rural project of the American Youth Commission and the second with the five year experiment in community organization and county development in Greenville County, South Carolina.

One of the research projects initiated in rural sociology at Columbia this year is a study of congressional opinion on international affairs and the geographic concepts behind these opinions to determine, among other things, whether or not rurality is a determining influence in congressional voting on a dozen international issues somewhat closely related to the present conflict. This study is being done by Mr. John Bovingdon who is also doing some assistant work in sociology.

Another minor research project has been a preliminary analysis of the educational status data available in the 1940 census with particular reference to the farm and nonfarm population. This study will be continued as more data is released. A preliminary report will be published shortly in the *Teachers College Record*.

COMMUNITY SERVICE, INC.: The Historic Peace Churches—the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Brethren (Dunkers)—have survived as small minorities partly because they have largely been settled as compact communities, in rural regions. Of the Friends (Quakers) more than half of the members are rural. Of the Brethren, more than two thirds of the membership are rural, while of the Mennonites, more than eighty per cent of the members are rural. Among the Mennonites the rural churches have larger membership than the urban.

All three of these churches are becoming aware that their very existence depends on continuity of the rural way of life. Of those who go from rural communities to college only a very small proportion return to a rural environment. In the cities the church congregations of these minor denominations are too far apart to serve the members,

and after a generation church loyalties largely disappear.

Under such circumstances the issue of how to make rural life adequate and satisfying becomes acute to those who feel that their denominations have a vital contribution to make to American culture. Two conferences to consider this issue have been held recently. The first, on November 11-13, was at Bethel College (Mennonite) at Newton, Kansas.

In this area the Mennonites are chiefly of Swiss origin. They have become prosperous farmers, outstanding as stock breeders and grain raisers. They have gradually spread over the area, buying the farms of less successful neighbors. Their rural churches have congregations of several hundred, a large proportion being men and boys. Yet the problem of drift to the cities is ever present.

The Mennonite social life comes by direct, unbroken descent from the pre-feudal, pre-empire, primitive democratic society of the Swiss valleys. Through the centuries in Switzerland, France and Holland, and then during the long sojourn in Russia, these communities very carefully maintained the pre-feudal communal structure of their society. Just as the Swiss maintained the continuity of democratic communities in their secluded valleys, so did the Swiss Anabaptists and their descendants, the Mennonites, preserve religious and community democratic life. That life has many cultural values which America can ill afford to lose. The aim of the Bethel College conference was to consider ways and means for preserving them.

The second of these conferences was a meeting of representatives of the Quakers, Brethren and Mennonites at Richmond, Indiana, on December 11 and 12, 1942. About one hundred representatives of the three bodies were present. The principal speakers or leaders were Monsignor L. G. Ligutti, of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Mr. E. R. Bowen, General Secretary of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Mr. O. E. Baker, until recently population specialist of the Department of Agriculture, Arthur E. Morgan, President

of Community Service, Inc., and Homer Morris, of the American Friends Service Committee.

It was pointed out that whereas a Roman Catholic family remains Catholic for about two generations after going to a large city, and does not become extinct for three or four generations, a Protestant family loses its church affiliation, and also becomes extinct, about a generation sooner after moving to the city. The fading of these formal affiliations parallels the fading of community ways and standards, and the values associated with them. It was pointed out that the ablest young people of these three denominations go to college, and that of these only perhaps ten per cent return to rural life. One of the major problems was stated to be that of combining progress with stability, keeping open the way of free inquiry, while holding to those elements of the cultural inheritance which give strength and vitality to our society.

Toward the close of the conference a general committee was formed, consisting of three members from each of the denominations represented. This committee will explore for ways to interest young people in the possibilities of rural life, and perhaps to provide training and counsel. The Friends' section of the committee announced that Stanley Hamilton of Quaker Hill, Richmond, Indiana, who was primarily responsible for calling the conference, would be retained by the Friends to develop interest and organization. Dan West, Goshen, Indiana, is spokesman for the Brethren Church.

The interests of the Mennonites can be learned from Professor Guy Hershberger, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana.

ARTHUR E. MORGAN.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY: The Department of Rural Sociology has lost several of its graduate students who entered the armed forces. In June, 1941 James E. White and Joseph W. Geddes resigned. The former is now a Lieutenant in Infantry somewhere in the Pacific islands and the latter is a Lieutenant in a Bombing Squadron of the Army Air Forces. During the past summer

the following entered the armed forces:

Lt. W. W. Reeder, now with the Office of the Director of Special Service Division, War Department, where he is under Dr. L. S. Cottrell, Jr., at Washington, D. C.

Corp. Jesse W. Reeder is with the Army Air Forces as a weather observer.

Sgt. Ward W. Bauder is at the Base Weather Station, Langley Field, Va.

Sgt. Max V. Exner, who was an extension instructor in music, is now with the Signal Corps in Africa.

DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL WELFARE: A recent letter from Dr. Carl C. Taylor, now in Argentina for the State Department, advises that he is planning to make his final field trip, which is to the south tip of the continent and will return to this country about April 1.

A. Lee Coleman, Robert E. Galloway, C. R. Draper, Joseph R. Gates, and Gilbert Meldrum are all serving with the armed forces.

Walter M. Kollmorgen, until recently attached to the Atlanta office, has transferred to the War Labor Board of Atlanta. Olen Leonard is serving as area leader in the Division's Atlanta office.

Varden Fuller is area leader at Berkeley, California.

Earl H. Bell is now on the Washington staff working on postwar planning projects and "What's Ahead in American Agriculture?"

Arthur Raper heads up the Division's Rural Life Trends program and has associated with him F. Howard Forsyth, formerly with the Milwaukee office. Dr. Raper's book, "Tenants of the Almighty," will shortly be published by the Macmillan Company.

Lloyd Fisher and Walter Goldschmidt of the Berkeley office have been detailed to work on the Central Valley Authority Project, which is similar to the Columbia Basin investigations recently completed.

Charles P. Loomis, on leave from the Division for the past 18 months, has recently returned to duty in the Washington office.

The Division has developed a cooperative

agreement with Extension Service whereby Douglas Enslinger becomes "In Charge, Rural Sociological Extension Work," and will devote part of his time to supervising that agency's rural sociology projects in the various states.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS: Former graduate assistants now in the armed services are E. G. Mosbacher at Fort Sill, Oklahoma and E. V. Stadel. Mr. G. V. Vergeront who has been on a fellowship at the University of Wisconsin will enter the services soon.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY: Robin M. Williams resigned December 1 to begin work in the Special Services Section of the War Department in Washington, D. C. He is associated with Dr. L. S. Cottrell, Jr. (Cornell University).

An inventory of manpower resources in Eastern Kentucky is being conducted co-operatively with associates in Farm Management and Land Economics and in co-operation with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.

Data were gathered during the summer of 1941 on the urban status of rural migrants in the city of Lexington, Kentucky. This project is the counterpart of the usual migration study as conducted in the rural community.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE: J. F. Thaden has been appointed by the Governor of Michigan to an educational study commission which was organized to make recommendations to the new legislature on school district reorganization, state aid to schools, tuition, and transportation of pupils. A bulletin by J. F. Thaden, "Migratory Beet Workers in Michigan," has recently been released by State College press.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA: Vernon Davies, research assistant in rural sociology, has been stationed at the Rantoul, Illinois, Air Corps base, since October 1. He is taking special training preparatory to becoming an instructor as a propeller specialist. At the time of his departure his

project on the development of a sociometric instrument for measuring rural community morale, was nearing completion and he hopes to be able to finish it in the near future. Mrs. Margaret McConahy has been appointed research assistant in his stead.

In November, Lowry Nelson gave a paper at the University of Chicago on the impact of the war on rural communities as one of the Walgreen Foundation series. The combined series of papers will be published as a book by the University of Chicago. Dr. Nelson also has a chapter on rural resettlement in *Development of Collective Enterprise* under the editorship of Seba Eldridge, published by the University of Kansas press.

Aff I. Tannous was given a half-time research assignment during the current year, and is making a study of the rural church in Minnesota, with special reference to the effect of the war emergency on the church, and the role which it is playing in the mobilization of the community effort.

MISSISSIPPI STATE COLLEGE: Morton B. King, Jr., entered the armed forces February 1st.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI: Dr. Harold F. Kaufman joined the staff in August, 1942, as Instructor. He will have charge of work in Community Organization.

Former members of the Department of Rural Sociology now in the armed forces include: Marvin Lind, Graduate Asst., now Artillery Captain in the Pacific area; George Blair, Research Asst., now First Lt., Infantry; J. R. Bertrand, now Ensign, Submarine Warfare.

Miss Margaret Bright, B.A., University of California, is Research Asst., working on social aspects of farm labor.

Current departmental research projects include: the physical status, health and medical facilities of the farm population of Missouri, the handicrafts of the Missouri Ozarks, a historical study of farm laborers in Southeast Missouri, and sociological factors in soil conservation and land use.

During January, Dr. C. E. Lively assisted in holding three conferences on the general

subject of public relations and forest defense. The conferences were held at Portland, Oregon, Berkeley, California and Los Angeles, California, and were held under the auspices of the Advisory Council on Human Relations of the American Association for Advancement of Science of which Dr. Lively is Secretary. The U. S. Forest Service and Pacific Coast social scientists cooperated.

MONTANA STATE COLLEGE: "The Northern Plains in a World of Change" is a study outline for adult groups in the Plains Region of Canada and the United States. Carl F. Kraenzel, Glenn H. Craig and O. A. Parsons, all of Montana State College, are co-authors along with several Canadians. The publication, issued in preliminary form was printed in Canada, and is to be reprinted in the United States during the coming summer.

The publication as well as a number of regional meetings of various specialists was financed by the Humanities Section of the Rockefeller Foundation. It is recommended for distribution by the Northern Great Plains Agricultural Advisory Council (Extension Directors) and the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

The Northern Plains is defined as a unique physical region because of its semi-arid climate, sparsity of population and distance from market. The authors suggest that solutions to the existing problems require a regional approach, grounded in an attempt to develop a culture or way of living that is adapted to the peculiarities of the region. The fact that the Northern Plains Region cuts across international boundary lines, and involves similar problems of the people of two nations who tend to compete for the same foreign markets lends striking emphasis to the need for post-war international planning.

The Northern Plains of the United States is intimately concerned with international relations, not only in a spatial sense (adjacent to Canada), but in a time sense also. A post-war free-trade policy will put Northern Plains Agricultural products as the first in line for international trade

agreements. A post-war tariff policy will result in bringing "the Northern Plains people to their knees" before the effects are felt in most other areas of the continent. Hence, the Northern Plains is again on the "pioneer belt," this time the frontier of international relations.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE: Maurice Rothberg has resigned as research assistant and is returning to his home in Australia. Just before leaving, he successfully completed preliminary examinations for the doctorate degree.

The General Education Board has made a grant of funds to the Department of Rural Sociology for a study of local neighborhood and community leaders in North Carolina. Dr. Sanford R. Winston planned the project and is to be the project leader. Dr. Winston has completed a manuscript summarizing the results of his rural leadership study in Franklin and Johnston counties, North Carolina. Mary Elizabeth Holloway, Research Assistant, is also working on the leadership studies.

Mr. Francis M. Henderson, Research Assistant and Teaching Fellow in rural sociology has completed a manuscript entitled "An Estimate of Net Rural-Urban Migration in the State and Counties of North Carolina from 1930 to 1940." This study brings Hamilton's rural-urban study of 1934 up-to-date and in addition shows migration by counties. Migration from North Carolina farms during the decade 1930-40 was found to be only 10 percent less than in the decade 1920-30; but the rate of migration was 15 percent less. Negro migration from North Carolina farms in the latter decade was 31 percent greater, and the rate of migration 23 percent greater than in the earlier decade. Migrants from farms in the latter decade left the state in greater numbers and at a higher rate than in the previous decade. A research paper summarizing the study is being prepared.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE: Howard Cottam is in charge of the research unit of the Agricultural Marketing Administration

in New York City. R. W. Kerns is now serving in the Navy.

REGIONAL LAND TENURE RESEARCH PROJECT: Harold Hoffsommer is on leave from Louisiana State University directing the three-year Regional Land Tenure Research Project with headquarters at 103 Hill Hall, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. Merton Oyler, formerly of the University of Kentucky, is Sociologist on the regional staff. Others on the staff associated with the sociological phases of the study are: Ralph J. Ramsey and Betsy Castleberry, both formerly of Louisiana State University; Murphy Mears, with a Master's from the University of Arkansas and formerly with the Little Rock Public Schools; and Melvin S. Brooks, on leave from Texas A. & M. College. The project covers the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas. It is financed by substantial grants from the General Education Board and Farm Foundation which, together with the Experiment Stations cooperating in the five states, give the project assets of more than \$350,000.00. It combines the subject matter fields of Rural Sociology, Land, Economics, and Farm Management. A description of this project written by Harold Hoffsommer is to appear in an early issue of *Journal of Farm Economics*.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN: A. F. Wileiden is serving as chairman of the committee administering neighborhood programs for the Wisconsin Extension Service. George Hill is on leave from the University heading up a training section in the Farm Security Administration's program to secure year-round farm laborers in the surplus population areas for the labor-shortage areas. A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, is also working on the program, an experimental unit of which is being carried out on the University Farm at Columbus.

THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON: Dean Paul H. Landis, head of the division of rural sociology, is on leave of absence

with the Office of Agricultural War Relations, where he is conducting a study of the rural manpower problem.

V Circular No. 1, the first of a new series of brief Experiment Station publications designed to bring to immediate attention the salient results of timely research projects, was written by Dr. Carl F. Reuss. Entitled "More Manpower for the Production Program," it stresses the potential food production resources available in the large body of rural residents and part-time farmers in Washington's population.

As Investigation Leader for the Subproblem of General Government, Dr. Reuss prepared a report on "A Proposed Pattern of General Governmental Services in the Columbia Basin," in which the rural municipality was recommended as the basic local governmental unit. The Coordinating Committee for Columbia Basin Joint Investigation Problem 28, of which Dr. Reuss was a member, rejected the rural municipality idea as almost impossible of realization because of the constitutional and statutory changes necessary, but out of the discussions grew a workable pattern of local governmental organization that promises to correct the worst of present conditions without requiring extensive legislative action.

Station bulletins recently published include two by Dean Landis, an analysis of "Fifty Years of Population Growth in Washington;" and a study of the occupational roles of 133,651 graduates of Washington High Schools, classes of 1934 through 1941, under the title, "Six Months After Commencement." A forthcoming publication by Dean Landis will deal with "The Loss of Rural Manpower to War Industry Through Migration." Another bulletin soon to be published is "Back to the Country—The Rural Trend in Washington's Population," by Dr. Reuss.

The division of rural sociology has been asked by the State Planning Council to assist that organization in planning an intensive Community Resource survey in three counties of western Washington.

Corp. Raymond Hatch, who received his master's degree in rural sociology last

summer, is a weather observer at Bae Weather Station, Lemoore A.A.F.S., Lemoore, California.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: No regular annual meeting was held last year. The following officers were elected by mail ballot: President, Glen A. Carlson, University of the Redlands; Vice Presidents: Northern Division, Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington; Central Division, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, University of California; Secretary-treasurer, Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington; Members of the Advisory Council, William Kirk, Pomono College; Samuel H. Jameson, University of Oregon.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: The following are the officers for 1943: President, George A. Lundberg, Bennington Col-

lege; First Vice-President, Kimball Young, Queens College; Second Vice-President, Samuel A. Stouffer, War Department. Conrad Taeuber and Joseph K. Folsom remain as Secretary-Managing Editor, and Editor, respectively.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE: Miss Mary G. Lacy, after 30 years' service in the Department of Agriculture, has retired from active service. Miss Lacy was, for many years and at the time of her retirement, Assistant Librarian. The bibliographies in a wide variety of subjects relating to the social and economic aspects of rural life which were developed under her direction are widely used.

Dr. Reed H. Bradford, our Book Review Editor, has resigned to accept a position with Uncle Sam's Army.

OBITUARY

EBEN MUMFORD

It was with a deep sense of loss that the students of Dr. Eben Mumford heard of his death October 17 of last year at his home in East Lansing, Michigan. Not only did Dr. Mumford constantly place before his graduate seminars the principles of leadership and democracy in their broadest aspects and as applied to all forms of human relationships, but he was able to accomplish the more difficult feat of applying those principles in which he so firmly believed to the conduct of his seminars and to the administration of the Department of Sociology at Michigan State College, which he himself organized in 1924 and continued to head until his retirement in 1936.

To those who studied under Dr. Mumford in his later years his chief interest appeared to be social theory, a field in which his training both in Europe and America

enabled him to speak with authority. But up to the time of his retirement he continued to direct research on Michigan communities. Under his supervision the communities of the state were delineated with the trade center as the basis. In addition acting upon his conviction that the high school is the most important institution in a Michigan rural community he also had the state analyzed by areas, the boundaries of which were determined by the attendance of children in their respective high schools.

Doubtless, in the future years the contribution of Dr. Mumford to the field of applied social organization based as it was in practical experience and a wide knowledge of theory, will be more and more appreciated. Few know rural Michigan as he knew it, nor are there many rural sociologists as well known by the actual dirt farmers in their states. In his twelve years at Michigan State College, previous to the

inception of the Department of Sociology, he organized and developed the County Agricultural Extension Service and many local farm bureaus, as well as taking an active part in the formation of the Michigan State Farm Bureau and the American Farm Bureau Federation. In all these activities he had occasion to address many meetings of farmers in all parts of the state and had the opportunity to become acquainted with their problems and ways of thinking. Born on a farm he continued to supervise the operation of his own Michigan farm during many years of his active life. As Head of

the Department of Sociology he continued to pioneer in the organization of the Michigan Country Life Association, the Michigan Collegiate Country Life Association, Minister's Short Courses, and the Michigan Conference of Social Workers.

Thus passes from the ranks of the Rural Sociological Society a man, whose complete understanding of and firm belief in the theory and practice of democratic leadership was translated into action, contributing immeasurably to the enrichment of rural life.

NELLIE H. LOOMIS.

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The Impact of The War on Rural Community Life

State and Local Viewpoint

*By Robert A. Polson**

ABSTRACT

The impact of the war on rural community life in the northeastern states seems most pronounced in those phases of living sensitive to restrictions on transportation. The limited use of the automobile has upset many of the established patterns of association. The usual forms of recreation are not as available to farm residents as they once were and organization participation has been adjusted to fewer meetings. Juvenile delinquency has increased particularly in those localities where young people no longer have access to commercial recreation. The rapid exodus of individuals in the productive ages of the population has created a shortage of labor and a curtailment of community services. The portion of the population in the dependent ages has materially increased. Rural organization adjustments to a war economy and the necessity of promoting war programs has placed a heavy load on local leaders. Out of this situation has come an increased interest in neighborhood activity and organization devices for community coordination of war work.

RESUMEN

Los efectos de la guerra sobre la vida de la sociedad rural en los estados del Noreste parecen haber sido más marcados en aquellas actividades que han sido afectadas por las restricciones en la transportación. El uso limitado de automóviles ha alterado los medios corrientes de contacto social. Las formas corrientes de diversión no están tan fácilmente al alcance de la población rural como en épocas normales y la participación en organizaciones sociales se limita a un menor número de reuniones. La delincuencia juvenil ha aumentado especialmente en las localidades donde la juventud no tiene acceso a las diversiones comerciales. El éxodo de personas en las edades productivas de la población ha ocasionado la escasez de trabajadores y, por consiguiente, la reducción en los servicios a la comunidad. La parte de la población que es dependiente por razón de edad ha aumentado considerablemente. Los ajustes necesarios en la organización rural hacia la economía de la guerra y la necesidad de fomentar programas de guerra ha requerido un mayor esfuerzo de parte de los líderes locales. Esta situación ha estimulado el interés en las actividades del vecindario y en los sistemas de organización para coordinar el esfuerzo de guerra en la comunidad.

The prosecution of a modern war demands adjustments from all groups in our society. Rural communities are having to make especially significant changes in their established pattern of living. The curtailed use of the automobile, necessitated by the war, has suddenly plunged these communities into certain conditions resembling those of the horse and

buggy era, and rural people are no longer organized to function effectively under such circumstances. The situation is further aggravated by migration which decreases the proportion of the population in the productive ages and increases it in the dependent ages. An examination of some of these problems faced by rural people and the adjustments they are making to them will in-

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dicade the profoundness of the impact of the war on rural community life.

The Impact of Transportation Restrictions upon Community Life

Farm people have fewer contacts with their community centers since tires and gasoline have been rationed and there is less attendance at organization meetings and social affairs in the village. Some increase has occurred in neighborhood participation, but there has been quite a sharp decrease in the number of face-to-face contacts outside of the community. There has been a modest reappearance of neighborhood life. Home parties and meetings are being substituted to a limited degree for community-wide recreation and organization meetings. The Extension Service Minute Men are responsible for initiating some neighborhood activities; others are promoted by churches, 4-H Clubs or Home Economics Clubs, while still others are spontaneous developments growing out of the attempts of rural people to adjust themselves to the restricted use of the automobile.

The isolation of rural young people on farms and the curtailment of their contacts with other young people for leisure-time activities has contributed to their uneasiness and dissatisfaction with farm life, particularly if they are unmarried. A recent graduate of the two-year course in agriculture at the New York State College of Agriculture writes:

With the ban on pleasure driving a single farm hand like

myself has no means of contact socially or anything of the kind. To young fellows the Army, with its fellowship at least, looks far better than being stuck on a farm where we are more or less isolated.

Many rural organization leaders are participating with their neighbors for the first time in their adult lives. To illustrate, here is the essence of a conversation with an officer of a prominent rural organization:

One of the families near our farm organized a party for a local boy who was leaving for the Army. They couldn't call in their usual friends because of gasoline and tire rationing so they just called in the folks who lived close enough to walk. I was surprised at what a good time we had together. They're really nice people. They had lived there six years and I had never learned to know them.

Many rural individuals belong to special interest groups whose membership is highly selective according to income, education, occupation, and social standing of the family. Where neighborhood meetings are held neighbors with unlike interests, with various nationality backgrounds and from different social levels of the community are thrown together in neighborhood activities. It is sociologically interesting to observe the difficulty some of them have in adjusting to this situation. Many who are skillful in special interest organizations have difficulty in assuming the role of leader in the more informal situation of a neighborhood. In fact, the neighborhood leader plan of the Extension Service and the

block leader plan of the War Councils have occasionally failed to function because prominent people who had been successful in community-wide work have proved to be inexperienced and unable to promote neighborhood functions. On the other hand, many new people have been "discovered" as they have come forward and furnished leadership for new crisis situations.

Attempts at recreating the neighborhood units bring into relief some of the fundamental changes in the structure of rural communities since the days of horse and buggy transportation. Proximity of residence no longer insures acquaintance or common participation. Organization participation has become increasingly selective—likeminded individuals in a community have grouped themselves together in congenial aggregations for sociability, recreation, religion or the protection of economic interests. Families who in the past furnished neighborhood leadership have in this generation largely abandoned such responsibility in favor of participation in a variety of organizations usually meeting in the village rather than in the neighborhood. A new generation has grown up under the influence of an automobile-patterned community. As a consequence when neighborhood activities are attempted at the present time people are socially uncomfortable in one another's homes for they have had no previous participation in common. It is also true that the population of neighborhoods is not as homogeneous as previously. Frequently Yankees

are intermingled with American-born Scandinavian or German farmers, or Polish and Italian farmers or occasionally a Jewish family. This is not a congenial combination to bring together in the home of some family who takes pride in having successfully farmed their land for a hundred years.

There is a very definite tendency for the pattern of social stratification in a community to carry over into the organization of wartime activities. Individuals of high status seek out war emergency jobs with high status and expect lower status people to take lower status positions. Officials who have ignored the existence of these prestige classes have inadvertently handicapped war programs. An exception to this occurs when a new crisis situation demands immediate and effective leadership. In this case people tend to respond to the individual who comes forward and successfully handles the problem. Leadership of this type in the older communities is subject to criticism from the established leaders. Competency is not enough; in some communities one must also be socially acceptable.

The restrictions on transportation are credited with contributing to an increase in juvenile delinquency in small villages and neighborhoods located some distance from the usual centers of recreation and leisure-time activities. Previously young people drove to nearby community centers or cities for movies, dances, bowling, roller skating, and other forms of commercial recreation. Now

they cannot drive to their community centers and have no recreation substitute in their neighborhoods. In some localities families have opened their homes for good times, but, for the most part, families have not developed the leadership skills for this type of activity. Consequently, the most prevalent condition in farm neighborhoods is a complete lack of social recreation. In some villages the schoolhouses formerly used for evening community activities have been closed because of the fuel shortage. At the same time many leaders of 4-H Clubs, Scout troops and Sunday School activities have left for the armed forces or industrial employment. This combination of circumstances plus the stimulation of violence by war news has encouraged behavior that leads to delinquency.

In many places there is no demand for neighborhood activity, particularly among adults. They seem willing to forego their contacts with other people in community meetings and confine themselves to their regular employment and one or two war activities such as Red Cross sewing. For information and news they depend upon the radio and the daily newspapers. When the Extension Service organized the neighborhood leader plan¹ in New York State a year ago it was anticipated that many neighborhood leaders would organ-

ize locality meetings. This has not been the case; in fact, there has been resistance to "calling meetings." These neighborhood leaders prefer to use the telephone, the mail or door-to-door distribution of printed matter to get war emergency information to the farm families for whom they are responsible. This hesitancy to call neighborhood meetings is not entirely due to lack of transportation because many neighborhood leaders' homes are within walking distance. This reticence seems to be due more to what we have previously been discussing—lack of experience in organizing locality activities. There is a marked tendency to depend upon a secondary type of contact rather than a face-to-face contact for handling this neighborhood work.

Rural school boards are having difficulty obtaining well-trained teachers because young women object to living in isolated localities. One State Teachers College reports that in a graduating class of nearly a hundred elementary school teachers only six are willing to take one-room school positions. Many others will not accept rural consolidated school jobs if they are located in villages off the railroad or bus lines. Many also object to the low salaries. There is better pay working on an assembly line or in a city school than in the rural schoolroom. Consequently the quality of teaching in rural communities will undoubtedly suffer until rural school teaching is more attractive to competently trained young people and until an automobile can again be used to break the isolation of a rural teaching job.

¹ These Extension Minute Men, or neighborhood leaders as they are known in other states, are the local units of a system developed to reach all farm families with war information and to obtain the reaction of farmers to government programs for the guidance of government officials in promoting the war program.

The Impact of Population Movements Upon Rural Community Life

The population exodus from rural communities has been extensive and rapid. There are very few single young people above high school age left in the farming areas of the northeast. The one major exception to this is in those localities near enough war industries to permit industrial employment while living at home. The population composition of communities from which there has been extensive migration has been markedly changed. Such communities now have a very large proportion of individuals in the dependent-age groups, under 16 and over 64 years of age. The productive-age groups in the population have decreased and are now composed largely of established family units with dependent children. Residents of poor land areas have migrated in large numbers if they were not in the older age bracket or did not live close enough to industrial employment to commute to work. In good land areas some farmers' sons have remained to participate in farming. For the most part this is true only on the better farms and where the boy is in partnership with his father or is planning to take over the home farm. There have been many cases, however, where community pressure has forced boys into the Army. The local girl friends who asked, "Where is your uniform?" and the isolation of farm life have contributed to the exodus. High industrial wages have enticed a number of established farmers to sell their herds and to accept

industrial jobs for the duration. Some of them are continuing to live on their farms and to do part-time farming with the help of family labor. Many of them intend to return to farming after the war.

The elderly and retired people who live in small villages are having difficulty obtaining the customary odd job man to shovel walks, bring groceries, make gardens and mow lawns. The exodus of doctors and nurses further complicates life in these communities. These things become serious in villages that formerly had 12 to 15 per cent of their population above 65 years of age and at the present time have probably 15 to 20 per cent in that age group.

The Impact of the War Upon Community Activities and Organizations

Rural localities are asked to organize almost as great a variety of war activities as are cities. The typical northeastern village of a thousand population with its surrounding area of an additional thousand people has normally 55 to 75 active organizations. To this peacetime set-up the war program has added approximately 25 emergency activities. Some of these are promoted by new organizations; others have been taken over by established groups. This is obviously a heavy organizational load even in the most efficiently organized communities. However, most of these new programs operate independently of one another and separately report to the county, state and national agencies responsible for war work.

Some of these programs are coordinated on a county level through the county war councils, but not all of them. The attempts at coordination have been many and varied. Most plans for coordination by war councils have been organized along political lines and under the supervision of village mayors and township supervisors. These plans are set up for each village, city and township in the county. This procedure follows the pattern of local government and protects the political interests of the elected officials. In most cases it has little or no relationship to the natural social areas. Consequently, within a single community there will be several coordination plans—one for the village, and one for each township in the area. In one extreme case in central New York there are eleven units of local government within a single community. The organization of war programs has very clearly demonstrated the fundamental conflict between the "local unit of government" plan of organization versus the "natural community area" plan of organization for all types of programs that come down to farm people from overhead groups and agencies.

When necessity compels coordination the method frequently used is to appoint a coordinator with power over the programs to be coordinated. It follows essentially the theory of straight-line organization, with each position subordinate or superordinate to the other. Business men and war veterans are prone to advocate this method. The community council plan is an alternative method used in some

cases and there is a tendency to turn to it as local war programs become more complicated. Nearly all councils are built on the assumption that the individuals in the council have equal rights and authority. These councils are composed not only of individuals responsible for various phases of the war program but also of officers of established agencies and local governmental officials. It is the hope of those promoting councils that they will continue after the war as community planning agencies. So far, there is little to indicate that any local emergency organization will be continued after the war.

This article has emphasized those impacts of the war upon rural communities that are negative and restrictive in their effect rather than positive. It is not the intention of the author to imply that the sole influence of the war on rural life is negative in nature. It must be admitted that the war economy has appreciably increased the farmer's income and given him an opportunity to pay his debts and to save for the time he can make improvements in his farm plant. The emergency labor being recruited to take the place of experienced farm help, that has left for the armed services and industrial employment, brings new types of people to the rural community. There will be city boys and girls, work gangs of southern Negroes, and folks from the southern mountains. Many localities will experience the growing pains of assimilating these people whose customs are quite different from their own. Old timers will clash

with newcomers but in doing so they will get acquainted with people from other parts of the nation. Also there will be an opportunity for improved village-country relations as merchants cooperate with farmers by closing their businesses to help harvest the crops. The intense interest with which communities follow the military careers of their boys on the fighting fronts all over the world carries with it an education in geography and international relations, all of which will be needed as we face post-war problems. Then too, the government's use of the neighborhood plan to reach all farm families rather than a selected few will demonstrate an organization technique that has possibilities in the post-war period. Some of the urbanward migration of farm young people cannot be regretted. During the depression era many rural youth who normally would have migrated did not do so and it was not until war jobs were available that they had desirable eco-

nomic opportunities. It is entirely probable that many of them will never return to rural communities, but will become another contribution of the farm home to the urban population.

To summarize, the impact of the war on rural community life in the northeastern states seems most pronounced in those phases of living sensitive to restrictions on transportation. The limited use of the automobile has upset many of the established patterns of association. The rapid exodus of young people has created a shortage of farm labor and a curtailment of community services. The war has thus produced a rural situation in which the sociologist should be busy testing his theories of community organization not only because there is an unusual opportunity to evaluate their validity critically, but because there is a patriotic obligation to assist in the solution of wartime problems.

Differential Achievement Among Iowa Counties in Civilian War Programs*

By C. Arnold Anderson and Bryce Ryan†

ABSTRACT

Effective community performance on civilian war programs contributes significantly to success in total war. Interest in these programs, however, has been limited by preoccupation with protective services such as air-raid defense plans. Even so, Civilian Defense offices are not yet effectively organized in all counties, and they exist in few local communities. Scrap iron collection and bond sales have been more successful. There was little consistency of performance in different programs. Counties with efficient Civilian Defense offices were not markedly superior in either bond selling or scrap iron collection; and counties with good records on one of these last campaigns were not superior on the other one. Comparing the individual factors related to successful programs, we find that high income levels, strong Farm Bureaus, large urban populations, and sizeable German groups were favorable factors. Having many men in military service did not motivate counties to excel on the home front. Chance elements in local organization and leadership are probably more important than the factors studied in determining the success of civilian mobilization.

RESUMEN

La eficiente ejecución por la comunidad de los programas civiles de guerra contribuye grandemente al éxito en la guerra total. Sin embargo, el interés en estos programas ha sido limitado por las preocupaciones en los servicios de protección, tales como los planes de defensa antiaérea. Aún así, las Oficinas de Defensa Civil no están todavía bien organizadas en todos los condados y solo existen en muy pocas comunidades locales. La recolección de hierro viejo y la venta de bonos han tenido mayor éxito. Hubo muy poca consistencia en la realización de los distintos programas. Los condados con eficientes oficinas de Defensa Civil no fueron notablemente superiores en la venta de bonos ó en la recolección de hierro viejo, aquellos condados que superaron en una de estas dos campañas no fueron los mejores en la otra. Al comparar los factores individuales relacionadas con los programas que tuvieron éxito, encontramos que los altos niveles de entradas, las fuertes Agencias Agrícolas, las grandes poblaciones urbanas, y los grandes grupos de alemanes fueron los factores que ayudaron a los condados a superar en el frente doméstico. Ciertos factores fortuitos en las organizaciones locales y en los lideratos son probablemente más importantes que los factores estudiados al determinar el éxito de la movilización civil.

Total war demands the refocusing of both vocational and non-vocational civilian activities toward the achievement of victory. As states differ in their capacity to contribute toward war programs, so do the counties within a state; wealthy counties can buy more bonds and those with a

youthful population can furnish more soldiers. Ability to contribute is a basic factor underlying achievement. Clearly this is not the sole criterion, however. To capacity must be added a complex of other conditions; patriotic zeal, willingness to sacrifice, and organizational efficiency. These attributes must be considered along with ability in estimating the share of the total burden that any particu-

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lar group will carry, in the absence of compulsion.

There has been a wide variation among Iowa counties in their contributions to specific war programs. We have attempted to correlate these differences in performance with certain social characteristics of the 99 counties. The analysis has had to be cursory; data are meager and only a few of the background factors can be stated objectively. It was hoped, nevertheless, that such study could be of some assistance in formulating new programs and in foretelling the circumstances in which standard achievement would be difficult to secure, as well as the areas where results would be forthcoming with a minimum of outside stimulus or aid.

Four spheres of civilian participation were studied: war bond sales, scrap iron collection, civilian defense organization, and the activity of farmers in educational programs. While these do not cover the full range of civilian effort, they do represent areas of great emphasis.¹ A number of factors for which county data were available were presumed to bear upon achievement. The proportions of the population that were urban and rural-farm served as the broadest measure of the social structure of the county. The representa-

tion of foreign, and especially German, stock identified counties with ethnic components that might be expected to deviate from typical wartime attitudes. As measures of economic level we used the county war bond quotas; these had been carefully weighted, with stress upon current income. The percentage of the farm population belonging to the Farm Bureau provided an indication of the county's organizational level. So also did the degree of organization of the Office of Civilian Defense, which was both a measure of war achievement and potentially a factor in other civilian achievements. The degree of personal involvement in the military aspect of the war was assumed to be represented by the ratio of men in military service to the total population.² Finally, we have compared current bond sales with those for the third Liberty Loan drive in 1918 in order to show the consistency of present civilian achievement with that of the last war.

The Iowa Background

The social structure of Iowa is essentially rural despite its high degree of urbanization in culture compared with other agricultural states. Within the state, however, the southern section is neither prosperous nor urban, in many ways corresponding more to the stereotype of Missouri than of Iowa. Organizational activity in Iowa is strongly conditioned by the

¹ The materials used are not of equal validity and do not relate to identical periods. They have been accumulated as opportunity permitted rather than through a single research survey. We have included only a few numerical results in this paper, since to present the data adequately would have required considerable space. If there is sufficient demand for the full results, they can be mimeographed.

² If voluntary enlistments alone could have been secured, these might have been used as a measure of achievement rather than as a background factor.

predominance of agriculture. Before Pearl Harbor Iowa was isolationist and non-interventionist, but this fact is of doubtful relevance to the present study since the attitudes rested more on grounds of national self-containment than pacifism. It is improbable that war programs have been affected by these pre-war attitudes since the quick shift to emphasis upon military efficiency.

Civilian participation has received a specific definition among Iowans, as in the nation generally, quite divergent in many respects from that most appropriate to the situation objectively regarded. "Food For Freedom" is undeniably Iowa's first task. But when extra-vocational activities are considered, a primary conception of the civilian's role has been protection from attack. This mood, in large measure encouraged by the state OCD administration, has focused attention upon the dramatic.³ Community service projects have enlisted little interest. It is undeniable that sale of war bonds and collection of scrap iron are important to citizens, but they hardly comprise a war program. With Iowa's protected position and relative lack of military objectives, the prevailing narrow and dramatic conception of public service is discordant.

Civilian Defense

Since county and local civilian defense offices are by design integrat-

³ A systematic analysis of the kind of civilian participation, other than occupational, suited to modern warfare may be found in Hart, Anderson, Ryan, and Stacy, "We Can't All Shoot, But . . .," *National Municipal Review*, (June, 1942).

ing agencies for civilian war work, their degree of organization should be related to county war achievement. Rapid and efficient establishment of this agency should reflect not only achievement as such but also provide a substantial basis for other varieties of service.

Iowa has been slow to organize its civilian defense machinery, and at the present time effectiveness in constructive programs is low. The protective services have been strongly emphasized, but it is doubtful if Iowa's performance is distinctive compared to other states—except around the capital city.

A study conducted last summer⁴ revealed that every county had a civilian defense office, but that less than one-fourth of the councils held regular meetings. In more than a third of the counties there were no community defense councils. Less than a third had made plans for the establishment of a Citizens' Service Corps, and the average county had about one-half of the recommended committees functioning. Approximately half the counties had opened volunteer offices, but only about half of these had utilized volunteers for any program.

On the protective side organization was a little stronger, but here also the average county was prepared for

⁴ This study was conducted by Margaret Warnken Ryan and Bryce Ryan for the Iowa League of Women Voters. For a more complete statement of the findings, see the *Iowa Farm Economist*, October, 1942, editorial page. The counties returning questionnaires are distributed quite similarly to all counties for the various factors used in the present analysis.

only five of the 16 recommended protective functions. It should be recognized that many of these branches were quite unnecessary in many Iowa counties. This condition did little to retard the determination of the state office to mobilize Iowans, farmers and urbanites alike, to the immediate threats of air attack and sabotage. While it would be pointless to dispute the desirability of establishing a skeleton of protective services, one must remark the inability of state or local leaders to perceive the broader and more immediate threats to local welfare.

A rating scale was devised to evaluate the status of civilian defense in the counties in June, 1942.⁵ There were several factors which were associated in moderate degree with adequacy of civilian defense organization. Superior OCD offices were more likely to be found in the urban counties and to be distinctly lacking in those counties with the largest part of their people living on farms. The wealthier counties were better organized; few counties below the median on income had good OCD offices.

Counties with large foreign groups showed up slightly poorer; proportion of German stock, however, was uncorrelated. Contribution of soldiers and sailors was reflected only weakly in OCD efficiency; only at the top extreme was there any association.

⁵ The ratings were based on these items: Regularity of meetings, number of recommended committees formed, representation of outside civic organizations on the council, organization of the Service Corps, establishment and use of a volunteer office, organization of community defense councils.

Counties that had large Farm Bureau memberships were distinctly better organized for civilian defense also. This result is congruent with the influence of wealth and urban concentration.

Bond Sales

Where the inadequacy of coordinated community organization may have retarded special drives, autonomous committees have carried on. In the first half of 1942 Iowans had purchased 43 per cent of their annual bond quotas, as compared with 35 per cent for the nation. This result was attained despite the fact that up to the first of September, systematic pledge campaigns had been completed in less than a third of the counties. Half of the counties had reached their quotas by the end of the year.⁶

Several factors were related to bond selling achievement, measured by the ratios of sales to quotas. The wealthier counties were conspicuously more successful, and the urban ones exceeded the rural by a small margin. Again, Farm Bureau membership was an important factor. Of considerable interest is the fact that localities with large proportions of German people made a better record than other counties. A similar relationship, though less marked, held for foreign stock generally. The presence of sons and brothers in military service does not appear to have motivated larger bond purchases.

⁶ For additional information on the bond sales in Iowa, and particularly for a description of local organization programs that were outstanding, see Edward D. Allen, "War Bond Campaigns" (Mimeo), Department of Economics, Iowa State College.

While none of these relationships is unreasonable, we know that wealthier counties tend to have more persons of German descent and also more active Farm Bureaus. In order to control this influence of financial status, the counties were divided into two groups, those below and above the median on bond quotas (wealth and income). It was then quite clear that counties with strong German elements bought more bonds, whatever their level of economic well-being. Poorer counties with more than average percentages of Germans equaled the rich ones with fewer Germans. The influence of German descent was greater, however, among the poor counties than among the wealthier.

Nor is the attainment of strong Farm Bureau counties solely a reflection of economic superiority. At each economic level the counties with large memberships did better than others; and, like the influence of German descent, this was more marked among the poorer counties.

Scrap Iron Collection

While no quotas were set for scrap collecting, the range of accumulation is worth noting. Four counties gathered less than 100 pounds per capita; 28, 100-199 pounds; 30, 200-299 pounds; and 36 counties brought in more than 300 pounds per resident—one county in fact obtaining over 800 pounds. The newspapers made the campaign their own, with resulting wide attention and coverage throughout the state. A survey of a state-wide sample of farmers in October found that three-fourths of them had been solicited, with prac-

tically no differences between various parts of the state.

In this field of civilian endeavor we observe much the same associations as for bond sales, although income was less important. Since counties with much farm machinery in a state like Iowa might be expected to have more obsolete machinery, value of machinery per farm was included among the factors. Our expectation was not confirmed; counties with more machinery turned up very little more scrap, and the more rural counties made a slightly poorer showing than the urban.

The German and the foreign counties again excel. Farm Bureau membership in this instance was of negligible importance. Recruitment to the armed services is but slightly associated with scrap collection.

When economic status is held constant, German stock and Farm Bureau membership reveal some favorable influence upon this campaign. There was some carryover of farm organizational experience into war drives, especially in the poorer counties. It is surprising, however, that this experience did not bulk larger on the specific campaign where house to house neighborhood contacts would be expected to play an important role.

Organizing for War Production

One important measure of civilian mobilization in any agricultural state is the extent to which farmers are tied into organized activities to stimulate food production.⁷

⁷ Our data come from the Iowa Wartime Farm Survey for October. The sample is small but its general reliability has been established.

Few farmers attended meetings on production problems during the summer season, and the majority had attended no war meetings of any kind. Only bond meetings drew as many as a third of the farmers; anti-inflation discussions, an eighth. Explanations of how to increase production attracted 14 per cent, human nutrition 9 per cent, animal diseases 7 per cent. Even fewer farmers reported attending meetings dealing with fire prevention, credit, or labor. There is no way of knowing how many meetings were held in the state, but the sketchy picture summarized here does not indicate a high level of educational activity through this medium, at least during summer months.

The Survey sample is not designed to permit comparisons among counties, but only by type-of-farming area. Differences among these sections in attendance at one or more educational meetings ranged from a third to a half. Attendance in part reflected the varying importance of different problems to different parts of the state, though the northeast dairy farmers were most interested in a variety of topics. Tenure class differences were slight, but large operators more frequently attended meetings.

As another measure of the extent of mobilization toward increased production, we made limited inquiry into the effectiveness of certain aspects of the Extension Service program. Educational Cooperators have been selected throughout the state to familiarize their neighbors with pro-

duction goals, methods of producing more food, and to distribute educational material as it is published by the Extension Service. In the October Survey farmers were asked if they knew the name of their cooperator. Only a fifth knew their neighbor in his capacity as local cooperator. This proportion did not vary with tenure, but large operators were more likely to report affirmatively.

These approximate measures do not imply that war production information is failing to reach the majority of farmers. As one index of the less personal aspects of farmer mobilization we obtained reports on the distribution of four educational leaflets distributed through the Educational Cooperator system between February and May, 1942. Two-fifths of the farmers reported receiving the first and 54 per cent the last of these pamphlets. It is impossible to evaluate the effect of faulty memory upon these reports, but it seems reasonable to conclude that there has been some increase in the scope of this educational program with the passing of time.⁸ No over-all evaluation of the success of educational programs in this sphere can be completed with these scattered data. It is evident, however, that full and intense coverage of all farmers is still a considerable distance from achievement.

Consistency In Achievement

Two measures of consistency have been utilized here: sustained level of performance over time, and achieve-

⁸ A more complete report of this investigation is given in "Pamphlets on Parade," *Iowa Farm Economist*, (January, 1943), 23.

ment in different types of civilian program. On the first point our information is limited to two statements. Counties that sold many bonds in the first part of 1942 also sold more than the average amount during the remainder of the year. Second, the counties that ranked high in per capita scrap iron collections in the first half of the campaign retained their positions at the end of the drive by continuing to bring in large amounts. It would appear, therefore, that the well organized counties were also the promptly organized counties, at least in any one sphere of participation.

When we consider the consistency among programs, it is logical to use the rapid development of effective Civilian Defense Offices as not only a direct measure of mobilization but also as an indication of the presence of an organizational framework to be used in various kinds of war activity. Our data do not reveal the stronger OCD counties to be superior in other programs, however. There is a slight positive association between the score on OCD and bond sales, but none with scrap collection. The better organized counties, with respect to the OCD, brought in 20 pounds less scrap than the more poorly organized ones; on bonds, the better organized counties obtained only 10 per cent more of their quota. Nor does organization for civilian defense produce a running start on other programs. Should we conclude that the emphasis on drama in OCD is a handicap, or that civilian defense is mainly a paper organization?

Somewhat more astonishing is the lack of relationship between success in selling bonds and in collecting scrap. It has been shown earlier that success in each of these programs is associated with the same factors. The lack of correlation between the two programs indicates, therefore, that particular counties—but counties of the same general type—excelled on one or the other but not on both of these campaigns. This indicates that no general organizational framework lay behind a successful achievement and that success in one drive has no general prognostic value for success in another drive.

One measure of historical consistency is obtained by comparing bond sales (in ratio to quota) in 1942 and 1918. It is impossible to validate the 1918 quotas today, but they were by intent carefully devised. We find a clear negative relationship; the more successful counties last time did less well this time. While the question does not deserve intensive analysis, we may hazard two explanations for the discordance. In World War I it was only by dint of great effort that many farmers were persuaded to look upon bonds as a good investment. "Urbanization" since 1918 has no doubt weakened this resistance, as has the experience of being paid off on their earlier purchases. In 1918 the bond program was unpopular among many persons of German descent, while in 1942 those of German descent are excelling other groups. There is an additional imponderable of local leadership and initiative, which appears to be in con-

siderable measure "historical accident." Certainly, the "community success" pattern appears to be transitory.

Conclusions

None of the background factors influencing civilian mobilization has predictive value for individual counties. A few factors, however, were moderately associated with effective performance.

The more successful counties had a higher financial status, stronger Farm Bureaus, larger urban populations, and prominent German components. Identification with the war through men in service had little relationship with civilian effort.

Success in one drive, however, offers no basis for expecting distinction in another campaign. From the associations reported we can conclude that certain types of counties—urban, German, wealthy—may be expected to exceed other types by a moderate amount. But it is not the same counties that are in the lead each time. Even sorting out the counties that are high on income, German population, and Farm Bureau membership *combined* shows no marked contrast with the counties low on all three of these factors. Certain common conditions therefore underlie energetic mobilization, but communities have not spread their "driving power" into all programs.

Surprisingly enough, the development of the OCD had little bearing upon success in community war campaigns. As an organizational factor the Farm Bureau apparently was more important; perhaps unidentified conditions explain both large Farm Bureau membership and success in mobilization for war.

Most of the relationships obtained were of moderate degree. We seem to have identified receptive conditions more than factors of achievement; for example, income level carries with it innumerable factors. More definite inferences are justified with respect to the effect of German residents. These citizens can view the war in more personal light, regarding the Nazis perhaps as a smirch on their ethnic honor. Doubtless the memory of persecutions in 1918 have inspired a determination to give no grounds for the cry of "pro-German" today.

Undoubtedly the "chance" elements in local leadership bulk large in these civilian war programs. Consequently it may well be that the availability of local leadership has tended to outweigh many characteristics which might otherwise be relevant to achievement. Persisting levels of community organization for action have not been revealed, however, by this analysis, although these may appear as events continue.

APPENDIX

Association Tables Showing Relationships of Civilian Achievement to Selected Factors†

A.

- 1) Persons in military service 0/00 total population
- 2) Percentage of population of German stock
- 3) Percentage of population foreign born
- 4) Percentage of population urban
- 5) Percentage of population rural-farm
- 6) Percentage of farm population in Farm Bureau
- 7) County bond quota (income level)
- 8) Value of farm machinery per farm
- 9) Total scrap collected per capita
- 10) Percentage scrap collected in first half of drive
- 11) Bonds/Quota (8 months)
- 12) Bonds/Quota (12 months)
- 13) Bonds/Quota, 1918

OCD Score	Scrap Iron (per capita)	Bonds/Quota
8:17/13:12	18:26/31:21	24:23/25:26
13:12/13:12	23:25/28:23	24:23/27:24
14:11/11:14	22:26/30:21	23:26/25:25
10:14/16:10	22:22/29:23	23:28/25:22
16: 9/ 9:16	26:22/21:27	26:21/21:27
10:14/14:10	20:26/25:25	16:31/31:17
12:14/16: 9	21:27/26:25	18:33/30:17
14:12/13:11*	24:24/29:22	
11:13/14:11	20:27/27:23	
10:15/15:10	23:25/24:26	6:44/43: 6
		32:24/19:23

† The data are in the form of condensed, four-fold tables, arranged to save space. The reader can construct conventional tables; e.g., OCD with persons in military service. Thus, 17 counties were above the median on both items and 13 counties below the median on both; 8 were high on military service and low on OCD; 12 were low on military service and high on OCD.

8	17	25
13	12	55
21	29	50

The number of cases is 99, except for tables dealing with OCD where it is 50, unless data were lacking for one or two counties in a particular instance.

*See adjoined part B containing sub-classifications for income level and certain additional points.

B.

- 1) Percentage of population of German stock
 - a) Bond quota under \$1300
 - b) Bond quota over \$1300
- 2) Percentage of farm population in Farm Bureau
 - a) Bond quota under \$1300
 - b) Bond quota over \$1300
- 3) Foreign born X Bond quota (income level)
- 4) German stock X Bond quota
- 5) Foreign born X Bonds/Quota, 1918
- 6) German stock X Bonds/Quota, 1918
- 7) Farm Bureau membership X Bond Quota (income level)

OCD Score	Scrap Iron	Bonds/Quota
	12:14/10:11	7:16/15: 9
	12:13/16:11	11:14/13:11
	10:15/11: 9	8:17/13: 7
	12:13/14:12	8:16/17: 9
22:23/26:22		
21:27/33:18		
24:23/26:27		
24:24/26:25		
17:30/29:20		

Effects of War on The Social and Economic Status of Farm Laborers

By Paul S. Taylor*

ABSTRACT

War, drawing off the glut of farm laborers, has produced higher wage rates and incomes. The more casual the employment, the greater have been the gains, since employment is fuller. This suggests what thorough labor decasualization might accomplish. Under farm bloc pressure the government program now veers towards immobilization instead of decasualization. This means less efficient use of domestic manpower and loss of opportunity to elevate depressed rural standards, a major problem of the thirties. "Social objectives" and wartime efficiency are not opposed here; they go hand in hand. Heavier importations of foreign labor are in prospect, mainly from Mexico. Protective laws for agricultural workers, who have been "frozen" by deferment from military service, seem unlikely. Newly-perfected labor-displacing machines such as sugar beet and cotton harvesters are not coming into general use now when employment is available, but may be expected at war's end.

RESUMEN

La guerra, al eliminar la superabundancia de trabajadores agrícolas, ha producido un aumento en los jornales y en los ingresos. Cuanto más casual (transitorio) es el empleo, mayores han sido las ganancias, ya que el empleo es más completo. Esto es una indicación de lo que podría lograr una sola reserva móvil de trabajadores. Bajo la presión del sector agrícola el programa del gobierno ahora se inclina hacia la inmovilización más bien que hacia la movilización. Esto significa menos eficiencia en el uso de los trabajadores agrícolas de la nación y la pérdida de una oportunidad para elevar las bajas normas de la vida rural, un problema de gran importancia durante la década pasada. Los "objetivos sociales" y la eficiencia requerida por la guerra no están opuestos en este caso; marchan de acuerdo. Se esperan mayores importaciones de trabajadores extranjeros, principalmente de México. No parece probable que se aprueben leyes protegiendo a los trabajadores agrícolas que han sido "congelados" al ser diferidos del servicio militar. El uso de maquinaria de reciente perfeccionamiento para reemplazar a los trabajadores, como por ejemplo segadoras de remolacha y algodón, no se generaliza en la actualidad pero es de esperarse al terminar la guerra.

The war is producing a startling contraction of the supply of farm laborers. Last October, according to the USDA Farm Labor Report, the supply stood at only 54 per cent of that obtainable in the base period 1935-39. Since, nevertheless, we harvested banner crops last year, it seems plainer now than ever that in the past our farm labor market has been super-saturated.¹ Curiously, al-

though the index of labor supply fell from 70 to 54 in the year ending October, 1942, or nearly 23 per cent, the

¹The index of farm labor supply and demand reported currently leaves a good deal to be desired. It has been subjected to much criticism, vide *Senate Civil Liberties Committee, Hearings* pages 17305 and 19548; Varden Fuller, *A year on the farm labor front, Land Policy Review*, Fall 1942, p. 14; and J. D. Black, *Agricultural wage relationships, Review of Economic Statistics*, February and May, 1936, page 6. A revised base, and an explanation appear in *Farm Labor Report*, October 16, 1942; these still leave the meaning and usefulness of the indexes in some doubt.

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total volume of farm employment on October 1, 1942, was virtually the same as the year preceding. How, then, can we speak of any contraction of the supply, which commonly goes by the name "shortage"? How was the number employed maintained despite sharp contraction of the regular supply? The answer is that it was accomplished mainly in two ways: (1) a very small net increase of unpaid workers from the families of farm operators; and (2) a large substitution of inexperienced or "volunteer" workers for regular farm wage workers. There are not so many laborers now who are standing by, waiting for jobs; there are more unpaid family workers, with probably a larger number and proportion than before drawn from those below and above military age; there are more volunteers among the wage workers. While the total number at work during the harvest of 1942 was very little different from the number during the harvest of 1941, the composition of the labor force has changed, and many who are part of it are more fully employed. This is the nature of the "farm labor shortage" which war has produced.

Under our economy—without intervention of wage or price controls—contraction of the supply places the suppliers in a more favorable position, just as increase of supply relative to demand depresses their position. So far as wages and income of farm laborers are concerned this improvement unquestionably is substantial. Cost of living, which advanced 8.9 per cent in large cities from Oc-

tober 1941 to October 1942, probably advanced less in small towns and rural areas. In any case it was far more than offset by the advance in farm wage rates of 33 per cent from October 1941 to October 1942. Furthermore, the wage rate gains of 1942 were added to substantial gains during the period 1939-1941, although these need to be seen in long perspective. As Witt Bowden states in the *Monthly Labor Review* for December 1942: "The general increase in farm wages from 1939 to 1942 was exceptionally large and the increases in most of the States were larger than the rise in hourly earnings in other major employments . . . but the actual levels of farm wages were exceptionally low, as indicated above, even after these increases. In addition there had been lags in farm wages before 1939." The average income of hired farm workers, which stood at 50 per cent of the average income of factory workers in 1909, Bowden points out, had fallen to 32.8 per cent in 1939 and 31.8 per cent in 1940.

Those farm workers whose employment ordinarily is irregular have been twice gainers from the wartime contraction of labor supply. They are benefitting not only from the advance in wage rates but also from the increased employment which lack of competitors makes available to them. These benefits can be much more important than generally is realized. A recent study of the change in earnings between 1940 and 1942, of migratory families in camps operated by the Farm Security Administra-

tion in Arizona and California, shows a gain in employment of 2.7 times, in average daily earnings of 1.9 times, and in average weekly earnings of 5.1 times! The more casual the prior employment, naturally the greater the benefit.

The farm labor market has experienced a series of interventions that affect the status of the workers; like most other sectors of the economy this market has not been left to itself. One of the first of these interventions was a drive to enlist the aid of volunteers, using not wages, but patriotism and fear of food shortage, as the bases of appeal. On the West coast and in some other parts of the country labor from this source attained substantial proportions. A second intervention is the drive to import laborers from abroad, mainly from Mexico. A third is the "freezing" of essential farm labor. Let us examine these three, one at a time.

Volunteer wage workers have come principally from towns and cities to serve as seasonal workers. School children and older persons not available for military service, who are largely unaccustomed to farm work, have been very numerous in the Far West, and in the aggregate effective. In New York about 40,000 high school boys and girls were moved out of cities and villages to work on farms. According to the State Director of the Extension Service, "they needed a little training in the beginning by the farmer, but by and large I think the program was quite successful." These efforts, at least in

New York and on the West coast, are to be expanded greatly in 1943.

Despite the naturally retarding influence on wage rate increases of these additions to the labor supply on the appeal of patriotism, not wages, they are of course amply justified in the national emergency. As an offset, it seems probable that regular farm laborers will receive some indirect benefits from the present influx of volunteers. To enable the volunteers to get to work at the right time and place it has been necessary for farm employers to improve their facilities for transporting workers to and from town, and renewed attention has been drawn to the importance of adequate housing. Unquestionably the working conditions of laborers in industrialized agriculture are scrutinized more closely when city folk and their children are asked to accept them.

In the last war restrictions on immigration of Mexican laborers were relaxed to admit them virtually without supervision beyond that of employers and their agents who went to recruit them at the border ports of entry. In this war the entire importation is conducted directly by the federal government from the recruiting offices in Mexico to the return of the laborers at the end of their period of work in the United States. The importation was arranged between the United States and Mexican governments with an agreement on these terms: Protection of Mexican laborers against race discrimination; guarantees of transportation costs and repatriation; prohibition of use

of Mexicans to displace other workers or to reduce established wage rates; payment of prevailing wages and in no case less than 30 cents an hour; guarantees of employment equal to 75 per cent of the period (exclusive of Sundays) for which they have been contracted; assurance of the right to organize, but only with other workers transported from Mexico; prohibition of strikes or work stoppages, and settlement of disputes through government mediation. Originally, organizations of growers requesting the aid of imported workers were expected to assume financial responsibility for the guarantees; this has been modified under pressure from agricultural employers in a way to leave the government virtually alone as guarantor.

By the end of 1942 about 5,300 Mexicans had been imported under this plan, four hundred to Arizona and the balance into California. The principal initial employment was to harvest sugar beets, but with that operation completed, the laborers are transferred to other agricultural work. As this article goes to press in May 1943 the number in process of importation is rising rapidly.

The Farm Security Administration has had authority to transport farm workers within the United States, and has exercised it—with contractual protection to the laborers transported, including the guarantee of 75 per cent employment—by moving a total of about 8,000 people prior to February 18, 1943. Some 1,500 cotton pickers were transported from the Missouri bootheel and western Ten-

nessee to California and Arizona. About 2,000 people were transported to Florida from New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Alabama. From Virginia, Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky about 800 people were transported to New York. These, and other movements of domestic workers and their families by Farm Security Administration, totalled about 7,800 people by the middle of February, 1943. A forecast by the Department of Agriculture of domestic seasonal workers to be transported during the remainder of 1943 totalled 125,000 for the Atlantic seaboard, 55,000 for the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes states, and 170,000 for the Pacific and Great Plains states, a total of 350,000 seasonal workers. In addition to these seasonal workers, the transportation of 42,000 year-round workers was planned by the Department of Agriculture.

How the transportation of domestic workers will affect the status of farm laborers remains to be seen. Shifting the cost of transportation to the government naturally will benefit those workers who usually pay their own—or their employers in so far as they have paid—in the number that the government actually does assume this responsibility. Other effects depend largely on the volume of movement, the skill in recruiting, and the conditions established to govern the movement. A substantial movement from sub-standard areas, and skillful dovetailing of jobs could substantially increase laborers' income as well as the national efficiency of labor utili-

zation. Under suitable safeguards more satisfactory housing conditions could be assured. Under what conditions and safeguards this program is to be carried out is one of the bitterest issues now before Congress.

At first the government insisted that employers to be supplied with domestic laborers at public expense should subscribe, as a condition of receiving this aid, to guarantees of employment, housing, etc., similar to those given for workers imported from Mexico. Naturally this use of the leverage which control of transportation provides has been variously received. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, on the one hand, circulated petitions requesting the President to bring farm labor rates for all domestic workers up to the 30 cents per hour minimum agreed to for transported workers. Farm bloc leaders, on the other hand, have bitterly resisted. As a result contracts are no longer exacted of employers receiving laborers, and the Cannon Appropriations Committee of the House inserted a provision in the farm labor appropriations bill, that now has become law, forbidding the Secretary of Agriculture "directly or indirectly to fix, regulate, or impose minimum wages or housing standards, to regulate hours of work, or to impose or enforce collective bargaining requirements or union membership with respect to any agricultural labor" exempted from the Fair Labor Standards or National Labor Relations Acts.

The grossly unequal distribution of workers relative to land resources

and income, and the low levels of living and inefficient use of our agricultural manpower that accompany it, are too well known to rural sociologists to require restatement here. For years an appropriate redistribution of farm population within the country has been accepted by most students as a social objective imperative to prevent national deterioration. The necessity for national wartime efficiency points clearly in the same direction. Unfortunately this seems to be not very generally understood and accepted. Every effort of agricultural employers at the present time appears to be directed toward holding local labor supplies in place, toward checking their movement about the country as needed.

The Cannon Committee, at the instance of the farm bloc, wrote into the law that "Before any transportation out of a county or State is effected, clearance should be had with the appropriate county and State authorities so that local and State needs will not be jeopardized by an exodus which cannot be returned in time to meet the local or State crop requirements." Experience with the reluctance and downright opposition of State Employment Services to co-operation with the United States Employment Services in recruiting laborers for needs outside their own state boundaries, makes clear that adoption of this recommendation is likely to result in 3,000 separate county labor reservoirs. This violates the first principle of efficient labor utilization in a market of fluctuating demand, viz., to decasualize employ-

ment by setting up a single, and therefore smaller, labor reservoir.

Under the recent Tydings Amendment to the Selective Service Act, every registrant found by a local board to be necessary to the war effort shall be deferred from military service; if he leaves that occupation, local boards are instructed—unless they determine that change of occupation is in the best interest of the war effort—to reclassify him in a class immediately available for military service. This has been called “freezing” farm labor, a term to which Governor McNutt objects that “It’s not a freeze, but it is simply directing attention to the fact that . . . we must have food, not only to feed men at the front, but to feed our own people and to keep our commitments under lend lease.” Before “freezing” agricultural labor in Great Britain the wide gap between farm and industrial wages was closed by raising farm wages.

Without questioning the necessity for protecting essential labor supplies, it cannot be ignored that calling men into military service if they leave their occupation does affect their status. Senator LaFollette called sharp attention to special disadvantages in this compulsion which arise from the fact that, at the instance of agricultural employers, farm laborers have been consistently denied those protections which legislation has thrown around other wage earners. “It is no coincidence,” said the Senator in October, “that when manpower came into demand because of our all-out war effort the agricul-

tural wage laborer, particularly the migratory part-time worker, who depended on industrialized or commercialized agriculture, sought to escape from his bondage of poverty and misery to the armed services and the urban factory. As a result there is no reliable agricultural labor supply. . . . Passing any discussion of the desirability or necessity . . . it is quite clear that a necessary preliminary to any wartime handling of farm labor is to give that labor the dignity, standards and rights accorded to other job occupations under our laws. ‘Job-freezing’ for agricultural labor under present standards would only be self-defeating and a source of shame. . . . Indeed, in many low-wage sections it would approach ‘involuntary servitude,’ if not achieve it. No solution to this farm labor problem that does not apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter to men on our fields and farms will be effective.” Senators LaFollette and Thomas then introduced bills to extend protection of the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Social Security Act to agricultural workers on large, industrialized farms.

The President of the National Cooperative Milk Producers’ Federation is fearful that “freezing” farm labor will bring in its train the very measures that Senators LaFollette and Thomas demand. “Let’s be forewarned,” he said early in December, “that the drafting of manpower to be sent wherever needed will bring to the farmers’ door the provisions of the Wagner Act and the Fair

Labor Standards Act." The Cannon Committee in the same spirit has rejected even the more limited protections of farm laborers transported at public expense, on the charge that these "would result in the development of a critical situation between farm employers and farm labor which would not harmoniously promote the ends sought for food production."

The most recent measures threaten to call into the military service men who remain in non-essential occupations, but provide for draft deferment to those who shift into agriculture or other essential work. This use of the military service of our country for occupational pressure rather than as an honor leaves something to be desired, but already (early April) it is reported in California to be producing movement into agriculture. Indeed some of the transfers have drawn men away from war industry to agriculture, where deferment is more sure. "Within the last month," states the California' weekly agricultural labor market report of April 6, "about 1,000 inquiries have been received by USES offices from industrial workers, and from Army personnel over 38, who are seeking to return to the farm. Less than a third of these have inquired expressly for dairy farm work. These inquiries have come from California industrial areas and from southern and midwestern states and many of those received from within California are from workers whose last farming experience was in the southern and midwestern states. These inquiries are said to be

prompted by dissatisfaction with the housing and food situation, and the general congestion in metropolitan areas. In general, these qualified workers have been promptly placed, with the exception of some married workers who could not be offered adequate housing."

The status of agricultural labor plainly is affected by this program of deferment, but whether to characterize the change as a gain is not entirely clear. The initial gestures of compulsion or "freezing" have not yet brought the protections of social legislation to farm laborers, and the temper of Congress seems at present more in tune with the declaration of a Kansas Congressman that "You can leave out the wage scales and standards of living and all of that. We do not need any of them," than with the proposals of Senators Thomas and LaFollette. This is not the place to debate the merits of protective legislation for farm laborers; it is sufficient to point out that the war is unlikely to bring it.

One of the LaFollette-Thomas bills, called the Agricultural Employment Stabilization bill, seeks to "concentrate the bulk of available agricultural employment on the smallest number of workers and provide them with job security and job seniority in the agricultural labor market." By so doing it expects to lengthen the period of annual employment for those selected as regular employees. The bill deserves more attention than it is receiving, for its natural effect will be to eliminate waste of manpower by agriculture during and

after the war, to attract and hold laborers needed in agriculture by increasing their annual earnings. As foundation for a serious and sustained program of decasualization of the farm labor market the five-fold increase of earnings, cited earlier, in the most fluid agricultural labor market of the Pacific Southwest is significant. This result of the contraction of labor supply and the increase in wage rates because of war clarifies the possibilities for substantial and permanent elevation of the income and status of migratory and casual agricultural laborers.

Volunteer seasonal labor, which has been called forth so extensively by the war, should be built more largely into our permanent operating structure. Its use reduces greatly the necessity for the customary reserves of laborers who stand idle between seasonal peaks, living often in misery and at public expense.

The inefficiency of man-power in agriculture is widespread and age-old. "In no other industry is there such a vast reservoir of inefficiently used labor as exists in agriculture," states an April, 1942, article in *Agricultural Engineering*. "But lack of employment in other industries in the 1930's not only kept many on farms, but sent thousands back to subsistence farmsteads. We had to soft-pedal farm labor saving activities. Today that situation is practically reversed." War confronts us with the need to save manpower in agriculture, and at the same time with shortage of materials for manufacture of machines with which to

save men. A compromise adjustment between these seems necessary. Priorities should be granted to manufacture those machines that promise the greatest saving of manpower with the least materials. Two illustrations will serve.

In November H. B. Walker, Professor of Agricultural Engineering at the University of California College of Agriculture told a United States Senate Committee that by use of "a few hundred tons of metal" for building "certain equipment now known to be operative," labor in California sugar beet production next year "could be reduced as much as four to eight million man-hours." It has been proposed further by agricultural engineers that "at harvest time the government would take over and supervise the harvesting through a pool of machines and labor that would start at the Mexican border and move north as the crop matures."

Manufacture of mechanical cotton pickers probably offers similar prospects for substantial savings of labor. Using 1936 data the National Research Project estimated costs of picking by machines then developed, in comparison to the costs of hand picking. Since 1936 the wages of hand pickers have increased greatly. Even assuming no improvement of machine models during the past six years, and allowing for loss of grade in machine-picked cotton, a strong case had developed by harvest season of 1942 for the economic advantage of machine over hand picking. But since 1936 the Rust Brothers machine has been steadily perfected,

and International Harvester has announced in November, 1942, the "development of a successful mechanical cotton picker and said tests have proved it capable of doing the work of from 50 to 80 hand pickers." It is not hard to understand why priorities of farm machinery must be sharply restricted in wartime, but is not the case to grant priorities for machines of this type clear and distinct? Even those agricultural areas in which machines at first may not operate well will experience relief, for labor saved in one area can be transported to another.

The plan of government operation of a pool of labor and machines that the California College of Agriculture engineers recommend for sugar beet harvesters should be applied also to cotton picker machines. There are two reasons: First at this time, is the fact that it will ensure fuller, more efficient operation than will operation by individual growers or even a group of growers. Second, is the fact that individual ownership of a rather costly machine places a burden and incentive on the owner to displace his neighboring farmer in order by expanding operations to reduce his own overhead costs. Such displacement by farm mechanization had been regarded as a peace-time problem so serious that this has been given as one of the reasons for not introducing cotton pickers earlier. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, as of efficiency, not to throw such powerful forces onto the market uncontrolled.

The effect on labor of a war pro-

gram which accelerates mechanization will be to solve the problem of seasonal migratory laborers by eliminating the labor, so far as the machines are successful. In wartime, the laborers have opportunity to find employment at least as good as that from which they are displaced. Furthermore, increased production per man promises better income and status for those who will remain farm laborers. If we decide not to manufacture beet harvesters and cotton pickers now, we shall dam up the pressure for this mechanization until the post-war, simply postponing the inevitable displacement to a time when laborers may have no better alternative than they had during the thirties. That prospect can hold few attractions. We have the chance now, in war, by a combination of wise legislation, bold administration, and discriminating manufacture of farm machinery to make permanent improvement in the status of farm labor. At the same time we shall promote the war effort.

Oddly, and unfortunately, many farm employers have assumed that achievement of "social objectives" is in some inevitable way opposed to wartime efficiency. Why the maintenance undisturbed of the existing distribution of people in relation to land resources which is known to be low in productive efficiency and to yield notoriously low levels of living—why this should seem to make us strong for the war effort, or why the continuance of innumerable separate county farm labor reservoirs should appear to be the best utilization of

our national agricultural manpower is not clear. One can understand resistance to imposition of social security taxes and more costly housing for laborers even if one disagrees. But in mobilizing our full domestic

farm labor resources for the war effort we should expect clearer recognition that long-run "social objectives" and national efficiency are not in conflict—that on the contrary they go hand in hand.

Wartime Migration and The Manpower Reserve on Farms in Eastern Kentucky*

By Olaf F. Larson†

ABSTRACT

Between April 1, 1940 and December 1, 1942 a decrease of 19 percent in the rural-farm population of 33 Eastern Kentucky counties is estimated on the basis of a population census for five selected areas. This decrease exceeded the gain from 1930 to 1940 taking 40 percent of the men 15 to 34 years of age. Few of the emigrants had entered agriculture. Remaining workers estimated as available for more productive employment at the close of 1942 exceeded the number who had left since the 1940 U. S. Census. The low estimate of 63,000 available workers aged 15-59 included 28,000 married men. Wives without children under 10 years of age and youths of 15 and over normally in school part of the year were included in the high estimate of 98,000 available workers.

RESUMEN

Desde el 1o. de abril de 1940 hasta el 1o. de diciembre de 1942 se calcula una disminución de 19 por ciento en la población rural-agrícola de 33 condados del Este de Kentucky, a base de un censo de población en cinco áreas escogidas. Esta disminución excede al aumento de 1930 a 1940 e incluye el 40 por ciento de los hombres entre 15 y 34 años de edad. Pocos de los emigrantes se fueron a dedicarse a la agricultura. Se calcula que el número de los trabajadores restantes que estaban disponibles para empleos más productivos al finalizar el 1942 excedía el número de los que se habían ido desde el Censo de 1940. El cálculo más bajo es de 63,000 trabajadores disponibles entre los 15 y los 59 años de edad e incluye 28,000 hombres casados. El cálculo más alto es de 98,000 trabajadores disponibles, incluyendo las esposas sin hijos menores de 10 años de edad y jóvenes de 15 o más años que normalmente asisten a la escuela parte del año.

Wartime needs for workers have focused public attention upon the low-income farmers of the Nation as

a great potential reservoir of underemployed manpower which might be recruited to help meet production

* Based upon data from a cooperative study of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station. The author was assisted through the collaboration of Howard W. Beers, Kentucky AES, in the original study and by the field work of Paul J. Jehlik and

Josiah C. Folsom, BAE. A companion study of farm production, income, labor requirements and farm combination possibilities was made concurrently by James C. Downing, BAE, and John H. Bondurant, Kentucky AES.

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

goals of agriculture and industry. Examination of the 1940 Census data leads to the inescapable conclusion "that in 1939, just as in 1929, the farm plant of the Nation included a large number of persons who were on units which did not provide an efficient utilization of the manpower on them and which did not yield the inhabitants an adequate living."¹

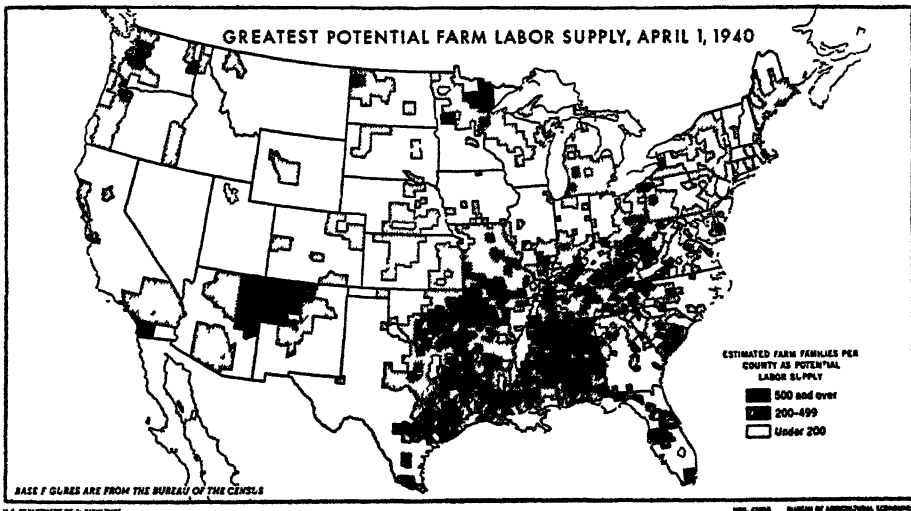
An estimate made in the fall of 1942 indicated that perhaps 700,000 farm families were potentially available for much more productive work than their present farming operations afforded. These were families in which the farm operator was employed nearly full time on his farm; the estimate excluded all share-croppers and made ample allowance for

all aged and incapacitated operators. These potentially available families were shown to be largely concentrated in the rural problem areas which have been characterized by high population pressure and low levels of living, and to some extent by serious land problems (see Figure 1).²

Since the estimates were based on 1940 Census data, they were subject to the suspicion that they were no longer valid because the population shifts since 1940 might have removed most of the available workers from

¹ Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Manpower and War Production*, USDA, BAE (Testimony given before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, House of Representatives, February 13, 1942). Mimeographed, 10 pp.

FIGURE 1



* The number of farm families per county constituting a potential labor supply as of April 1, 1940, is based upon the number of farms which in 1939 reported less than \$600 worth of products sold, traded or used from which was subtracted the number of operators who reported work off the farm amounting to 100 days or more and the number of sharecroppers. This result was divided by two to make allowance for aged and incapacitated operators.

the low-income rural-farm population. To provide current information for agencies concerned with supplying manpower, a quick survey during November and December, 1942, was made in Eastern Kentucky, an area shown by the estimates to be an important reservoir of potential workers.

This survey showed that despite heavy out-migration since April 1, 1940, a substantial labor supply for agricultural and industrial work in other areas was still available at the close of 1942 on the farms of Eastern Kentucky.

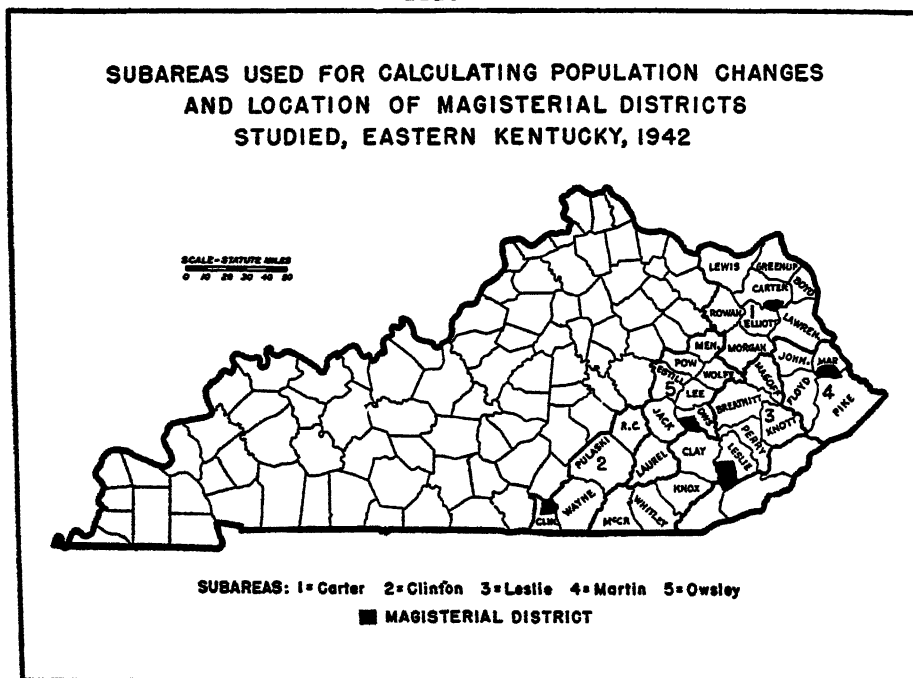
The Sample—Through interviews with local informants who reported

on all families in their neighborhoods, a complete population census was taken in five selected magisterial districts; one in each of the following counties: Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin, and Owsley.³ The resident

³ A marked similarity of pattern is evident in comparing Figure 1 with Figures 4, 17, 32, and 33 in Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, USDA, FSA and BAE, Social Research Report VIII (Washington, D. C., April, 1938) and Figure 4 in Chapter IV of Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, *Problems of A Changing Population* (Washington, D. C.; May, 1938).

⁴ A comparison of population data obtained through the local informants with that obtained by individual family interviews will be included in a separate paper.

FIGURE 2



population reported numbered 9,560 persons in 2,007 households. The counties were selected to represent five sub-areas comprising, in all, 33 counties in Eastern Kentucky (Figure 2). The magisterial districts in turn were chosen as those most suitable for study of the rural-farm population in the corresponding group of counties.⁴ Each district had predominantly a rural-farm population in 1940, the proportions ranging from 79 per cent to 98 per cent. Estimates of the current situation for the 33 county area were arrived at by extension of the ratios for the five selected districts to the five respective groups of counties. Since the limited non-farm population in the selected districts was comprised almost entirely of open-country dwellers, the application of ratios from the total population of these districts to the rural-farm population of the sub-areas was considered to be sufficiently valid.

Economic and social characteristics of the area have been described

in a number of reports.⁵ It may suffice here to say that more than nine out of 10 farms reported the total value of products sold, traded, or used as less than \$600 in 1939; three-fourths had less than \$400, and one-half had under \$250 according to the U. S. Census of Agriculture.

Wartime Outmigration Exceeds Gain of Decade—During the two years and eight months following the Census of 1940, the rural-farm population of Eastern Kentucky is estimated to have decreased by 85,000 persons, nearly 19 per cent (Table I).

⁴ A reconnaissance survey in 20 other of the 33 counties served to check and supplement the information obtained in detail for the five magisterial districts.

⁵ See, for example, *Atlas of Agricultural Information; Appalachian Region*, USDA (Washington, D. C., July 25, 1942); C. F. Clayton and W. D. Nicholls, *Land Utilization in Laurel County, Kentucky*, USDA Tech. Bul. 289 in cooperation with Kentucky AES (Washington, D. C., 1932); W. D. Nicholls, John H. Bondurant, and Z. L. Galloway, *Family Incomes and Land Utilization in Knox County, Kentucky* AES 375 (Lexington, 1937); Howard W. Beers, *Growth of Population in Kentucky, 1880-1940*, Kentucky AES 422 (Lexington, 1942).

TABLE. I. RURAL-FARM POPULATION APRIL 1, 1930, APRIL 1, 1940 AND DECEMBER 1, 1942 AND NUMBER AND PERCENT CHANGE; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY, BY COUNTY GROUPS¹

County Groups	1930	1940	Change 1930-1940		1942	Change 1940-1942	
			No.	Pct.		No.	Pct.
TOTAL	382,727	449,139	66,412	17.4	364,519	-84,620	-18.8
Carter (8 counties)	82,468	85,270	2,802	3.4	60,286	-24,984	-29.3
Clinton (4 counties)	55,681	59,450	3,769	6.8	48,700	-10,750	-18.1
Leslie (9 counties)	116,172	144,893	28,721	24.7	129,117	-15,776	-10.9
Martin (4 counties)	64,089	83,144	19,055	29.7	72,614	-10,530	-12.7
Owsley (8 counties)	64,317	76,382	12,065	18.8	53,802	-22,580	-29.6

¹ Data for 1930 and 1940 are from the U. S. Census of Population and for 1942 are based upon an extension of ratios for the five magisterial districts surveyed. Percent change from 1940 to 1942 for county groups will not agree exactly with the percent change for the respective magisterial districts since the expansion was by age groups.

Migration off the farm during this period exceeded by 18,000 the gain during the depression decade 1930 to 1940. Rates of loss were uneven within the region, ranging from between 11 and 13 per cent in the Leslie and Martin County groups to over 29 per cent in the Carter and Owsley County groups. In the former groups only about half of the gain of the previous 10 years had been erased while in Carter, nearest to opportunities for industrial employment, the loss was nearly nine times the earlier increase. This outward movement paralleling the rise of defense and war industries and the expansion of the armed forces was continuing apparently without abatement at the time of the field survey. The extent of the movement is one answer to questions of doubt which have been raised about the willingness of Eastern Kentuckians to leave their homes.

Estimates based on the number of registrants for War Ration Book One indicate the total civilian population

in Eastern Kentucky decreased by 59,000 or 8 per cent between April 1, 1940, and May 1, 1942.⁶ Decreases were 7.6, 8.0, 9.6, 4.0, and 11.2 per cent for the Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin, and Owsley County groups, respectively. Some loss in the total population was shown for each of the 33 Eastern Kentucky Counties included in the present study, a fact which tends to substantiate the changes estimated for the rural-farm population as of December, 1942. Despite evidence of accelerated out-movement from farms during the summer and fall of 1942, it appears that most of the decline in the total population by May can be accounted for by the loss of farm people. Some of the shift of farm people was into the rural non-farm and urban population within Eastern Kentucky rather than a movement out of the area.

⁶ Bureau of the Census, *Estimates of the Civilian Population by Counties; May 1, 1942*, Release Series P-3, No. 33 (February 25, 1943).

TABLE II. ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PERCENT CHANGE IN RURAL-FARM POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE, APRIL 1, 1940-DECEMBER 1, 1942; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY

Age	Change					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL	— 84,620	— 18.8	— 52,516	— 22.5	— 32,104	— 14.9
Under 15 ¹	— 32,196	— 17.6	— 16,455	— 17.6	— 15,741	— 17.6
15-24	— 28,724	— 31.3	— 18,919	— 38.9	— 9,805	— 22.7
25-34	— 17,739	— 34.2	— 12,084	— 45.5	— 5,655	— 22.4
35-44	— 5,404	— 12.7	— 3,546	— 16.7	— 1,858	— 8.7
45-54	578	1.7	— 822	— 4.7	1,400	8.7
55-64	— 1,681	— 6.9	— 1,211	— 9.3	— 470	— 4.2
65 and over	546	2.5	521	4.2	25	0.3

¹ Since the sex of persons under 14 was not reported in the survey, males and females under 15 assumed to have the same rate of change.

Change by Age and Sex—Farm population decline was greatest among adults under 35 years of age (Table II). For each age group of adults, the loss of men was greater than the loss of women. The number of men aged 15-34 decreased by more than 40 per cent; the number of women this age decreased about half as much. Decreases tended to be smaller for each successive older age group. The number of both men and women aged 65 and over increased slightly. An increase was also shown in the number of women aged 45-54. For every 100 farm children under 15 in 1940 there were only 82 by the end of 1942, a fact which could be accounted for only by out-movement of the family groups to which the children belonged. Men aged 15-64, a most important group in considering future recruitment of workers and fighters, were 29 per cent fewer in number than at the time of the 1940 census.

Each magisterial district followed the same general pattern of having lost more men than women and of having the heaviest losses among young and middle-aged adults (Table III). Out-movement has thus been largely one of individuals, especially men, leaving singly, and of young families. Many heads of families have left their wives and children to carry on the farm operations.⁷

⁷ The rate of loss in Eastern Kentucky was not as high as in the low-income area represented by the Spanish-speaking villages of New Mexico during 1939-1942; see Charles P. Loomis, "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish-speaking Villages of New Mexico," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, VII (December, 1942), 384-395.

Characteristics of Emigrants and Out-Migration Since Pearl Harbor—

Persons who left during the year following Pearl Harbor from families resident at the time of the survey were predominantly young, male, and unmarried. Information for 713 persons 14 years of age and over who had left since December, 1941, from households still resident a year later, in the five magisterial districts, revealed about three-fourths were unmarried, nearly one-fourth were heads of families, and only a few were wives.⁸ Persons aged 15-35 comprised more than two-thirds of those leaving in each district. Persons 45 years of age or older were infrequent among the emigrants, comprising as much as 11 per cent in only the Carter County district which is nearest to opportunities for industrial employment. Women were less than 10 per cent of those leaving in three districts and between 15 and 18 per cent of the total emigrants in the other two. However, excluding men who entered military service, from 17 to 36 per cent of the adults who left from each district were women.

Few of the emigrants were currently employed in agriculture. The highest proportion, 6 per cent, applied to those who left from an area where the U. S. Employment Service and the Farm Security Administration recruited seasonal farm laborers during 1942 and some had not returned by the time of the survey. About half of those leaving since

⁸ In addition to the individuals who left from resident households, there were departures of whole families.

TABLE III. AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION APRIL 1, 1940 AND PERCENT CHANGE BY DECEMBER 1, 1942; FIVE SELECTED MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS IN FIVE COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY

Age	Population April 1, 1940 ¹									
	Carter No. 6		Clinton No. 3		Leslie No. 3		Martin No. 6		Owsley No. 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
TOTAL	1,646	1,384	1,023	936	1,912	1,811	389	350	1,427	1,291
Under 15	662	566	402	346	887	881	195	164	546	472
15-24	342	273	179	185	377	369	62	59	296	259
25-34	184	189	136	123	239	211	43	37	173	160
35-44	154	111	95	101	153	151	39	48	139	133
45-54	121	104	85	80	107	79	27	14	94	102
55-64	94	71	68	61	74	63	10	14	87	72
65 and over	89	70	58	40	75	57	13	14	92	93

Age	Percent Change by December 1, 1942-									
	Carter No. 6		Clinton No. 3		Leslie No. 3		Martin No. 6		Owsley No. 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
TOTAL	-32.9	-27.2	-20.1	-16.9	-16.1	-7.3	-16.2	-6.6	-33.9	-24.6
Under 15 ²	-33.5	-33.5	-7.9	-7.9	-9.7	-9.7	-11.1	-11.1	-31.5	-31.5
15-24	-41.2	-39.2	-33.5	-29.7	-37.7	-19.2	-25.8	11.9	-58.1	-44.8
25-34	-37.5	-39.2	-55.9	-27.6	-36.4	1.4	-48.8	-35.1	-60.7	-30.6
35-44	-31.2	11.7	7.4	-20.8	-7.8	-6.0	-20.5	-27.1	-19.4	-6.0
45-54	-28.1	-15.4	-14.1	1.2	14.0	35.4	0.0	0.0	-6.4	6.9
55-64	-28.7	-5.6	-17.6	-26.2	1.4	9.5	0.0	-28.6	-3.4	18.1
65 and over	0.0	0.0	-12.1	-15.0	4.0	-5.3	30.8	35.7	1.1	-16.1

¹ Based on U. S. Census of Population, 1940.

² The population on December 1, 1942 as reported by local informants was adjusted for under or over enumeration on the basis of comparisons made with the data obtained by interviews with 359 families. The adjustment factors for persons under 15 were 3.2, 33.8, 4.4, 3.3, and 4.9, and for persons aged 15 and over were -3.2, -6.4, -2.7, -5.0, and 4.8 for the Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin and Owsley county districts, respectively.

Since the sex of persons under 14 was not reported in the survey, males and females under 15 were assumed to have the same rate of change.

³ In estimating the change in the Martin group of counties, it was assumed there was no change in the female population aged 45-54 since the number of females in 1940 in the sample magisterial district appears to have been underenumerated.

Pearl Harbor entered the armed forces, although the proportions varied considerably among the five districts. The majority of the remaining emigrants from these districts entered industrial work, principally in the Ohio Valley, Great Lakes, and Eastern cities—and coal mining in Kentucky and West Virginia. It was

apparent that migration to jobs was largely without public agency guidance.

Age and Sex of Population Remaining—Out-movement which has already occurred has altered the composition of the population by decreasing the proportion of workers, increasing the proportion of young and

aged dependents and decreasing the ratio of men to women.

Not only did the number of men aged 15-64 decrease in Eastern Kentucky's rural-farm population but the proportion also decreased, dropping from 28 per cent in 1940 to 25 per cent in 1942 (see Table IV). However, all of the proportionate decline was among men under 35 years of age which means the reserve of remaining workers was an older group than before the exodus began. An age-sex pyramid for the 33 county area would show the bars representing men 25-34 to be overhung by the bars for men 35-44 and 45-54, a rather unusual situation. Although there was a marked decline in the number of children under 15 years of age, they came to constitute a slightly larger proportion of the total. Persons aged 65 and over not only increased slightly in number but in proportion. The pattern of an increased proportion of the total population in the dependent age groups and a decrease in the percentage of men of working age was common to

each of the five magisterial districts, however, the Carter and Owsley districts did not have an increased proportion of children under 15. The age and sex structure of the Leslie County district had changed less than the others, indicating some delay in the full impact of the war being felt in this more isolated area.

The large and unusual deficit of men would be likely to occur in a population only as the result of war or migration.⁹ In the rural-farm population of Eastern Kentucky, in every age group there were 100 men or more per 100 women in 1940. By December, 1942, there were only 74 men per 100 women in the age group 25-34. In each ten-year age group

⁹ The number of males per 100 females in the rural-farm population of the 33 counties was as follows:

Age	Apr. 1, 1940 (U. S. Census)	Dec. 1, 1942 (Survey)
Total	108	98
Under 15	105	105
15-24	112	89
25-34	105	74
35-44	100	91
45-54	109	96
55-64	116	110
65 and over	126	132

TABLE IV. RURAL-FARM POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX; APRIL 1, 1940 AND DECEMBER 1, 1942; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY¹

Age	Number		Percent					
	Total		Total		Male		Female	
	1940	1942	1940	1942	1940	1942	1940	1942
TOTAL	449,139	364,519	100.0	100.0	51.8	49.5	48.2	50.5
Under 15	183,005	150,809	40.8	41.3	20.9	21.2	19.9	20.2
15-24	91,795	63,071	20.4	17.3	10.8	8.1	9.6	9.2
25-34	51,835	34,096	11.5	9.4	5.9	3.9	5.6	5.4
35-44	42,525	37,121	9.5	10.2	4.7	4.9	4.8	5.3
45-54	33,568	34,146	7.5	9.4	3.9	4.6	3.6	4.8
55-64	24,314	22,633	5.4	6.2	2.9	3.3	2.5	2.9
65 and over	22,097	22,643	4.9	6.2	2.7	3.5	2.2	2.7

¹ Based upon U. S. Census of Population for 1940 and survey estimate for 1942.

between 15 and 54 the women outnumbered men. A decline in the ratio of men to women was common to each of the five magisterial districts, although there were some variations by age groups. In the Owsley district among persons aged 25-34 only 61 men per 100 women were left.

If the age and sex distribution of late 1942 were to continue long, it would be reflected in higher rates of social dependency, higher illness and death rates, and lower birth rates. Because of the loss of productive workers, income per capita from agricultural production would be likely to decline, even though the acreage of land per capita increased. Schools have already been affected through a reduction in the number of children of school age, reduced enrollment particularly at the high school level, poor attendance as children stay out to work, loss of teachers who are re-

placed by others on a "permit" basis, and by the closing and consolidation of schools. Further losses of workers will be likely to aggravate these trends.

Workers Still Available for More Productive Employment — Despite the decrease in the rural-farm population of Eastern Kentucky since the 1940 U. S. Census, a substantial reserve of under-employed or unproductively employed workers remained in December, 1942. Two estimates—a low and a high—were made of the extent of this reserve since in wartime there is a pressure to employ single and married women, and youths not normally a part of the gainfully employed labor force. The low estimate of 63,000 available workers left in the 33 counties includes 28,000 married men and 19,000 other men, and 16,000 women who are not heads of families (Table V). The high estimate of 98,000

TABLE V. LOW AND HIGH ESTIMATES¹ OF NUMBER OF AVAILABLE WORKERS AGED 15-59 IN THE RURAL-FARM POPULATION BY SEX AND FAMILY STATUS; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY, DECEMBER 1, 1942

Sex and family status	Low	High
TOTAL: Men and women	63,000	98,000
Men: Total	47,000	56,000
Heads of households	28,000	31,000
Other men	19,000	25,000
Women: Total	16,000	42,000
Heads, no children under 10	0	2,000
Wives, no children under 10	0	17,000
Other women	16,000	23,000

¹ Estimates were computed by extension of ratios for five selected magisterial districts to the five respective groups of counties and for the 33 counties were rounded to the nearest thousand.

² Excludes workers classified as productively employed at time of survey.

available workers also includes 17,000 wives with no children under 10 and some others—especially school age youths—not included in the low figure.

For each person aged 14 and over listed in the interview with neighborhood informants, any obstacles were recorded which might stand in the way of taking a job contributing more to the war effort than the present one or which might prevent entering the labor force should there be need or opportunity.¹⁰

In addition to being productively employed currently at a farm or non-farm job, the reported obstacles included old age, youth, school attendance, physical or mental disabilities, and attitudes. It was assumed that all housewives, housekeepers, and female heads of families should be considered as having obstacles which would hinder their leaving for work opportunities.

Among men under 60 who were heads of families, those with no reported obstacles to taking another job ranged from 34 per cent in the Carter County district, where many of the men are now employed at war jobs, to 62 per cent in the Owsley district. In each district more of the men who were not family heads had no obstacles reported, the proportions

ranging from 48 per cent in the Martin County district to 77 per cent in the Clinton County district. For single women, those with no obstacles varied from the 43 per cent in the Martin district to the 66 per cent in the Clinton district. The low estimate of available workers was based upon these ratios of persons for whom no obstacles were reported.¹¹ (Table V).

The high estimate of available workers was based upon a second classification of persons 14 years of age and over, made by field enumerators, which assumed that some of the reported obstacles were of such a nature that they might potentially be overcome if not reported to be mental or serious physical handicaps. Thus a 15 or 16 year old boy whose youth or attendance in school was reported as an obstacle by the neighborhood informant might be rated by the interviewer as available for certain types of work during a part of the year. Or a man with aged dependent parents standing in the way of his leaving for work elsewhere might be assumed to be able to make some arrangements for their care during his absence.

The effect of this second classification was to increase the proportion of workers considered to be potentially available. For men under 60 who were heads of families, those potentially available if certain obstacles could be overcome ranged from 40

¹⁰ Persons aged 14 were included in the labor force by the 1940 U. S. Census but were excluded in this study because Census reports do not specify the number of persons this age in the rural-farm population by minor civil divisions or by counties. It would therefore be difficult to accurately estimate the change in numbers since April 1, 1940 and to project the survey data to estimate the number of 14 year olds remaining in Eastern Kentucky.

¹¹ Availability ratios based upon information provided by neighborhood informants are in close agreement with ratios based upon individual interviews in the same magisterial districts for the farm management study made concurrently by James C. Downing and John H. Bondurant.

per cent in the Carter County district to between 73 and 74 per cent in the Owsley and Clinton County districts. For men not family heads, the corresponding percentages ranged from 73 in Leslie to 89 in Clinton while for single women the variation was from 77 per cent in the Carter, Leslie and Clinton districts to 85 per cent in the Martin district. In arriving at the high estimate of the manpower reserve, wives aged 15-59 without children under 10 years of age were also assumed to be available. This latter assumption also applied to women who were heads of families.¹²

Despite the heavy out-migration and increased employment opportunities locally since 1940, the estimate of the manpower reserve in Eastern Kentucky based upon Census data was more conservative than the estimate based upon the field survey data. Potentially available farm families were estimated to number 21,800 on the basis of 1940 Census returns as compared with the low estimate of 28,000 and the high estimate of 32,000 men who are heads of farm families and available as of December, 1942. Apparently the 1940 Census data were still useful to arrive at approximations of the manpower reserve at the close of 1942 on farms in areas which were generally comparable to Eastern Kentucky with respect to migration and local employ-

ment trends during the past two years and eight months. They were certainly still useful as a basis for delineating areas offering the maximum possibilities for recruiting war workers. (Figure 1.)

Family Status, Sex, and Age of Available Workers—Heads of families comprised 44 per cent of the available workers in the low estimate and heads and wives together made up 52 per cent of the high estimate. It is clear that a large part of the labor reserve yet untapped will be most readily available in family groups.

Although men outnumber women in both estimates, women comprise only 25 per cent of the low as compared with 43 per cent of the high figure. The higher percentage is accounted for by the inclusion of wives and female family heads without children under 10 years of age.

Available men with families were predominantly a young and middle-aged group. Among those for whom no obstacles were reported, the proportion aged 20 to 44 ranged from 69 per cent in the Clinton to 80 per cent in the Carter district. Nearly all of the remaining men with families were aged 45 to 59. Close to two-thirds of the available married men were aged 18 to 37, the age group most subject to military service. Both the single men and the single women with no obstacles reported to taking a war job were predominantly a youthful group, the majority being under 20 years of age and nearly all the remainder being under 45.

The age composition of the high

¹² The percentages of wives aged 15-59 with no children under 10 were 28, 30, 21, 21, and 40 in the Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin, and Owsley County districts respectively. Corresponding percentages for women who were heads of families were 71, 40, 31, 33, and 44.

estimate, including workers with potentialities for overcoming their reported obstacles, differed chiefly from the low estimate in having a considerably larger proportion of 15 year old workers and a slightly larger percentage of persons over 45 among both single men and women. This age difference serves to emphasize the fact that a considerable number of the workers included in the high estimate will not be available for year round work unless they remain out of school; they are primarily potential candidates for seasonal farm work.

Barriers to the Emigration of Available Workers—How many of the workers classified as available for more productive jobs in behalf of the nation's war effort will actually shift to such jobs will be influenced by such factors as the attitudes of the potential workers toward their present way of life and toward the new way of life which a job change would involve, the development of public policies and public opinion designed to force workers into war jobs, selective service policies with respect to workers now in agriculture, the effectiveness of labor recruiting programs, the willingness of employers to draw upon the labor reserve of Eastern Kentucky, and the capacity of these potential workers to do the required tasks.

How many will leave the area will be affected by the relative need for workers within and outside of Eastern Kentucky and the comparative advantages of alternative employment opportunities. How many will

enter agricultural rather than industrial work depends in part on the characteristics and attitudes of the individual worker, in part upon the development of public measures designed to direct workers into specific occupations. Seasonal agricultural workers apparently could be recruited in rather large numbers from among those available only a part of the year because of school attendance or work on their own farms. As far as year round full time work was concerned, however, comments made to the field enumerators indicated more interest in entering industrial than agricultural work. Higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions in industry and the loss of status involved in becoming a farm laborer appeared to be back of the preferences for industrial work on the part of these farm people.

How many of the available married men will leave with their families will be dependent upon such factors as property ties, size of family, availability of desired housing for the family at the place of employment, cost of moving the family, cost of living on purchased rather than home-produced food, and the worker's estimate of how long the job will last. Temporary jobs can be taken by husbands and fathers who board away from home but if jobs were permanent, the supply of married men would likely prove to be unstable if away from their families.

Of the 28,000 available married men included in the low estimate, at least one in three would have to make arrangements for disposition of the

farms which they owned and operated. Others undoubtedly own land but the proportion is not known since their present major occupation was other than farm owner. Many of the men with land might do as some of their neighbors have already done, namely, leave the farm to be operated by the wife and children. Or they might lease, sell, or even abandon it. Field workers observed that renters and croppers seemed to be more interested in war jobs than were owners, while some owners commented they would like to leave with their families for work which would contribute more to winning the war if they could make satisfactory arrangements for care of their land and buildings during their absence.

About 16,000 of the 28,000 married men were heads of families of five or more persons and might therefore face special problems of transportation cost and of finding housing, were they to move. Some 5,000 of the available married men have both land and large families and 20,000 have either land or family ties or both which might serve as a barrier to leaving their present homes.

It is evident that limited education would handicap many of the available workers for some types of employment and might impede their adjustment in new situations. In the counties containing the five magisterial districts, the percentage of the rural-farm population 25 years of age and over who had completed more than eight grades of school ranged only from 6 per cent in Martin to 11 per

cent in Owsley County, at the time of the 1940 U. S. Census. The median years of school completed ranged from 5.1 in Martin to 7.2 in Clinton County.

The farm work skills of persons in the surveyed districts did not generally include operation of the more complicated farm machinery. In none of the five districts were more than 40 per cent of the men aged 15 to 59 reported to have driven automobiles and in the Leslie district only 14 per cent were reported as knowing how to drive. The number of men who had operated tractors was negligible. Lack of experience with the more complicated farming equipment is indicated by several indices of the state of agricultural technology in Eastern Kentucky. In large parts of the area more than 30 per cent of the small grain harvested in 1939 was cradled.¹³ Only slightly more than a bushel of corn is produced per man-day of labor on hillside fields.¹⁴ In the five magisterial districts, 1940 U. S. Census data showed an average value of implements and machinery ranging from \$13 in Leslie to \$131 in Clinton per farm reporting. The small scale of operations to which these farm people are accustomed is further shown by Census figures showing that in the five selected districts the corn harvested in 1939 averaged only between 42 and 165 bushels per farm, cropland harvested

¹³ See Figure 37 in R. G. Hainsworth, O. E. Baker, and A. P. Brodell, *Seedtime and Harvest Today*, USDA, Misc. Pub. 485 (Washington, D. C., August, 1942).

¹⁴ See Table 5 in Nicholls, Bondurant, and Galloway, *op. cit.*

ranged from five to 20 acres per farm, from 44 to 68 per cent of the farms reported workstock, and the average number of cows milked was between one and 1.6.

All these facts add up to show these available workers face rather drastic adjustments if they do enter war jobs in either agriculture or industry.

A Short Form of The Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale*

By William H. Sewell†

ABSTRACT

Since the publication of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale there has been considerable demand for a still briefer instrument for measuring the socioeconomic status of farm families. The writer has attempted to satisfy this need by constructing a scale including fourteen of the most easily obtainable items from the original scale. Item analysis proved that these items possess sharp diagnostic capacity in samples taken from Oklahoma, Kansas, and Louisiana farm populations. The validity of the short scale for the three sample areas was established in terms of the very close agreement between the measurement produced by it and that of the original scale. The reliability tests, likewise, proved satisfactory. Tentative norms were constructed for the sample groups. After considering its advantages and limitations, it was decided that the short form of the scale produces satisfactory results and may be employed in studies where time and space limitations make the use of the longer original form seem inadvisable.

RESUMEN

Desde la publicación de La Escala del Status Socioeconómico de la Familia Rural, ha habido una gran demanda por un método aún más breve para medir el status socioeconómico de las familias campesinas. El autor ha tratado de suplir esa necesidad mediante la elaboración de una escala que incluye catorce de los datos más fácilmente obtenibles de los contenidos en la escala original. El análisis de cada uno de los datos incluidos en esta breve escala ha demostrado que ellos permiten hacer un diagnóstico certero en las muestras obtenidas entre la población rural de los estados de Oklahoma, Kansas y Luisiana. La exactitud de la breve escala se comprobó por la concordancia observada entre los resultados obtenidos mediante su uso y los arrojados por la escala original en las áreas-muestras escogidas. Las pruebas de precisión, asimismo, resultaron satisfactorias. Fueron elaborados tipos de ensayo para los grupos escogidos como muestras. Después de considerar sus ventajas y limitaciones, se llegó a la conclusión de que la forma reducida de la escala da resultados satisfactorios y puede, por lo tanto, ser empleada en estudios cuando, por limitaciones de tiempo y de espacio, el uso de la escala original parezca inconveniente.

Introduction

Despite the fact that the original Farm Family Socioeconomic Status

Scale can be administered on the average in less than ten minutes, there has been considerable demand

* This paper is published as a contribution of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.

† Professor of Sociology and Rural Life, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

from research workers for a still shorter form which would produce a reasonably satisfactory measurement.¹ Doubtless, in many studies this is a pressing need, especially when the primary purpose of the research is not to study socioeconomic status but other phenomena which may be related directly or indirectly to status. A shorter form would also prove valuable in investigations where limitations in time and funds prevent the use of the original scale. Already several investigators have attempted to meet this need by arbitrarily choosing certain items from the longer scale and using them in place of it. Since this practice, if continued, would lead to many different forms of the scale and hence to much confusion in reporting results, the writer has attempted to produce a short form which will meet the needs of those who for one reason or another find it inadvisable to employ the original scale. The results of this effort are reported in this paper.

In the construction of the short form of the scale, four requirements have been kept in mind. First, the short scale should consist of items which not only may be ascertained easily and with accuracy but which possess sharp diagnostic capacity at

differing levels of socioeconomic status and in varying culture areas. Second, the short scale should produce a valid rating which will be essentially the same as that obtained by the use of the original scale. Third, the reliability of the short scale should be sufficiently great that the scale can be used with confidence. Fourth, norms should be constructed which will make possible the comparison of scores on the short scale with established standards.

The Selection of Items

In considering items for inclusion in the short form of the scale, only those which field experience had shown to be the most easily and accurately obtainable were selected for testing. While actual use of the original scale had shown that none of the original items caused trouble to well trained workers, less experienced interviewers found certain items more difficult than others to enumerate. This was especially true of those items dealing with specific rooms and the equipment found in them. Here the difficulty seemed to be in the determination of which room should be called the living room. Even though clear-cut directions were prepared concerning this point, it still caused some difficulty. The participation items also proved to be troublesome in some cases because of the confusion in the minds of some about the distinction between membership and attendance. In some cases, the items relating to books and magazines were relatively difficult to answer objectively, and the

¹ For a complete discussion of the original scale see William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socioeconomic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin No. 9 (Stillwater, Oklahoma, April, 1940). A brief discussion is given in "A Scale for the Measurement of Farm Family Socioeconomic Status," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XXI (1940), 125-137.

questions on insurance gave some trouble. On the other hand, the fourteen remaining questions, which deal mainly with household equipment, housing, education, and church and Sunday School attendance, seldom caused difficulties. Therefore, it was decided that these items might serve as a basic core for further statistical analysis. (For these items see Table 1).

In the construction of the original scale, for use on the Oklahoma population, only those items were retained which proved to have superior capacity to differentiate between successive as well as extreme socioeconomic status groups.² Since all of the fourteen items in the short form of the scale were selected from the original group, no particular concern need

be manifested about their ability to differentiate in the Oklahoma population. However, question may be legitimately raised concerning their validity for other populations. To partially answer this question, the items were re-analyzed for two sample groups taken from Kansas and Louisiana. The Kansas sample consisted of 454 schedules which were available from a cooperative survey carried out by the committee on research of the Mid-West Sociological Society.³ The Louisiana sample

² This is an unusually high standard and has the effect of insuring that the scale will differentiate sharply between varying levels of status. The usual standard is that retained items should differentiate between extreme groups. A complete description of the technique and standards used in the study is given in the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-42.

TABLE I. RESULTS OF ITEM ANALYSIS

Item	Oklahoma (1062 cases)		Kansas (454 cases)		Louisiana (648 cases)	
	Percent possess- ing item	Signif- icant quar- tile differ- entia- tions	Percent possess- ing item	Signif- icant quar- tile differ- entia- tions	Percent possess- ing item	Signif- icant quar- tile differ- entia- tions
*Construction of house	48.0	4	76.1	4	32.4	4
*Room-person ratio	51.4	4	69.2	4	70.0	4
*Lighting facilities	25.4	4	54.0	4	23.0	4
Water piped into house	6.2	4	33.0	4	7.6	3
Power washer	26.2	4	69.0	4	13.0	3
*Refrigerator	39.7	4	55.6	4	56.1	4
Radio	46.1	4	78.8	4	56.3	4
Telephone	23.8	4	58.0	4	8.1	3
Automobile	62.9	4	93.5	1	37.6	4
Daily newspaper	42.7	4	72.1	4	58.1	4
*Wife's education	57.8	4	74.3	4	66.5	4
*Husband's education	48.1	4	74.3	4	51.4	4
Husband attends church or S.S.	65.2	4	70.3	3	76.8	4
Wife attends church or S.S.	73.1	4	81.0	4	80.4	4

* For descriptions of the standards for possession of these multiple choice items see the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-66.

was made up of 648 schedules resulting from a cooperative survey made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Department of Rural Sociology of the Louisiana State University.

The item analysis was made using the criterion of internal consistency technique and consisted of the following steps: (1) the schedules for each of the sample groups were divided into quartiles on the basis of total scale scores, (2) the percentage of occurrence in each of the quartiles was computed for each item, (3) the differences between the percentage of occurrence in each of the successive and the extreme quartiles and the standard errors of these differences were determined, and, (4) the significance of the differences, expressed in critical ratios, were computed.⁴ A summary of the results of this analysis is given in Table I which shows only the number of significant differences for each item and the percentage of families in each sample possessing the various items. For purposes of comparison the same data are given for the Oklahoma sample.

The table shows for the Kansas sample that twelve of the items dif-

ferentiate significantly at every level, one at three levels, and one only between the extreme quartiles. For the Louisiana sample, eleven items differentiate significantly at all levels and three at three levels. Of course, in the Oklahoma sample, all items differentiate significantly in every possible comparison. Furthermore, all items differentiate between the extreme quartiles in each of the samples. These results indicate that all of the items but one meet the requirement stated earlier for item selection, i.e., that the retained items should possess sharp diagnostic capacity at varying levels of socioeconomic status in varying culture areas. The only exception is the item "automobile" which differentiated only in the extreme comparison for the Kansas sample. However, this item differentiated at all levels in both of the other areas and its retention in the scale is permissible because it probably will have sharp diagnostic capacity in most areas.

Since the items proved to be valid differentiators of socioeconomic status in each of the sample groups, they were combined into a scale for further testing. This form of the scale is shown on p. 166. It consists of six items from the fifteen in the original scale which were classified as material possessions, six from the original group of thirteen cultural possession items, and two from the original eight social participation questions.⁵ Thus, the major com-

⁴The following persons participated in this study: C. D. Clark, W. D. Moreland, Harriet Higby, J. O. Hertzler, R. B. Tozier, S. Garvin, F. H. Forsyth, and Stuart A. Queen, Chairman of the Committee.

⁵When the term *significant* is used it means that the critical ratios equal or exceed the five percent level of significance. For a discussion of significance, see R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (5th edition; London: 1934), pp. 112-129.

⁵Actually, both of the social participation items combine church and Sunday school attendance and, therefore, represent four of the original group.

ponents of socioeconomic status as originally defined are represented roughly in the same proportions as in the original form of the scale.⁶ Therefore, if this short form of the scale can stand the tests of validity and reliability which are demanded of a standardized scale, it may be accepted as a substitute for the original scale.

Validity

The only test made of the validity of the short form of the scale was that of determining the correlation between the ratings produced by it and those produced by the original scale.⁷ Since the validity of the original scale for the Oklahoma population had been established by extensive testing and was clearly indicated for the Kansas and Louisiana samples by somewhat less extensive tests, it may be said that the short scale is valid for these groups if it produces essentially the same results as the original scale.⁸ To determine this, the schedules for the three sample groups were re-scored by adding the weights on the fourteen items. This new score was then correlated with the original score for each of the families in each of the separate samples. The results were as

follows: Oklahoma $- .94$, Kansas $+ .95$, and Louisiana $+ .95$. From these coefficients, all of which are highly significant, it may be seen that the short scale produces a measurement which agrees essentially with that produced by the longer scale.⁹ Therefore, it may be considered valid, at least insofar as the original scale was valid for these groups.¹⁰

Reliability

The only test made of the ability of the short scale to produce a consistent measurement was the split-half reliability test.¹¹ This was done by correlating the scores obtained by dividing the scale into equal halves, one consisting of the odd-numbered items and the other of the even-numbered items. The resulting corrected coefficients for the three sample groups were as follows: Oklahoma $+ .81$, Louisiana $+ .81$, Kansas $+ .87$. Since the usual standard for reliability coefficients produced by this technique is $+ .80$, these coefficients indicate

⁶ The coefficients were tested using Fisher's test for correlation coefficients as given by G. W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods* (revised edition; Ames, Iowa, 1938); Table 2, p. 133.

⁷ For the definition and the classification of the items see the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 42-45.

⁸ For a discussion of validity testing, see the writer's "The Development of a Sociometric Scale," *Sociometry*, V (August, 1942), 290-293.

⁹ For the Oklahoma sample the evidence is given in the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49. The validity tests for the Kansas and Louisiana samples are given in the writer's "The Restandardization of a Sociometric Scale," *Social Forces*, XXI (March, 1943), 303-306.

¹⁰ Some readers will raise the question of whether anything fundamental to the measurement has been lost by the elimination of the remaining items. While it cannot be answered adequately at this point, it is interesting to find that there is a high correlation between the fourteen items retained and the twenty-two items which were omitted. For the three samples the coefficients were as follows: Oklahoma $+ .79$, Kansas $+ .81$, Louisiana $+ .77$. This indicates that the loss probably was not great.

¹¹ For a discussion of other tests of reliability, see the writer's "The Development of a Sociometric Scale," *Sociometry*, V (August, 1942), 293-294.

that the scale produces sufficiently consistent results that it may be used with confidence.¹² However, it must be pointed out that other tests of

reliability should be made before a more conclusive generalization may be given. The short scale is not as reliable as the original scale, but this is a sacrifice which is inevitable since the reliability of a scale is partially a function of its length.

¹² Reliability coefficients for the scale obtained by other techniques agree closely with those gained by the split-half technique. See the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

FARM FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS SCALE

(SHORT FORM)

Score	Scale Items				
.....	1. Construction of house:				
	Brick, stucco, etc., or painted frame		Unpainted frame or other		
	Score:	(5)		(3)	
.....	2. Room-person ratio:				
	Number of rooms		.. ÷ Number of persons =		
	Ratio: Below 1.00	1.00-1.99	2.00 and up		
	Score:	(3)	(5)	(7)	
.....	3. Lighting facilities:				
	Electric	Gas, mantle, or pressure		Oil lamps, other or none	
	Score:	(8)	(6)	(3)	
.....	4. Water piped into house?				
		Y (8)	N (4)		
.....	5. Power washer?				
		Y (6)	N (3)		
.....	6. Refrigerator:				
	Mechanical	Ice		Other or none	
	Score:	(8)	(6)	(3)	
.....	7. Radio?				
		Y (6)	N (3)		
.....	8. Telephone?				
		Y (6)	N (3)		
.....	9. Automobile? (Other than truck)				
		Y (5)	N (2)		
.....	10. Family takes daily newspaper?				
		Y (6)	N (3)		
.....	11. Wife's education:				
	Grades completed:	0-7	8	9-11	12 13 and up
	Score:	(2)	(4)	(6)	(7) (8)
.....	12. Husband's education:				
	Grades completed:	0-7	8	9-11	12 13 and up
	Score:	(3)	(5)	(6)	(7) (8)
.....	13. Husband attends church or Sunday school?				
	(¼ of meetings)			Y (5)	N (2)
.....	14. Wife attends church or Sunday school?				
	(¼ of meetings)			Y (5)	N (2)
	Scale Score				

Norms

Norms for a sociometric scale usually become accepted only after considerable evidence and experience have been accumulated with the instrument in many varying situations. Since the data on the short form of the Scale are quite limited, only tentative norms may be offered at this time. These include mean scores for various tenure groups and raw scores for selected percentile ranks in the Oklahoma, Kansas, and Louisiana samples. The Oklahoma norms are doubtless the most reliable of the three sets because they were based on 1000 cases carefully selected to represent the rural farm population of the State. The Kansas and Louisiana norms must be considered as quite tentative since they were based on much less strict sampling procedures.¹³ However, they should be useful for rough comparative purposes and are presented with this limitation in mind.

¹³ A more detailed discussion of norms, as well as several types of norms based on the original form of the scale, is given in the author's "The Development of a Sociometric Scale," *Sociometry*, V (August, 1942), 294-297. Norms for the original scale for the Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Kansas samples are given in the writer's "The Re-standardization of a Sociometric Scale," *Social Forces*, XXI (March, 1943), 310.

Table II gives the means and standard errors of the various tenure groups for the three sample populations. By reference to this table comparisons between obtained means may be made with these well known groups to gain a rough idea of the position occupied by a given family or group.¹⁴ The percentile norms are shown in Table III. The percentile rank of a given raw score in any of the three standard groups may be determined by reference to this table. It will be noted that the Oklahoma and Louisiana norms tend to be approximately similar while the Kansas norms are much higher than those for the other two states. Similar norms would be still higher for some other states. However, in many studies, comparisons with these well known groups will prove valuable in that they will provide a general idea of the level of the groups being studied.

Advantages and Limitations of the Short Form

The short form of the scale may be said to have certain advantages over

¹⁴ The differences between the means for the successive tenure levels are statistically significant in all comparisons. This indicates, further, the validity of the scale for these samples.

TABLE II. MEAN SCORES ON THE SHORT SCALE FOR VARIOUS TENURE GROUPS IN THE THREE SAMPLES

Tenure Status	Oklahoma		Louisiana		Kansas	
	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.
Owner	61.4	0.5	61.5	0.5	71.8	0.7
Tenant	54.9	0.5	53.7	0.7	65.8	0.9
Cropper	...	.	50.9	0.8	...	..
Laborer	50.0	1.0	47.1	1.1	60.4	1.7

TABLE III. RAW SCORES ON THE SHORT SCALE ACCORDING TO SELECTED PERCENTILE RANKS FOR THE THREE SAMPLES

Percentile rank	Raw scores			Percentile rank	Raw scores		
	Oklahoma sample	Louisiana sample	Kansas sample		Oklahoma sample	Louisiana sample	Kansas sample
1	41	39	49	50	59	57	68
5	45	44	52	55	60	58	71
10	46	46	54	60	62	59	73
15	48	48	57	65	63	61	75
20	50	49	58	70	64	62	77
25	51	51	60	75	66	64	79
30	53	52	61	80	69	67	80
35	54	53	63	85	73	70	83
40	56	54	65	90	76	74	86
45	57	55	67	95	81	79	89
				99	87	85	91

the original form. First, the fact that it is composed of only fourteen items means that it may be administered in less time and will take less space on a schedule than the original form. Experience has shown that a family can be rated on the average in about five minutes. This will mean that it can be employed in studies where time and schedule space are important considerations. Moreover, it appears that the short form will produce a reasonably valid and reliable measurement of socioeconomic status even though it may be less dependable than that produced by the longer scale.

Second, the fact that the short form is based on items which field experience has shown are most readily and accurately obtainable should make it easier for relatively less well trained interviewers to administer with accuracy. In some investigations, this will doubtless be an important consideration.

Third, the questions in the short scale are all of the type that may be

answered accurately without gaining entry into the residence of the family being rated. This will be a marked advantage in some studies where interviews are held in other places than the house. Further, since the answers to the simple questions composing the scale are likely to be known by all members of the family, the questions can be so formulated that they can be answered by school children and others away from home.¹⁴ In many studies this will be a distinct advantage.

While the brevity of the short form of the scale doubtless is its greatest advantage over the original scale, it must be pointed out that it is at the same time its greatest disadvantage. In the first place, the instability of any one item is likely to reduce the reliability of the scale greatly. This is not so true in the case of the longer scale where the chances are greater

¹⁴ The writer has prepared such a form and will be glad to furnish it free to anyone interested in it.

that a change in one item will be offset by a change in the opposite direction in another item.

Second, the contribution of any one item to the measurement produced by the short scale is relatively much greater than in the original form, and therefore if an item loses its validity or changes its significance the validity of the short scale may be affected greatly.

Third, since there are fewer items in the short form there is greater danger that this form will fail to measure the extremes of socioeconomic status than in the case of the original scale. To illustrate the point, in the total group of families in the three samples scored on both scales only six made the lowest possible score on the original scale in comparison with fifteen on the short form; at the other extreme, no family made the highest possible score on the original scale while six reached this score on the short form. From this it can be seen that the longer form is quite superior in differentiating at the extreme status levels.

Conclusion

From the analysis presented in this paper it may be concluded that the short form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale will produce an easily obtainable, objective, valid and reliable measurement of socioeconomic status. However, this measurement may be somewhat less reliable and valid than that produced by the longer scale. While the short form will need to be tested out in many field situations before more

conclusive generalizations may be offered, it appears that it will prove useful in studies where the use of the longer original form seems inadvisable.

DISCUSSION

By GENEVIEVE KNUPFER and
ROBERT K. MERTON*

This paper presents a short form of the author's Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale. A single question is posed: do the two forms give approximately the same results? The original 36 items were reduced to 14 and the correlation between scores on the long and the short form was +.95. It is evident, therefore, that they do. Any criticism of this paper as far as concepts of measurement or of socio-economic status are concerned must be directed rather towards the original scale than towards the short form since the purpose of the latter is simply to reproduce the former more efficiently.

The criterion for selection of items was the ease of ascertaining them in practice; that is, those items were eliminated which, on rather loose intuitive grounds, seemed relatively difficult to ascertain. Apparently, the aim was to reduce the errors and difficulty of observation.

If these fourteen items are the maximum number of reliable items, are they also the minimum number of items necessary to correlate with the long form? Perhaps very little would be lost if we eliminated another five or six of them.

If we started with the original 36

* Columbia University.

and tried to find the smallest possible number of them which would yield a correlation of $+ .95$ with the original scale, a different procedure would be indicated. In either case, the mathematical techniques of partial correlation and of factor analysis would be in order as the only way of arriving at a correct answer to the question of predicting the total score from the least possible number of items. The not altogether pointless objection may be raised, however, that this would be too elaborate and laborious to be worthwhile since such good results were obtained by simpler methods.

Rejoinder

I have two comments to make which should help clarify points raised by Knupfer and Merton concerning my paper. First, it is true that there are better techniques than those I used for predicting the total score with the smallest possible number of items; however, it must be remembered that this is only one phase of the problem. Another equally important phase is that of pro-

ducing a reliable scale, i.e., one which measures with consistency. Since reliability is usually lost when the number of items is reduced, brevity must be sacrificed at some point for reliability. Therefore, the search is not for the shortest *valid* scale (valid in this case in that the short scale gives an acceptable prediction of the score produced by the original scale) but rather for the shortest *valid* scale which will produce *reliable* results. In fact, in the preliminary work on this problem, shorter valid scales were constructed but none came up to the minimum standards usually set for reliability. Still another aspect of the problem is to retain the valid items which can be most easily observed in an objective fashion. This further precluded the use of the techniques they suggest.

The second comment is that the items were not eliminated on "loose intuitive grounds" as is alleged but rather on the basis of extensive field observations. Certainly, a careful reading of the paper should have made this clear.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL.

Development of A 1940 Rural-Farm Level of Living Index for Counties

*By Margaret Jarman Hagood**

ABSTRACT

From a preliminary list of 14 suggested components, 5 have been selected for a 1940 rural-farm level of living index: (1) adequacy of housing space, (2) radios, (3) farm income, (4) late model automobiles, (5) schooling completed. One basis of selection was the weights each component received on four preliminary indexes constructed by component techniques for the following groups of counties: North Carolina, Iowa, these two states combined, and a sample of 200 counties of the United States. Components were selected which generally had high positive weights for all four indexes. Another basis of selection was the degree of intercorrelation of components. To avoid duplication, only one component was selected from any group of two or more highly intercorrelated components. Correlations between the final and the preliminary indexes indicate that no great loss in differentiating capacity is incurred by reducing the number of components and by using weights derived from the national sample of counties.

RESUMEN

De una lista preliminar de 14 componentes propuestos, 5 han sido seleccionados para un índice del nivel de la vida rural-agrícola en 1940: (1) La vivienda adecuada, (2) Los aparatos radioreceptores, (3) Los ingresos, (4) Los automóviles de modelo reciente, (5) Los estudios completados. Una de las bases de la selección consistió en el peso relativo que cada componente recibió en cuatro índices preliminares construidos por la técnica de componentes para los siguientes grupos de condados: Carolina del Norte, Iowa, estos dos estados combinados, y una muestra de 200 condados de los Estados Unidos. Se seleccionaron los componentes que en general tenían pesos positivos altos en todos los cuatro índices. Otra base de selección fué el grado de intercorrelación de los componentes. Para evitar duplicación, se escogió solamente un componente de cada grupo de dos o más componentes con un alto grado de intercorrelación. Las correlaciones entre el índice final y los preliminares indican que no ocurrió gran pérdida de capacidad de diferenciación al reducir el número de componentes y al usar los pesos derivados de la muestra nacional de condados.

The utility of level of living indexes for counties of the United States has been amply demonstrated by the wide use of several county indexes constructed on the basis of 1930 Census and other data. Especially in the analysis of relationships of economic with other factors, such as migration, education, fertility, etc., when counties comprise the unit of observation, and in the problem of subregional delineation have

level of living indexes been valuable.¹ With much of the 1940 Census data on population, housing, and agriculture now available by counties, it seems advisable to develop new county indexes based on more nearly current data and constructed by more

¹ For example, Carter Goodrich et al., *Migration and Planes of Living, 1920-1934*, Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935; C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, WPA Research Monograph XIX, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939; A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States*, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940.

* Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

recently developed methods. This paper presents the results of some exploratory work leading to the development of a rural-farm level of living index.² A rural-nonfarm index will be similarly developed later and the two combined into a rural level of living index.

Limitations of level of living indexes for counties of the United States arise chiefly from two sources. The first is that the quantitative data uniformly available for counties by no means encompass the range of phenomena subsumed under the concept "level of living"—in fact, some of the phenomena are probably not quantifiable. The second is that characteristics for which data are available do not have a uniform relationship to level of living in the various regions and subregions of the country. With regard to the first limitation, we shall assume that the factors in "level of living" which are not measurable, or which have not been measured, are closely enough correlated with those for which we do have measures provided by Census data to permit the latter being used to form a valid index. With regard to the second limitation, we have attempted to determine which ones of a number of possible components seem to be most valid indicators of level of living in the several regions of the country and to develop an in-

dex from those components which are most uniformly valid.

For preliminary testing and weeding out of a group of components which seemed appropriate for a level of living index,³ the counties of North Carolina and Iowa were used. For exploration of the relationships of the proposed components these two states seemed appropriate, since North Carolina counties have a mean rural-farm level of living below the national average and show great variation in the selected components, while Iowa counties have a mean rural-farm level of living much higher than the national average and

² These components were chosen primarily on the basis of their previous use in similar indexes and with the advice of Conrad Taeuber and C. Horace Hamilton. They are listed below with numbers by which they are identified in the accompanying tables. Data on all these components are available for counties from *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Second Series State Bulletins; Housing, First and Second Series State Bulletins; Agriculture, First and Second Series State Bulletins.*

1. Percent of rural-farm occupied dwelling units with fewer than 1.51 persons per room
2. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units not in need of major repairs
3. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with running water
4. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with electric lights
5. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with radios
6. Percent of farms with milk cows
7. Percent of farms with hogs and pigs
8. Percent of farms with chickens
9. Percent of farms with fruit trees
10. Percent of farms with vegetables grown for home use
11. Percent of farms with gross income of \$600 or more
12. Percent of farms reporting automobiles
13. Percent of farms reporting automobiles of 1936 or later models
14. Median year of school completed by rural-farm persons 25 years of age and over

³ A project of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. Special acknowledgment is due to Helen A. Robinson of the Division's staff for statistical assistance in this project.

are generally quite homogeneous with respect to the components. For each of these states an index was first developed by analysis of the intercorrelations of the proposed components for the counties of that state alone. Table I shows for North Carolina the intercorrelations of 13 proposed components⁴ along with the resulting level of living index based on 11 components.⁵

It may be noted that component 7, relating to hogs and pigs, is generally negatively correlated with the other components. In the process of reflection, preliminary to analysis of the matrix, this component was changed in sign, indicating that it is negative-

ly related to the common factor (assumed to be level of living) which the others as a group measure best. Therefore, although the possession of hogs and pigs by a farm family is generally considered as a positive item in the level of living of that family, the component was eliminated from the index since the analysis indicated that in counties where greater percentages of farm families have

⁵The index weights for the standard measures (deviation of measure from the mean of the series expressed in standard deviation units) are proportional to the direction cosines of the measures with the principal component of the matrix. For a discussion of this method of index construction and for a computation guide for procedures, see Margaret Jarman Hagood, Nadia Danilevsky, and Corlin O. Beum, "An Examination of the Use of Factor Analysis in the Problem of Subregional Delineation," *Rural Sociology*, 6 (September 1941), pp. 216-233.

TABLE I. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 11 COMPONENTS, 100 COUNTIES OF NORTH CAROLINA

Components ¹	Components ²												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1													
2	.14												
3	.25	.41											
4	.47	.50	.56										
5	.67	.40	.49	.81									
6	.06	.32	.33	.36	.32								
7	-.10	-.43	-.71	-.42	-.34	-.56							
8	-.01	.04	-.36	.03	.04	.36	.28						
9	.01	.34	.41	.25	.14	.53	-.51	.06					
10	.06	.11	-.23	-.03	-.07	.27	.13	.58	.22				
11	-.03	-.23	-.52	-.16	-.12	-.65	-.75	.09	-.68	.01			
12	.49	.10	-.02	.56	.55	-.07	-.03	.23	-.33	-.04	.50		
13	.53	.02	.14	.46	.52	-.28	.24	-.05	-.33	-.17	.46	.86	

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .751z_1 + .483z_2 + .564z_3 + .980z_4 + 1.000z_5 + .290z_6 + \\ (\text{omit } z_7) + .035z_8 + .142z_9 - .055z_{10} + (\text{omit } z_{11}) + .788z_{12} + .757z_{13}$$

¹For identification of components, footnote 3.

hogs and pigs, smaller percentages tend to have the majority of items here considered as indicative of level of living.

More difficult to understand is the predominantly negative relationship of component 11, percentage of farms having a gross income of \$600 or more, with the others. It is surprising that, in North Carolina, counties which have a greater percentage of farms with gross farm income of \$600 or more tend to have smaller percentages of houses in repair, with running water, with electric lights, with radios, and smaller percentages of farms with milk cows. A possible explanation is suggested by the high negative correlation ($-.85$) between percentage of farms with gross income of \$600 or more and percentage of farms with operators reporting 100 days or more of off-farm work in 1939. In the counties where industrial employment opportunities provide considerable cash income to farm operators and other farm family members, the percentage of farm families possessing electric lights, radios, etc., is relatively high, even though the off-farm work may mean that the farm enterprise is kept to a modest level and the percentage of farms with gross income of \$600 or more is relatively low.

Still another component, number 10 relating to fruit trees, became reflected in the process of analysis, as is shown by the negative sign of its weight. It could well have been discarded at this stage, but since the other weights had been determined from the matrix with this component

included, and since the value of its weight was so small as to be negligible, it was retained in the index.

Weights for the 11 components retained are so scaled in the index equation shown at the bottom of the table that a weight of one is assigned to the component which this type of analysis indicates is the "best" measure for the common factor running through all of them. The percentage of rural-farm dwelling units with radios receives the heaviest weight, followed closely by the percentage with electric lights. Next in order of weights are the two components relating to automobiles, followed closely by the component indicating adequacy of housing space per person.

Comparison of a similar analysis of the same components for the counties of Iowa (Table II) reveals interesting similarities and differences. The most marked difference is with respect to component 11, gross farm income, which for Iowa not only measures in the direction one would naturally expect, but also receives the second highest weight, exceeded only by one of the components relating to automobiles. The other automobile component, radios, and electric lights get high weights, as they did for North Carolina. Possession of hogs and pigs receives a high positive weight in Iowa, whereas it measured negatively in North Carolina. Percentage of farms having fruit trees was indicated to be measuring negatively by the process of reflection and was not included in the index.

TABLE II. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 12 COMPONENTS, 99 COUNTIES OF IOWA

Component ¹	Components ¹												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1													
2	— .11												
3	.36	.20											
4	.34	.04	.56										
5	.35	.07	.21	.78									
6	.31	.02	.04	.18	.46								
7	.45	— .01	.18	.32	.56	.86							
8	.37	— .03	.02	.11	.31	.88	.80						
9	.02	— .15	— .03	— .19	— .26	— .17	— .18	— .21					
10	.23	— .03	— .21	— .09	— .41	.39	.33	.39	.32				
11	.37	.03	.34	.54	.75	.76	.87	.68	— .31	.07			
12	.42	.07	.40	.98	.85	.71	.80	.63	— .35	.04	.93		
13	.27	.02	.42	.84	.85	.42	.56	.30	— .23	.04	.77	.80	

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .466z_1 + .036z_2 + .372z_3 + .739z_4 + .802z_5 + .756z_6 + .847z_7 + .679z_8 + (\text{omit } z_9) + .111z_{10} + .934z_{11} + 1.000z_{12} + .813z_{13}$$

¹ For identification of components, see footnote 3.

Table III shows the results of a similar analysis for the counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined into a single series. While the analysis for North Carolina alone provided the basis for constructing an index with maximum differentiating capacity for diverse counties in the lower range of the scale of level of living, and the analysis for Iowa alone for homogeneous counties in the upper range of the scale, this analysis provides an index based on a distribution of counties covering a wider range of the scale than either of the previous ones, but with a concentration near the upper end. As in the case of North Carolina, radios receive the heaviest weight on this index for the states combined. Percentage of farms with late model

automobiles is second, with the component indicating adequacy of housing space next. Gross farm income has a weight more than 75 per cent as great as the highest weight, indicating that it differentiates satisfactorily over this expanded range, whereas it failed to do so in the lower range.

The results of the analysis for the two states combined suggested that it might be possible to identify certain components which would indicate level of living satisfactorily in all areas of the country. Hence a random sample was drawn of 200 counties, stratified by three major regions (North, South, and West), and a similar analysis made for the sample counties. Table IV contains the results of this analysis with relative

TABLE III. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 11 COMPONENTS, 199 COUNTIES OF NORTH CAROLINA AND IOWA COMBINED

Com- pon- ents ¹	Components ¹												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1													
2	.52												
3	.65	.54											
4	.58	.48	.69										
5	.93	.59	.73	.69									
6	.61	.53	.55	.50	.70								
7	.62	.20	.32	.28	.64	.27							
8	.58	.36	.33	.36	.64	.65	.69						
9	— .37	— .10	— .16	— .18	— .39	— .02	— .56	— .29					
10	— .33	— .19	— .41	— .25	— .44	— .13	— .16	.05	— .39				
11	.61	.26	.35	.37	.66	.16	.88	.56	— .66	— .26			
12	.90	.52	— .64	.63	.94	.60	.69	.68	— .50	— .38	.79		
13	.84	.47	.70	.73	.92	.55	.75	.61	— .48	— .36	.77	.92	

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .933z_1 + .589z_2 + .566z_3 + .713z_4 + 1.000z_5 + .684z_6 + .756z_7 + .733z_8 + (\text{omit } z_9) + (\text{omit } z_{10}) + .766z_{11} + .883z_{12} + .979z_{13}$$

¹ For identification of components, see footnote 3.

TABLE IV. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 5 COMPONENTS, 200 SAMPLE COUNTIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Com- pon- ents ¹	Components ¹												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	14
1													
2	.32												
3	.47	.41											
4	.59	.39	.75										
5	.73	.29	.55	.68									
6	— .15	.00	.29	.14	— .24								
7	.13	.23	.59	.45	.33	.45							
8	.07	.21	.49	.38	.23	.62	.81						
10	— .02	.07	.32	.05	.25	.34	.55	.58					
11	.48	.30	.37	.36	.59	— .13	.00	.02	.24				
12	.67	.30	.44	.89	.84	— .30	.17	.04	.30	.74			
13	.48	.41	.57	.57	.68	— .09	.26	.18	.34	.73	.79		
14	.60	.16	.40	.39	.80	— .29	.22	.12	.28	.43	.66	.51	

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .840z_1 + (\text{omit } z_2, z_3, z_4) + 1.000z_5 + (\text{omit } z_6, z_7, z_8, z_{10}) + .816z_{11} + (\text{omit } z_{12}) + .866z_{13} + .879z_{14}$$

¹ For identification of components, see footnote 3.

weights for the five components chosen, for reasons explained below, to be retained in the final index. Approximate weights for all components are given in Table V, along with a comparison of the weights obtained earlier. In the analysis for the 200 counties, which include western counties, chickens, hogs and pigs, vegetables, and milk cows all received negative weights, indicating their inappropriateness as components in a level of living index. Some of these are satisfactory for Iowa and North Carolina, but unsatisfactory for the sample including western counties.

On the basis of the comparisons of weights in Table V and the intercorrelations presented in earlier tables, a tentative selection has been made of five components for a rural-farm level of living index appropriate for counties in all regions of the country. The criteria of choice were as follows: (1) that components selected for the final index should have fairly high weights on the four indexes, with weights for the 200 sample counties and for the combined states given more consideration; (2) that components selected should not be so highly intercorrelated that they practically duplicated each other. Weights for the five components so selected are shown in the last column of Table V. High intercorrelations among running water, electric lights, and radios indicated that only one of this group should be selected. Since the weight for radios was consistently higher than that for electric lights or running water on all four indexes, the radio component was

chosen for inclusion on the final index. There was little reason for choice between the two highly intercorrelated components relating to automobiles, but percentage of farms with 1936 or later model automobiles was selected from the pair because its weights were nearly as high as those for the other automobile component, while its correlations with the other four final components were in each case lower than those of the other automobile component. Adequacy of space in housing, gross farm income, and median year of school completed were selected, as they were the only other components with (approximate) weights over .700 for the sample county index.

The index equation at the bottom of Table IV is useful for indicating the relative importance of each component in the index, but is not convenient for computation purposes, since its use involves transforming the percentages into deviations from the mean of each series and dividing each deviation by the standard deviation of the series. Because indexes are commonly expressed in relation to some base, which is given a value of 100, a transformation of the equation of Table IV has been made which has weights that may be applied directly to the indicated percentages for any county and which has a value of 100 for the United States as a whole. Coding constants are introduced into the transformation to fix the unit of the scale so that maximum value on each of the components

TABLE V. RELATIVE WEIGHTS FOR STANDARD MEASURES ON 14 COMPONENTS FOR A RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX

Component	Weights Determined by Intercorrelations of Components for			
	100 counties of North Carolina	99 counties of Iowa	199 counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined	200 sample counties (first approximation) ¹
1. Percent of rural-farm occupied dwellings with fewer than 1.61 persons per room	.751	.466	.933	.776
2. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units not in need of major repairs	.483	.036	.589	.533
3. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with running water	.564	.372	.566	.974
4. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with electric lights	.979	.739	.713	.994
5. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with radios	1.000	.802	1.000	1.000
6. Percent of farms with milk cows	.291	.756	.684	— .192
7. Percent of farms with hogs and pigs	.	.847	.756	— .761
8. Percent of farms with chickens	.035	.679	.733	— .694
9. Percent of farms with fruit trees	.142	.	.	.
10. Percent of farms with vegetables grown for home use	.055	.111	.	— .591
11. Percent of farms with gross income of \$600 or more	.	.934	.766	.741
12. Percent of farms reporting automobiles	.788	1.000	.883	.979
13. Percent of farms reporting automobiles of 1936 or later models	.757	.813	.979	.947
14. Median year of school completed by rural-farm persons 25 years old or over	.	.	.	.773

¹ First approximations are almost equivalent to weights determined by Thurstone's centroid solution.

* Not computed because process of reflection indicated the component was measuring in a direction opposite from that assumed in original selection of component.

* Process of reflection did not indicate the component was measuring in a direction opposite from that assumed, but process of analysis to determine weights did.

* Not computed because component had not been selected at time of construction of index.

* Not computed because evidence obtained in construction of preceding indexes had indicated this component is not satisfactory.

* Eliminated from final index for reasons explained in text.

yields an index value of 200.⁶ The transformed equation is

$$L = .570 H + .356 R + .281 I + .496 A + 5.489 S - 36.3.$$

The index equation may be evaluated for any county by substituting the following values for the particular county, obtainable from the 1940 Census, with the percentages in each case based upon the number report-

ing, except for the automobile component.

H = Percent of occupied rural-farm dwelling units with fewer than 1.51 persons per room.

R = Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with radios.

I = Percent of farms with gross income of \$600 or more.

A = Percent of farms with automobiles of 1936 or later models.

S = Median year of school completed by rural-farm persons 25 years of age and over.

⁶ Transformation of the equation given in Table 4, I, to one convenient for computation, L, is done as follows: first divide each weight, w, in I by the standard deviation of that series, s, obtaining weights which can be applied directly to the components as measured by the percentages, medians, etc. The results may be represented as follows:

$$I = \frac{w_1}{s_1} X_1 + \frac{w_2}{s_2} X_2 + C,$$

where C is a constant that does not need to be evaluated (a function of the weights, standard deviations and means of the series).

Next transform I to I' by subtracting C from the right side,

$$I' = \frac{w_1}{s_1} X_1 + \frac{w_2}{s_2} X_2 + \frac{w_{14}}{s_{14}} X_{14}.$$

Next let

$$L = a I' + b,$$

where a and b are to be determined so as to make L have a value of 100 when U. S. mean values are substituted for the X's in I', and so as to make L have a value of 200 for the case of a county which has 100 percent of all the percentage items and a median of 12 years of school completed. Determination of a and b is accomplished by the solution of two simultaneous equations:

$$100 = a I' + b \quad (\text{with } I' \text{ evaluated by substitution of United States values for the } X_i\text{'s}),$$

$$200 = a I' + b \quad (\text{with } I' \text{ evaluated by substitution of 100 for each percentage component except that relating to median grade completed, and 12 for the latter}).$$

For the final index with five components, the several steps are as follows:

$$I = .840z_1 + 1.000z_2 + .816z_{11} + .866z_{12} + .879z_{14}$$

$$I' = .077X_1 + .048X_2 + .038X_{11} + .067X_{12} + .074X_{14}$$

$$L = 7.407I' - 36.3$$

$$L = .570H + .356R + .281I + .496A + 5.489S - 36.3.$$

In order to examine the degree to which the differentiating capacity of an index developed for a particular state is sacrificed by substituting an index based on considerably fewer components weighted according to relationships manifested by the sample of 200 counties from all parts of the United States, the correlation coefficients between some of the indexes developed were computed for the counties of North Carolina and Iowa. For the counties of North Carolina, the index based on the sample counties has a correlation of .78 with the index based on North Carolina counties alone, and of .81 with the index based on the counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined. For the counties of Iowa, the index based on the sample counties has a correlation of .91 with the index based on Iowa alone, and of .92 with the index based on the counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined. These coefficients indicate that for an analysis requir-

ing level of living index values only for counties within one state, there is some advantage in using an index developed solely on the basis of interrelationships of components for the counties of that state. On the other hand, the coefficients indicate that there is no great loss in differentiating capacity incurred by using an index with a greatly reduced number of components and with general applicability for all counties of the United States.

NOTE: The rural-farm index presented in this article has been submitted to a number of sociologists for criticism and suggestions. On the basis of suggestions received some modifications may be made in the index before it is evaluated for all counties of the United States. The rural-farm index which is finally adopted, together with the corresponding rural-nonfarm index and the composite rural index will be reported in *Notes* of an early issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

Economic Policy in Agriculture

(Some Historical, Psycho-Social, and Economic Considerations)

By José Silva¹

ABSTRACT

Economists who work in the field of agricultural economics must withdraw from their ivory towers and discard their armchairs. The world-wide agrarian movement which has resulted in the partitioning of large estates makes agricultural credit, cooperatives, extension work and crop insurance more necessary than ever before. However, in all these fields progress is impeded by cultural factors of a psycho-social nature. In overcoming these impediments the importance of the elementary teacher who lives among the rural people and has access to them through the children should not be over looked.

RESUMEN

Los economistas que trabajan en el campo de la economía agraria tienen que abandonar sus ideas abstractas. La reforma agraria en todo el mundo ha producido el fraccionamiento de los latifundios y causado una situación que exige más que nunca el crédito agrícola, las cooperativas, la propaganda educativa y los seguros agrícolas. Sin embargo, existen factores de naturaleza socio-psicológica que impiden el rápido desarrollo de esas actividades. Para vencer esos obstáculos los profesores en las escuelas del campo a través de los niños, pueden llegar hasta los adultos: su esfuerzo no debe ignorarse.

Introduction

Agricultural credit is a very modern institution, for it can be said to date back not more than seventy years. According to our peculiar usage of the concept, agricultural

credit involves the loaning of money

¹ Editor's Note: Translated from the Spanish by Nellie H. Loomis, this article draws together conclusions of particular application to Mexico derived from Professor Silva's wide experience in both the applied and theoretical fields.

for the development of agricultural enterprises. However, from the concept of agricultural credit in the modern world we choose to exclude all that credit which involves mortgages.

It is evident that the origin and the development of this particular branch of credit with which we are concerned neither could exist nor had any reason for existing in periods of history during which the form of agricultural ownership from the legal and, more important, from the social point of view remained primitive. Briefly, then, it can be said that up to the middle ages land ownership in all countries was concentrated in a few hands, and that landowners did not need the assistance of credit, inasmuch as their patrimonial resources were sufficient to meet the needs of a normal agricultural enterprise. Therefore, before the creation of systems of agricultural credit, when loans made for agricultural purposes were spoken of, they were understood to involve banking transactions which in no way differed from transactions taking place between credit agencies and commercial or industrial enterprises.

However, acute problems arose from the concentration of land in the hands of relatively few proprietors and, as a result, the governments decided on the breaking up of the large estates, not only for the benefit of the individuals who became small holders but also to the advantage of society generally. This move created a need for special legislative, economic, and

technical measures in the field of agricultural credit.

Why was this governmental intervention necessary?

First of all, exigencies of a social character would impose on those responsible for the administration of the countries obligations toward the men who, living on the land and firmly attached to the land, would still not have the necessities of life. Moreover, it is necessary to consider the intensification of national productivity, which naturally should be much greater as soon as pride in land ownership on the part of the actual tillers of the soil increased through their greater and more effective efforts.

There was also a reason of a character not strictly socio-economic, but rather political, which inspired the governing classes to create and give preference to the special form of credit which was called agricultural. Accompanying the popularized education of the masses, which made enormous strides in the last decades, the demand for material reforms continued to make its greatest influence felt. Therefore, confronted by the demands of workers' organizations, individuals, and some groups of intellectuals, the governments considered making concessions as a safety valve. This evident process of social adaptation, which was based on two movements of different natures, because they originated in these two different and antagonistic social spheres, still received its primary impetus from the rapid disappearance of what a philosopher has called the mentality

of slaves. We observe here that the new horizons which were opened up in the world of thought, based on a profound change in the thinking of the masses, naturally increased the energy and zeal with which the economists and the sociologists approached their work.

Tenure Reforms and Agricultural Credit

Meanwhile, due, especially to the post-bellum laws of agrarian reform and the corresponding impetus which was given the cooperatives of small agriculturalists, the fundamental problem for the legislature is now that of special agricultural credit. If, in fact, the new small landholders are lacking, as is the rule, in available capital and in the necessary means for putting their efforts to productive use, the new holdings, so opportunely created, can not maintain their vitality. An example of this type of situation was presented in Yugoslavia, where the farmers, recently made proprietors of apportioned lands, because they possessed nothing, neither the money, the machinery, nor the livestock, simply and completely abandoned the lands which had been granted them and which they had already enthusiastically taken possession of.

When the states intervened, for the reasons mentioned, to create a new and privileged form of credit in favor of the farmers, they had to consider the needs peculiar to agrarian activity, and to impose conditions for the operation of the banks which would be absolutely ruinous

from the point of view of sound banking practice. It was recognized that there must be very long term loans and that, at the same time rates of interest had to be enormously reduced. Therefore, the banks which must provide agricultural credit find themselves in a situation of serious disadvantage in comparison with the other banks and, in general, with any other commercial enterprise. Obviously, the long term operations and the very low rate of interest leave a margin of profit always reduced and often absolutely lacking. Moreover, as the laws promulgated in the different countries have entrusted to these credit agencies some auxiliary activities which require many expenditures, the result is that the legislators, following the lead of the theorists, have recognized the necessity of giving to the special banks a function of a genuinely social character which distinguishes them from the others. In arranging this, the state has taken part directly or indirectly in the creation and, what is more important, in the management of the banks of agricultural credit.

The methods used in making these grants vary from one country to another; but it can be said that almost all the systems agree in two forms of direct financial participation: capital granted to meet an emergency; subsidies provided continuously or periodically.

France offers us the typical example of these two forms.

In the year 1897 the *Banque de France*, an agency of issue enjoying many privileges, which it naturally

desires to have continued, found itself obligated to furnish the state with the enormous sum of forty million francs, which were all immediately applied in behalf of a national agricultural credit program. Moreover, the same banking institution had to deliver each year a percentage of its profits, and as these were always considerable, contributions to agricultural credit even before the first world war amounted to some seven million francs annually.

Psycho-Social Factors Discourage the Use of Credit

With the very large resources which the governments thought of placing at the disposal of the classes of the agricultural proletariat (we use this latter term as does Professor Gorni, of the International Labor Office, to include the aggregate of all of the small land holders and not only the mass of the agricultural day laborers) few anticipated that the special banks would encounter as the first difficulty in their functioning an important obstacle of a psychological nature.

The idea of credit in general has, in the minds of the lower classes in agriculture, a character completely synonymous with the idea of usury. Here we see again the necessary parallel between the material advancement of the masses and their cultural advancement. Actually this attitude should not surprise us because not only in ancient times, but in our day as well, the appropriations, contributions, and loans of any nature whatever made or given by capitalists, in the rural areas took on the

unquestionable character of objectionable usury. The use of extensive credit is not very old; we can say with Goddard that up to the middle of the 19th century even the idea of requesting a loan was disagreeable to many classes of society. All this changed because gradually the introduction and spread of the operation of the bank discount disseminated the idea of the normality of loans in commercial activity. Nevertheless even today a deep seated aversion to the loan persists tenaciously in the social classes of the rural areas.

Psycho-Social Factors and the Cooperatives

We must, finally, speak of another difficulty with which the banks had to cope in the development of co-operatives. When, through the agrarian reforms of the last decade, the government concerned itself with transforming the large estates of the great landowners into small holdings of the rural workers, the lack of machinery and draft animals for cultivating the land presented itself. Furthermore, the danger of the sale of the products at a low price due to the fact that each farmer was dealing with the buyers in only small quantities added another difficulty. The remedy which immediately presented itself was that of promoting co-operatives of small agriculturalists, through which the government hoped to resolve all difficulties of this kind. The function of developing the co-operatives was assumed by the banks of agricultural credit.

Incredible as it may seem at first

glance, the banks encountered in this work of education connected with the creation and development of the co-operatives, another enormous difficulty which is also of a psychological nature. The farmer has always considered the course of his life as a slow progress directed, naturally, toward the ownership of land. This is a feeling deep in his soul; it is a product seemingly spontaneous, but actually the unconscious work of many generations. Therefore, the beneficiaries of the agrarian reform in all countries obstruct passively, if not actively, the development of the co-operatives.

Against this prejudice of the people in the rural areas a special program of preparatory education is imperative. This should be one of the basic activities of the banks; and in many countries these banks have opportunely and effectively created a special technical service to accomplish this objective. For, given the distrustful, sceptical, conservative nature of the mental pattern of the farmer, persuasion is the best means of obtaining the desired result.

Cooperatives and Agricultural Credit

The co-operatives in some forty years have invaded the world, and their most enthusiastic supporters are the members themselves: therefore we may say that as the excellence of the system inheres *in re ipso*, its efficacy will be proven almost automatically in the course of its development. Cooperation will come gradually to penetrate into the life of the peasants, performing its true economic function, gradually modifying

the traditional rural individualism, improving, from the point of view of the national economy as well as from the individual point of view, the productivity of agricultural enterprises.

Immediately following the world war Rathenau, the German economist, placed his ability as promoter at the service of his country. He contended, in a very influential work, that the post war period would witness the rapid and violent transformation of the economic world; that still "after this veritable conflagration, two pillars of the preexisting order would remain standing: the monopolies of the great rural landed estates and those controlling the natural resources beneath the soil."

It is very interesting today, after more than 20 years, to see how this prophecy of Rathenau has been proved to be half wrong. The international monopolies, symbols of an unfortunate imperialism, still exist, certainly with respect to the riches hidden in the innermost recesses of the earth. However, on the other hand, the landed estates, symbols all over the world of the inequitable distribution of agricultural ownership, have been attacked in all countries and are to a great extent already broken up. This fact caused the development of an absolutely new economy, in which the extraordinary importance that agricultural credit has assumed in the contemporary world must be recognized. Its function, in that which concerns the development of the rural economy, is truly basic, in a great measure revolutionary, and always vital to the

economic and social structure of the nations.

We will remember, one of the conclusions of the International Economic Conference of Geneva (Sub-committee on agricultural affairs). "It is necessary to note that the shortages of capital and the rise in rate of interest which results from it is one of the principal factors which now impedes the development of agriculture."

Because they meet a critical need, in a few years the large national co-operative organizations have developed an organization international in character and scope. Already in the year 1895 there was created an International Cooperative Alliance which, with tendencies almost openly socialistic, was always in close contact with the famous International Syndicalists of Amsterdam.

In order to give the international organization an appearance of greater objectivity and at the same time obtain the cooperation of states in which the principles of government were strictly opposed to socialistic tendencies, Albert Thomas, the founder and director for many years of the International Labor Office in Geneva, considered the advisability of a new committee, which was finally created in the year 1931. It consisted of the International Co-operative Alliance and the International Committee on Agriculture. This fact brought into relief the importance of the agricultural co-operatives in our time in all the world.

Agricultural Extension and Insurance

In nations in which great agricultural development is possible, agricultural credit naturally constitutes a principal basis of agricultural economics since the peasants have found in this recourse to long time reasonable credit for individual or co-operative operations. Nevertheless, in a rural economy which from the social point of view may be said to be advanced, there are other branches of activity which it is necessary to guard, change, and perfect. Of course, the agricultural techniques are important, as is recognized in all countries. However, in our opinion it is insufficient to do things which by nature are preparatory or temporary. For example, it is not sufficient to give the rural people bits of isolated information or knowledge.

It would be more effective to use individuals who live on the land and are constantly and whole heartedly pouring out advice and knowledge of every kind. In Italy very good results have been experienced from the travelling agricultural classrooms since the pre-world war I period. In each province there is a nucleus of agricultural experts which in addition to its activity in the provincial institutes where they advise and counsel with the agriculturists, goes continually to the country to be in contact with the peasants. In this manner a few specially trained individuals are utilized to the interest of thousands and thousands of agriculturists. Something similar was created in Poland and Rumania, where in

1921 the Agricultural Board was created. New Russia adopted a different system which proved very effective. There the State sent the most intelligent of the agricultural workers to study a few years in vocational agricultural schools on the condition that they return after their studies to the villages of origin.

No matter what may be considered the motivation in the various countries, there always exists a preoccupation with increasing the potentialities of technical agriculture. This field of activity is extending itself, being in large part modified by the effect of the industrialization of agricultural enterprises. Finally, we must insist that while extending instruction in secondary schools and colleges we place even more emphasis upon instruction in the elementary schools. Actually the best and almost the only accomplishments in the field of improved agricultural practices are attained by the teachers in the elementary school in the country. Only they have the opportunity of living in constant contact with the rural children and of instilling in them the elementary principles of rational agriculture. Experience teaches that through the children an intelligent teacher devoted to his duty may easily and effectively reach the adults of the community.

A final subject of vital importance for agricultural economics in each country is the matter of insurance. It is not necessary to dwell on the tragic results of natural catastrophies in the rural areas. In bringing insurance to the rural people one is com-

pelled to think that the state should act as distributor and also that the state should make insurance obligatory. Thus for some 20 years all the governments have adopted and energetically applied the principle of planned economy and, as a result, general compulsory insurance for agricultural properties. Its practical form should more justly be considered as something similar to a system of organized mutual aid, for in this manner is attained the advantage resulting from redistributing among all the members of the collective the profits which according to sound economic doctrine may be thought of as savings.

Summary Comments

Thus summarizing in broad outlines the fundamental bases of agricultural economics we may conclude by contending that now we can envisage and describe the theory of a cooperative economic order which must include in a logically systemized form the categories of cooperative endeavor and project a theoretical and practical contribution of cooperation in the fields of credit, production and consumption. Agricultural credit as developed in many countries can contribute greatly to this end. Before the wide diffusion of the cooperative, the attitude of governments could not be more than one of open sympathy and support. They might even attempt to present a malicious interpretation of the truth advanced by Gide, "Cooperation is the most living synthesis of orthodox liberalism and socialism." Probably the important

thing for us to abstract from the various motivating forces is that they result in actual cooperatives.

In concluding may we say that we are of the opinion that the working masses can be convinced that it is not possible to improve social conditions except through economic prosperity. That is true notwithstanding, as Seligman wrote: "to assume that private property and individual initiative are the real drives of all the modern movement, is to shut ones eyes to the importance of present

happenings and the teachings of history itself."

In addition, as we have demonstrated, to be useful in agriculture political economics will have to descend from the abstract domain of pompous economic authority which is still a shapeless creature. It must boldly raise itself above conservative individualism in order to be able to carry out its mission of attaining a relatively fair distribution of raw materials, capital, and labor, the three great riches and sources of wealth.

NOTES

Edited by Paul H. Landis

CULTURAL ISLANDS IN ADAMS COUNTY, INDIANA*

Students of rural society have recently become interested in the existence of culturally divergent groups in rural areas.¹ These "cultural islands" are found to exist chiefly by virtue of nationality and religious differences. While teaching a summer session at Purdue University in 1941, the writer had called to his attention a situation in Adams County, Indiana, which represents an interesting mosaic of culturally divergent groups based upon nationality-religion cohesion.

Adams County is located in the north-eastern part of Indiana, bordering Ohio on the east and in the fourth tier of counties south of Michigan. It is a relatively rich agricultural county, and one of the older settled portions of the state. It had a total population of 21,254 in 1940, increasing by 6.5 per cent during the decade from 1930 to 1940. It had in 1930 only about 3,500 people of foreign birth, or of foreign parentage. Nearly 90 per cent of the foreign stock were German or German-speaking Swiss, the two groups being represented in about equal proportions. However, the total number in the population descending from German or Swiss stock would be much larger than these figures, since only those of foreign birth, or native born of foreign or mixed parentage are indicated. It is probable that those of German and Swiss descent would constitute a majority in the population of the county.

* The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to L. E. Archbold, County Agent of Adams County for much of the information on which this discussion is based.

¹ See Walter Kollmorgen, "The German-Swiss in Franklin County, Tennessee," (1940); "The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama," (1941) and "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," (1942) all published by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

The population is predominantly rural. Decatur, the county seat, and largest town in the county had a population in 1940 of 5,861; Berne, the next largest, 2,075. Nearly half (10,508) of the population was classified as rural-farm.

The religious affiliation reported by the Census of Religious Bodies² for 1936, shows the following denominations in order of numerical importance:

Lutheran	5,696
Methodist	1,808
Catholic	1,751
Mennonite	1,688
Evangelical and Reformed	1,104
Evangelical	894
United Brethren	815
Dunkers	295
Presbyterian	265
Disciples of Christ	105
Church of the Nazarene	96
Friends	75
Congregational and Christian	70
Baptist	40
All Others	687

TOTAL	15,389
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Unfortunately the census does not report separately on all of the various sects which are indicated on the accompanying map, but it is sufficient to show the rather unusual proportions of the "minor" denominations.

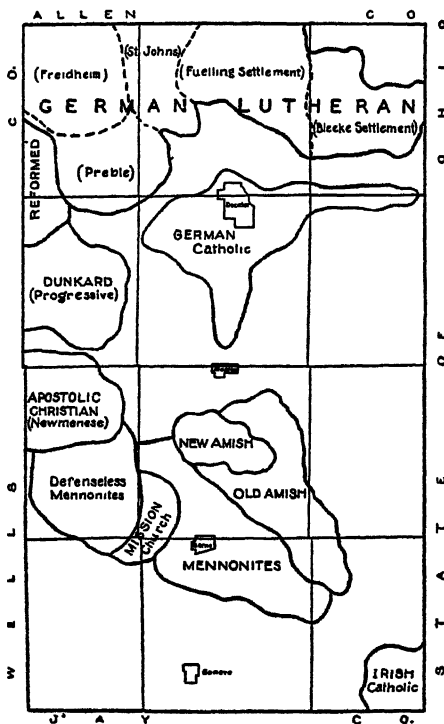
The general picture can be readily seen from the map. In each of the delineated areas, the various groups represent over 50 per cent of the population within the boundaries, and in some cases they approximate 100 per cent.

In the northern section of the county, German Lutherans predominate. These are sub-divided into five neighborhoods, the center of each being a church and a parochial school. Both of these institutions are op-

² *Census of Religious Bodies*, 1936. Bureau of the Census, Vol. 1, pp. 745-749.

erated by "sun time," about 28 minutes different from Central Standard Time.

Map of Adams County, Indiana



One German Catholic neighborhood also centers about a church and a parochial school, located in the county seat (Decatur). An Evangelical and Reformed church group is concentrated in the northwestern part of the county. The members are largely of German stock.

Adjoining the "Reformed" group to the south is a neighborhood composed of Dunkers—or "Dunkards," as they are locally known. These are mixed Conservative and Progressive Dunkers. These also are largely German stock.

Adjacent to the Dunkers on the south is a sect known locally as Newmenese, the true denominational name being the Apostolic Church of Christ. They are of German-Swiss extraction. The origin of the

local nick-name (Newmenese) is thought to derive from "outsiders" slurring the name New Amish, with whom they were incorrectly identified. This identification might have derived from the known antipathy of the Apostolic group toward military service which also characterizes the Mennonite and Amish bodies. Their social nucleus is a large open-country church.

The "Defenseless Mennonites" are, as the name suggests, a branch of the Mennonites dating from 1860 when "certain members of the Amish Mennonite Church, under the lead of Henry Egli, separated from that body on the ground that the church did not emphasize sufficiently the need of a definite experience of conversion."³ The sect is concentrated largely in Indiana and Illinois.

Old order Amish, with their "plain" clothes, long hair and beards, have a high degree of social visibility. They eschew modern mechanical contrivances, such as automobiles, tractors, telephones, electricity; do not hold office or vote, and will not use the courts for settlement of disputes. Their aversion to signing any documents leads to difficulties at times, even in the participation in cooperative associations requiring their signature on membership certificates.

"New" or progressive Amish who occupy farm land adjacent to them in Adams County, no longer wear long hair and beards, and are sometimes identified by "outsiders" as "short-haired Amish." Their official name is the Amish Christian Church. They no longer wear the distinctive dress characteristic of the Old Order Amish, nor are they averse to owning tractors, automobiles and other mechanical, "worldly," gadgets. They are very active in agricultural extension activities.

The Amish people generally have no church structures, but hold their religious services in homes of members, a survival of the days of persecution when they were forced to hold religious gatherings in seclusion. They have historically resisted compulsory education for their children, especially beyond the grades.

³ *Census of Religious Bodies*, 1936, Bulletin No. 17, p. 77.

Mennonites, other than Amish, are numerically important in the county, but are largely concentrated in and around Berne. As is well known, they are opposed to military service, but wear no distinctive dress.

The "Mission Church," west of Berne, is a group which stems from the Defenseless Mennonites. Their defection was due to disagreement over baptismal ceremonies. They are largely German-Swiss in national origin.

The Irish Catholic group in the southeast corner of the county belongs to a trade area, the center of which is outside the county in Celina, Ohio.

COMMENTS

The visitor to Adams County is impressed by the extent to which religious groups maintain their identity. The groups described are ethnocentric to an extraordinary degree. The American cultural environment has apparently done less than one might have expected to break down group barriers. Assimilation is taking place slowly, if at all, in some of these groups.

The extent of geographic concentration may be unusual when compared to other sections, but there is accumulating evidence of a larger measure of nationality-religious grouping than has been generally supposed. This locality grouping tends to foster the preservation of in-group loyalties and characteristics, and is something of an impediment to the ultimate elimination of "social visibility."

Oftentimes, the differences among the groups appear superficial to the outsider, but are undoubtedly considered fundamental to those concerned. For example, several of these groups derive from the movement founded in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1525, and which in 1550 took the name "Mennonite" after Menno Simons (1496-1561) the most important early leader of the group. Despite this common origin, however, the group has sub-divided many times. There were 17 district "Mennonite Bodies" listed in the Census of Religious Bodies for 1936. Some of them practice communion, others do not. Some wear a distinctive dress,

while others do not. When the writer asked one Amish farmer what was the difference between Amish and Mennonite, he said: "Just what you see," recognizing by implication, that the difference was largely superficial. However, another Amishman in reply to the same question apparently regarded the difference as of more fundamental character; although his answer, "The Mennonites sue in the courts," would be catalogued by an outsider as superficial. (Incidentally, when a Mennonite was asked regarding the practice of using the courts he said, "We never sue our own brethren; only outsiders.")

But, however superficial an outsider might consider the stated differences among religious groups, the fact must be accepted that the groups themselves take these differences very seriously. Rural society carries a heavy freight of sectarian differences, and while church unity may be accepted as an ideal, it is as yet little more than that.

The existence of these closely-knit groups exercises considerable influence upon rural social organization. Some of them, especially the Amish group, have such definite sanctions and taboos as to definitely limit their participation in some secular activities. For example, when an egg-marketing cooperative was established in Adams County, it was discovered that Amish farmers would be unable to sign membership certificates or any contract agreements. The County Agent was able to get a special dispensation for them from the organization, permitting them to participate without the usual formal agreements. Such limitations imposed by religious conviction, plus the additional requirement of a distinctive mode of dress, impede free social interaction with "outsiders."

Intermarriage is definitely discouraged among peoples with such strong in-group sentiments. This tends further to strengthen their existence as "cultural islands." Assimilation is not to be expected.

Rural education whether on the child or adult level needs to take into account this fact of heterogeneity. Leaders who wish to make effective contacts with these groups

must understand and sympathize with their systems of values, and adapt their programs accordingly. It obviously cannot be assumed that American rural society is

homogeneous, yet many programs devised at the top rest on such assumptions.

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QUALITATIVE MEASURES OF RURAL HOUSING ATTITUDES

Several methods of measuring attitudes of rural people have been used with varying degrees of confidence. Some researchers use only quantified scales while others rely most upon qualitative ratings. This article describes the validity and reliability of five qualitative ratings of attitudes toward housing four of which were specific verbal responses of interviewees. The fifth was a generalized rating of satisfactoriness of housing which was made by the interviewer upon the basis of many specific responses both verbal and gestural. The four specific verbal responses are here regarded as independent ratings of housing satisfaction viewed from different perspectives. The data which formed the basis for this report were interview records concerning 517 homes selected to represent an approximate cross-section of housing in rural Pennsylvania.¹

A general rating of housing satisfaction was made for each householder by the interviewer (scale S). These ratings involved checking one of five positions on a continuum with corresponding cue statements as follows: (a) extremely satisfied, (b) mostly satisfied, (c) equally satisfied and dissatisfied, (d) mostly dissatisfied and (e) extremely dissatisfied. In making these ratings the interviewer summarized his impressions of answers to many questions, spontaneous comments, gestures and other factors which seemed important in the total housing situation of the respondent.

The second measure (scale T) was the householder's verbally reported qualitative rating of the place he preferred as a residence, that is, whether (a) his present house, (b) another house in the same community or (c) a house in a different community appealed most to him.

A third measure (scale U) was a rating of housing status. Each respondent reported verbally his conception of the quality of his own home in comparison with the homes of his closest neighbors, that is, whether he regarded it as (a) better (b) poorer or (c) about the same as his neighbors' homes.

Reports of the housing improvements that were desired by the householder constituted the fourth measure (scale V). All of the desired improvements mentioned by the respondent during the interview were recorded by the interviewer and the responses were later classified to facilitate analysis.

A further indication of housing attitudes was obtained by asking each respondent how he would spend a hypothetical 100-dollar gift (scale W), that is (a) for housing, (b) for some other purpose or (c) was he undecided about the matter.

The validity of each of these measures was tested by determining the statistical significance of their interrelationships, using chi-square techniques. The probabilities that various pairs of the five measures were not related were as follows:

P _{ST}	less than .01
P _{SV}	less than .01
P _{ST}	less than .01
P _{SW}	less than .01
P _{TV}	less than .01
P _{TV}	less than .05
P _{TW}	more than .40
P _{TV}	less than .01
P _{VW}	less than .02
P _{TW}	less than .01

¹ *Housing and Attitudes Toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania*, The Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 436 (1942). *Measurement of Housing and Attitudes Toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania*, The Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Paper, 1149 (mimeographed, 1942).

The reliability of scales S, T, U, V and W was tested by three methods: (1) Ratings on scale S made by two interviewers for householders who were matched according to housing, age and residence class, were compared. These were found to be sufficiently similar that the differences could be accounted for as chance fluctuations (by a chi-square test, P was more than .40). On scale T the responses were also reported as similar (P was more than .20 by a chi-square test). On scale U the differences could probably be accounted for as due to chance (P was more than .05 by a chi-square test). This test was not made for scales V and W. (2) Variations in responses according to whether the family head, the wife or some other person supplied information (Q scale) were found by chi-square tests to be probably attributable to chance fluctuations in scales S, U, V and W but not in T. The probability that the relationship of each scale to the type of interviewee might be accounted for by chance was:

P_{SQ}	more than .05
P_{TQ}	less than .01
P_{UQ}	more than .10
P_{VQ}	more than .90
P_{WQ}	more than .05

(3) Questionnaires administered to 1,641

school children in the communities where the study was made gave results that were comparable to those obtained by ratings of the interviewer. While 68 per cent of the children said they liked the houses in which they lived, 67 per cent of the adult householders were rated as satisfied with their houses. These comparisons are not exactly comparable, however, for 83 per cent of the children reported that their parents liked the houses in which they lived. Both children and adults made ratings which could be compared directly; namely, comparisons of their own homes with the homes of their closest neighbors. On this measure school children rated their own homes as better than neighbors' 1.08 times more often than they rated them as poorer; the comparable ratio of the interview responses was 1.06.

Qualitative ratings of attitudes toward housing were found, by the tests described above, to be relatively valid and reliable. These results, however, should be considered suggestive rather than conclusive. Much remains to be done in the field of attitude testing of rural populations. Recent improvements in statistical tests of significance of qualitative classifications should prove helpful.

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CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited by Conrad Taeuber**

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The purpose of this study,¹ was to measure attitudes of adult persons living in a New York rural community toward a number of current issues and to describe quantitatively any relationships which were found to exist between attitudes and persons' representative social and economic position in the community. The study reveals that of all factors correlated with attitudes, persons of different attitudes were distinguished most clearly and significantly by: (1) economic position in the community, and (2) by the type of formal

group (organizations) to which they belonged.

The sixth volume in the BAE series of rural life studies² details the story of how Harmony, an old plantation Piedmont cotton belt community, adjusted itself to a

* Assisted by Elsie S. Manny, Douglas Ensminger, Waller Wynne, Josiah C. Folsom and Rachel R. Swiger.

¹ Lawrence S. Bee, *The effect of status on attitudes in a New York rural community*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 5, 51 pp. In cooperation with the Bur. of Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr., Ithaca, Oct., 1942.

new way of life, based principally on dairying, after the bollweevil dethroned cotton as king in Putnam County and forced half the County's population to migrate. Like the earlier reports in this review, this one begins by identifying and characterizing the community, then follows with a discussion of the history and background of the community, the people on the land, the community itself, and of the farmer in relation to an expanding world. It concludes with a brief treatment of integration and disintegration in community and individual life. "Harmony Community, to a greater degree than any other studied in this series, presents a strong biracial adjustment. It is, in truth, two communities, having little in common except the understanding that keeps them apart and their economic interdependence. In both communities changes that were impelled originally by the onslaughts of the bollweevil are being hurried on by the pressures and pulls of an encroaching urban and industrial society. As the economy shifts from cotton to cream, the work habits, social relationship, and community structure assume different patterns."

*Social and ecological patterns in the farm leadership of four Iowa townships*³ represents "an effort to learn more about the relationships between farmers and the persons in whom they repose confidence for leadership." One hundred and forty-one farmers, representing a 25 per cent sample of all operators residing in each of the four townships, were interviewed to determine whom they considered "real" leaders, as opposed to nominal leaders or functionaries, with reference to six problems considered serious to farmers: Rural schools, farm taxes, scarcity of farms, land use, local roads, and migration of youth. "Real" leaders, for "practical purposes," were divided

into three types: *Advisors, organizers, and representatives*. A majority of farmers were able to name leaders but upon most problems "no individual was named as leader by more than one-fifth of all farmers" interviewed. On the versatility of leaders, the report states, "that in many instances there has been a tendency to select the same leader for different leadership functions within the same problem," but "that while many farmers did not distinguish between advisors, organizers and representatives on the same problem, they did clearly distinguish between leaders on different problems." "The majority of operators designated open country residents, farmers, as their leaders." On all but one problem—local roads—there was tendency for operators to select leaders from their own township, but this might be due to the presence of strong neighborhood units. No farmer suggested as a leader someone with whom he had no direct acquaintance whatsoever, and the majority named leaders with whom they had truly personal contacts.

*Comparison of representation in administrative agencies with natural neighborhoods and communities, Roane County, Tennessee*⁴ follows closely that of an earlier study made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in Greene County, Georgia—"Communities and Administrative Areas of Greene County, Georgia." The objective of the study was to map the administrative areas used by the separate agencies in administering their program and then to compare these areas with the natural neighborhoods and communities. This comparison and lack of correlation between the various administrative areas and the administrative areas and the neighborhood and communities is graphically presented in this publication.

Studies of the *methods of mobilizing rural*

³ Waller Wynne. *Culture of a contemporary rural community, Harmony, Georgia*. Rur. Life Studies 6, 58 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C., Jan. 1943.

⁴ Bryce Ryan. *Social and ecological patterns in the farm leadership of four Iowa townships*. Iowa Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 306. pp. 141-202. Ames, Sept. 1942.

⁴ Charles E. Allred and others. *Comparison of representation in administrative agencies with natural neighborhoods and communities, Roane County, Tennessee*. Tenn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Agr. Econ. and Rur. Socio. Dept. Rur. Ser. Mono. 188. 47 pp. Knoxville, Sept. 15, 1942.

people for war emergencies' in two counties in California inventory and analyze all war programs which have been undertaken in the counties. Each program is analyzed to find out how it was planned and which agencies and organizations assisted. To find out the extent of participation and understanding the rural people have with respect to the war programs approximately 100 families were interviewed in each county. The findings reveal that there is general lack of planning and cooperation of programs which renders many activities more ineffective than would otherwise be the case. The task of mobilizing rural communities in California is made difficult because the industrial nature of agriculture in California has created a society in which local ties are loose and there are few natural social interactions between persons living in the same neighborhood.

*Farm families in the Grange*⁶ is the fourth in a series of studies of the membership of New York State rural residents in rural organization. Farmers who belonged to the Grange differ from those who do not belong in that Grange members: more frequently belong to other organizations; are slightly older; have moved less frequently; have had slightly more formal schooling; have more household conveniences in their homes; have better transportation and communication facilities; more frequently are full owners of their farms; have greater family incomes.

FARM LABOR

Faced by a prospective shortage of pickers and packers for their apple and pear crops, growers and packers organized early in the summer of 1942 a large Farm

Labor Supply Council.⁷ The resulting activities to recruit and distribute needed labor and their results are outlined. The result of the campaign was that 16,262 cars of fruit were harvested (a preharvest estimate had been a crop of 16,000 cars), but still 10 per cent of the crop was lost because of lack of labor. The 1942 experience has provided a basis upon which to build the 1943 procedure with hopes of equal or greater success. One wishes, for the benefit of other localities, that the author had outlined the practices used and results obtained in housing and supervising out-of-area workers, particularly youth. These will necessarily be increasing elements of farm labor forces the longer the war lasts, and successful management all the way from recruiting to return home is essential.

*Wanted—man power for Arizona farms*⁸ is an analysis of seasonal and year-round farm labor requirements in Arizona for 1935 to 1943 and a description of the program of meeting requirements in 1942. The recommendations include: Centralization of recruiting and assigning of out-of-State laborers to Arizona farms; more effective recruitment and use of the Indians from reservations; recruiting and using older school youth as a local school and community enterprise; recruiting and using persons otherwise employed in towns and cities through civic bodies in cooperation with local farmer associations; county-wide closing of all saloons and all other liquor dispensaries on Sunday; developing the pressure of public wrath against able-bodied idlers; bonuses and awards in addition to the going rates of pay to workers who remain throughout the season; rates of pay which are not so high that they encourage idlers, high enough to show the farm laborer that he is getting fair treatment and sufficient to permit the operator to stay in the farming industry; improvement of

⁶ Walter R. Goldschmidt. *A study of the methods of mobilizing rural people for war emergencies, Tulare County, California*. 23 pp. Walter R. Goldschmidt and John S. Page. *A study of the methods of mobilizing rural people for war emergencies, Kern County, California*. 23 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Berkeley, Calif. Mar. 1943.

⁷ W. A. Anderson. *Farm families in the Grange*. A study in Cortland and Otsego Counties, New York. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 7, 38 pp. Ithaca, Mar. 1943.

⁸ Harold Brogger. *The 1942 farm labor program in the Wenatchee and Okanogan fruit areas*. 33 pp. U. S. Dept. Agr. Wenatchee, Wash., Jan. 23, 1943.

⁹ E. D. Tetreau. *Wanted—man power for Arizona farms*. Ariz. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 186. 86 pp. Tucson, Nov. 1942.

farm housing; and a greater use of the labor of farm operators and their families.

Pamphlet No. 3 in the Wartime Farm and Food Policy Series of Iowa State College deals with *Manpower in agriculture*.⁹ The section of the report which is devoted to proposed lines of action summarized the findings and major conclusions as follows: (1) Agriculture, taken as a whole, still has more manpower than it needs for producing war-essential foods up to the maximum limits set by land, feed, and equipment supplies available in 1943. Hence, draft deferments and freezing of farm workers should be applied sparingly and should not prevent a continued movement of workers from overcrowded farms and poor agricultural regions into war factories and the armed forces. (2) Farm labor in 1943 will be scarce and less skilled on many of the larger livestock farms and in regions where crops require many additional workers for peak seasons. To meet these demands for manpower, farm workers should be helped to move from labor-surplus to labor-deficit areas, draft deferments should be granted in emergency cases, and labor-saving machinery should be provided. (3) With the year-round manpower available in 1943 on the majority of farms, livestock production can be further increased. The labor force of the farmer and his family on the typical family-type farm could produce more meat, poultry, and dairy products than in 1942. To put this under-employed manpower to better use, farmers should be provided with additional feed from our bulging granaries, and with equipment as well as advice regarding more efficient production methods. We must look to the millions of small family-type farms for any substantial increases in livestock products over the record level of 1942. The larger and highly commercialized farms are already producing near full capacity of their manpower. (4) The shortage of seasonal labor needed for field work and crop harvesting in 1943 will be serious in the vegetable-, fruit-, and grain-

producing areas. (5) Farm wages are playing a major role in shifting workers from farms to factories, as well as within agriculture from low-wage to high-wage farms.

POPULATION

Field interviews with relatives and friends of former residents of two rural counties in eastern Washington were the source of information about wartime migrants¹⁰ to other areas. The migrants were predominantly young men. The major migration has been to the Puget Sound area and to nearby cities. Out-of-State areas, except for cities just across the State line, were relatively unimportant as destinations. Nearly half the migrants had jobs arranged before leaving the county. Three-fourths of the families of the migrants either had located in the new community or were planning to do so. But very few of those who had owned any property had disposed of it. Persons in the communities of origin stated that they expect nearly three-fifths to return after the war. Distance from the home community as well as the industrial characteristics of the city to which migrants went were important elements in the reported expectation to return. Only a few persons had left and returned during the period of study.

Population changes in Washington between 1930 and 1940 are the major topic of the report *Back to the country—the rural trend in Washington's population*.¹¹ The most rapid increase occurred in the open-country nonfarm population, and it receives major emphasis. More than one-half of the total population increase in the State occurred in this population group. In 1940 it exceeded the number of farm residents. The open-country nonfarm population is concentrated in areas adjacent to large cities, those characterized by abundant in-

⁹ Rainer Schickele. *Manpower in agriculture*. 50 pp. Pamphlet No. 3 in the Wartime Farm and Food Policy Ser. Iowa State College Press, Ames, 1943.

¹⁰ Paul H. Landis. *The loss of rural manpower to war industry through migration*. Ser. in Rur. Pop. No. 10. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 427. 36 pp. Pullman, Jan. 1943.

¹¹ Carl F. Reuss. *Back to the country—The rural trend in Washington's population*. Series in Rur. Pop. No. 9. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 426. 13 pp. Pullman, Dec. 1942.

dustrial or seasonal agricultural employment opportunities and in lumbering areas. It is of little importance in the eastern wheat producing counties. Although towns and cities had grown rapidly before 1920; stability in population numbers was the typical situation between 1930 and 1940. County seat towns grew especially rapidly during the thirties.

The Committee on Wisconsin's population¹² problems considered its task to be:

(1) To summarize the essential facts of early settlement, the differential contributions of foreign-born and native-born to the growth of population; outline the numerical aspects of the population of the State in terms of its distribution and composition. (2) To study the trends which are influencing our population—birth and death rates, marriage and divorce rates, changes in occupation—and to suggest the probable consequences of these trends. (3) To attempt a statement of the probable population trends in the future, with their attendant social and economic problems, in the light of past and present developments. (4) To inventory the qualitative aspects of our population resources by portraying the growth and present number of the mentally handicapped, the asocial, and the incorrigible, together with their peculiar problems, and the probable effects resulting from the transmission of their traits to their descendants. (5) To show the nature of problems among the disadvantaged classes, the physically handicapped or sick, the unemployed, those receiving general relief, work relief, or pensions, and the otherwise publicly-cared-for population, as well as to suggest the probable magnitude of these problems in the future.

MISCELLANEOUS

*Yesterday, today, and tomorrow*¹³ is the third annual report of developments in an FSA project including families who were unable to qualify as standard RR borrowers when the project began. Then they pro-

duced little for sale or for their own use; now they are contributing food and manpower to the Nation's war effort and are making progress in their own personal struggle for freedom from want as well. The part that group activities have played in the rehabilitation process is emphasized. As these families have increased their income and property, improved their level of living, and shown initiative in making wartime adjustments, their place in the community has changed. This change is described by a project supervisor as follows: "The progress these families have made is reflected in the change of attitude of the families toward the program and the change in attitude of the townspeople toward the families. The attitude of the townspeople at the beginning of the program was that these families were 'Government paupers.' As a result, the families were not eager to have it generally known that they were connected with the program. The fact that they were able to make real progress and come back into the life of the community and take an active and respected part in its affairs has brought about a complete change in the attitude of the townspeople—they now respect these families and recognize their ability as leaders and functioning members of their community."

The nutrition of Virginia people,¹⁴ as indicated by the diets of school children in the fifth to tenth grades, was found to be deficient in many foods necessary for good health. Fifty-five rural schools (46 white, 9 Negro) and 6 urban schools furnished data for two surveys made in the spring and fall of 1941. Approximately 75 per cent of the children reported that they ate the same foods as served adult members of their families. Diet inadequacy was found

¹² Rachel Rowe Swiger and Olaf F. Larson. *Yesterday, today, and tomorrow*. 31 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with Farm Security Admin., Washington, D. C., March, 1943.

¹⁴ Geneva Parker. *The nutrition of Virginia people as indicated by the diets of school children*. Rur. Socio. Report No. 24. 71 pp. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. in cooperation with Va. State Nutrition Committee and WPA. Blacksburg, Nov., 1942.

¹³ Univ. of Wisconsin. *Wisconsin's changing population*. 90 pp. Science Inquiry Publ. IX. Serial No. 2642. Madison, Wis. Oct. 1942.

in all income groups and was due to the consumption of too many of the refined foods rather than to the lack of food. Meat, fish, poultry and eggs was the only food class for which the average was 100 percent adequacy for all children. Approximately one-third showed a milk inadequacy of 50 percent or more. In some of the protective food classes, the consumption for more than two-thirds of the children was less than 50 percent adequate. In all food classes except whole-grain cereals, urban white children rank definitely higher than rural. With the exception of whole-grain cereals and meat, the urban Negro children tend to rank higher than the rural in all food classes. The average diet of all children includes less than two-thirds of the elements recommended in nutritional standards.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Howard W. Beers

Social Causation. By Robert M. MacIver. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1942. Pp. x + 414. \$3.50.

The basic source of dissatisfaction in contemporary sociology is what appears to be the low degree of empirical probability to which the sociologist is inevitably reduced in his attempts to predict the recurrence of social phenomena. One solution of this problem, which has been adopted by many introductory text-book writers, is the devising of a new definition of science which does not include the element of conditional prediction. To those who believe that such a redefinition is undesirable, the problem is one of finding means of raising the level of probability in such predictive efforts, rather than one of finding excuses for abandoning the quest. Such is the spirit in which MacIver's *Social Causation* has been written.

While many will sympathize with the spirit in which this admirable work has been conceived, the orientation of the proposals for the reconstruction of sociology around a revalidated concept of causation will prove repellent to those who have been intellectually reared in the atmosphere of probability logic. In view of this potential opposition, as well as of what seems to be of MacIver's failure to show that the idea of necessity involved in his concept of causation is anything more than an unprovable assumption, it is fortunate that his concrete proposals for change in methodology are just as compatible with a sophisticated view of probability as they are with the concept of necessity. In order that we may understand this apparently paradoxical compatibility, it is necessary that we consider the reasons which led Mac-

Iver to attempt the revalidation of the concept of causation.

In the opinion of the reviewers, the fundamental fallacy upon which this effort to rebuild sociological method around the idea of necessity rests is the confusing of the pragmatic results of the abandonment of the concept of causes with the theoretically inevitable consequences of such abandonment. Whatever the latter consequences may actually have been, MacIver seems to believe that the low degree of empirical probability which sociological generalizations are able to offer belongs in this category. Not so; the very fact that physical scientists have been able to abandon the concept of causation with impunity, should lead us to search elsewhere for the conditions leading to this deplorable state of affairs in the social sciences. The reviewers hold that these conditions are to be found in the pragmatic consequences of abandonment of the concept of causation. The fundamental argument can be stated briefly: when the physical scientists abandoned the idea of cause they were still able to control the conditions under which generalizations could be formulated, with the result that the probabilities found in this area of investigation still were extremely high. In many instances the idea of probability in the physical sciences does not grow out of the discovery of cases constituting "exceptions" to the generalization, but rather out of the admission that necessity can never be shown.

In the social sciences a different path was followed, primarily because of the inability to experiment. This led to a conception of probability based on the statistical manipulation of empirical data, the use of which led usually to extremely low degrees of probability because of the empirical intertwining of several systems of relations in a single empirical situation. The pressure of the idea of necessity had earlier led social scientists to attempt the discovery of uniformities without exception. Given the present empirical concept of probability, however, many contemporary sociologists are satisfied with any probability which is better than chance. The issue is further con-

fused by identifying the probability of the physical scientist with the empirical probability of the social scientist. They are not the same thing, since the probability of the laboratory is discovered under controlled conditions, while the probability of the social scientist is only the initial step in the discovery of significant relationships. Probability in the social sciences will develop to the point where it is identical with the probability of the physical scientist only when satisfactory substitutes for experiment are discovered; i.e., substitutes yielding probabilities approximating one hundred per cent on the theoretical level. In other words, we must find methods for disentangling the complicated network of social relations occurring in empirical situations so that their potential uniformities can be discerned; otherwise, the sociologist cannot hope to increase the empirical probabilities of his predictions.

These methods are partly to be found in the refinement of statistical techniques so that more and more variables can be controlled, but even more necessary is the development of methodology dealing with the logical nature of abstraction. It is in this latter sphere that the proposals of MacIver are significant and, if the reviewers are correct, can be used *despite* their nominal dependence on the idea of necessity. MacIver makes two basic proposals: first, that the only way in which significant relationships can be discovered is by addressing our enquiry "to a specific difference between comparable situations;" second, that the investigation of social data has the distinctive necessity for heeding the "dynamic assessment" or the "subjective" factors in social action. Both of these proposals should be considered further.

In his discussion of the "quest of the specific why" and the "formula of causal investigation," MacIver shows clearly that he is aware that the infinite multiplicity of relational systems in any empirical situation makes necessary the abstraction of the elements considered important for the purposes at hand. He is also cognizant of the fact that this abstraction must be followed by exaggeration, so that within the model

so constructed some elements will be held constant and others allowed to vary, although in the real situation from which the data were drawn *all* the elements vary. Finally, he realizes that the generalizations so formulated must be checked against the reality from which they were drawn if the causal adequacy of the explanation is to be demonstrated. This can be done by showing that when the other relational systems are taken into consideration the explanation of the empirical course of events can be understood only in terms of the constructed model.

After developing his analysis to this point, however, MacIver apparently loses sight of the fact that there are two types of abstraction: one to be used when the observer is interested in giving an adequate explanation of a specific sequence of events or processes within a particular historical configuration; the other when the observer is attempting to develop generalizations which will apply to various situations and historical configurations. In his discussion of the "specific why," the methodological principles which are laid down are applicable primarily to historians who wish to analyze the causal factors present in a specific situation. To the second form of abstraction, much more important to the sociologist than the first, MacIver seldom addresses his attention. We are left to wonder how the gap between the formulation of generalizations adequate only for a specific sequence of phenomena and the building up of a system of generalizations not so dated and localized is to be bridged. It is one thing to admit that the first form of abstraction and validation must always be carried out before the observer can set out upon the second, and another to claim implicitly that when the one is completed the other is also finished. This is not the place to conduct a methodological argument, but it can be pointed out that the construction of a system of generalizations involves more than the mere dropping of dates and place names, since certain aspects of the particular configuration which have justifiably been included in the abstraction intended only for that configuration may have

to be dropped in order to render the type or model applicable in other situations. Thus the two forms of abstraction, while closely related, are not identical and demand separate treatment.

The second proposal which MacIver makes is that it is often, if not always, necessary to include within the situation which is to be analyzed the "dynamic assessment" which the person involved makes of the situation. This assertion of the necessity of analyzing human action within the confines of "subjective" categories is certainly not new, but it can be said that in his discussion of the imputation of motive he demonstrates conclusively the operational validity of such procedure. The inferential nature of motive and of the "dynamic assessment" does not invalidate them as basic categories of human action. If they can be constructed or defined on the basis of data which are independent of the phenomena which the concepts are used to explain, the use of such constructs is perfectly legitimate. How useful they may be is, of course, another question, the answer to which is dependent upon the predictive power of the generalizations in which they result.

There is, however, one unfortunate weakness in MacIver's analysis of the "dynamic assessment" which leaves the concept open to the much-used and abused criticism of the extreme behaviorists; namely, that such concepts are unscientific. This weakness resides in the vitalistic flavor which he imparts to the "subjective." The impression is given that in dealing with such phenomena the investigator is faced by a mysterious entity which, although not arbitrary, is not precisely a part of natural phenomena. This difficulty could have been easily avoided had MacIver made use of the behavioral basis for the development of attitudes and motives to be found in the work of such men as G. H. Mead. It can now be shown that motives are the product of social interaction in which language plays by far the most important role. In this respect it can be said that Thomas' "definition of the situation," or Mead's own concepts developed in his analysis of the

rise of the self, place "subjective" factors in action on a much firmer basis than does MacIver's conception of the subjective.

The tone of this review has been somewhat critical, but it can be said that MacIver appears to be working toward a methodological frame of reference which can be used to lift the sociologist from his present unsatisfactory level of achievement. If the concept of necessity is abandoned and the proposals made by MacIver reinterpreted within a framework of probability logic, we have before us a program which promises much for the future. By the development of a methodology which will allow us to formulate generalizations which on the theoretical level attain a degree of probability on a par with the laws of the physical sciences, we shall be able to raise the empirical probabilities of our predictions to more respectable levels. Such at least is the fundamental message of this book.

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Society Under Analysis. An Introduction to Sociology. By Elmer Pendell (editor) and Cooperating Sociologists. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Jacques Cattell Press, 1942. Pp. 711. \$4.00.

A book of this kind can be reviewed from two points of view. The first concerns the accuracy, the completeness, and the mode of presentation of the material which the authors have chosen to study. The second point of view concerns the validity of including certain material and excluding other material in a textbook which has as a sub-title, "An Introduction to Sociology." One cannot deal definitively with this latter problem because there is no generally accepted definition of the nature and scope of sociology. Nevertheless, if we take as our chief criterion the success with which the authors fulfilled the requirements of science in their analysis of society—and that seems to be their fundamental aim—we have some widely accepted standards by

which to judge the validity of including certain material and excluding other equally important material. On this count, it seems to the present reviewer, the book is in fundamental error. The first sentence of the preface reads: "This book had its inception in the conclusion that the time has come for a closer rapport between the physical sciences and the social sciences." In so far as this means that social science should avoid as many personal biases as possible, should strive for objective and verifiable techniques of measurement (not necessarily "quantitative"), should attempt to discover "uniformities" and probabilities, there are few who would disagree. But at least several of the authors seem to have more than that in mind; they start from the assumption that a science of society is based on the "more fundamental sciences" of physics, chemistry, biology, etc. Thus they accept the Comte-Spencer formulation of a hierarchy of sciences, and spend two hundred pages dealing with physical, chemical, geographic, biological, economic, and psychological "regularities." One of the authors goes so far as to say, "Spencer's position cannot be intelligently disputed." The belief that brief courses in the "more fundamental sciences" must be included in a textbook in sociology is a manifestation of two related errors, reductionism and empiricism, against which such important sociologists as Weber and Durkheim have written so vigorously and effectively. Science is analytic, and once we come to the explicit recognition of that fact we will stop worrying about the apparent failure of any one science of human behavior to explain concrete reality completely.

It might be argued that there is a place now for the synthesis of the many sciences which deal with factors that influence the behavior of human beings. The book under discussion seems to start from that premise. In so far as this synthesis might be directed toward helping the laymen and student (and the researcher himself) to avoid one-factor determinism, we readily agree; in so far as it means synthesis on the research level, we emphatically disagree. Even with reference to the former, it must

be stated that the physicist, chemist, biologist, psychologist, etc., will scarcely be content with two hundred pages written by sociologists in a sociology textbook. Until we can set up a full-fledged and unified course in the sciences which deal with human behavior, the sociologist can avoid many errors by taking the other "regularities" as "givens." Ironically enough, the attempt in this book to bring sociology into perspective by putting it into context with brief surveys of the other sciences—thus to avoid one-factor determinism—has resulted in a number of semi-deterministic statements: "Looked at from our present viewpoint, the sum total of human culture is merely mankind's adaptation to the inherent properties of the physical world" (p. 36). "It appears that all our traits of character as well as our physical appearances can be traced back to these glands" (p. 61)—the ductless glands. "It is difficult to escape the impression that we owe not only our physical existence to the non-human forms of life, but our whole civilization and culture as well" (p. 139). Such statements as these make it seem likely that a reductionist and empiricist bias, and not a carefully worked out attempt to avoid determinism, underlies the first several chapters of this book.

Two-thirds of the book follows a pattern quite similar to other recent Introductions to Sociology. The repetitions and looseness of organization that are often characteristic of symposia are largely avoided, and on the whole the authors handle their topics well. Since we cannot comment on each chapter, we offer these few remarks. The study of personality, which is usually treated at length in sociology texts, is given one thirteen-page chapter. The chapter on "social forces and processes" devotes three pages to competition and conflict. The discussion of "unifying interactions" is more satisfactory, although there is no mention of the concept of accommodation. A chapter on "religion and the churches" is sound from most points of view, but often fails of analytic precision because it speaks of "the church." A study of the roles of religious groups demands a

careful classification into types. One of the most glaring omissions in the book is the failure to make any reference to the concept of class, either in the section dealing with social structure or in the chapter on economic institutions. One is not surprised to discover that Karl Marx is not listed in the index.

Two of the best chapters are those dealing with poverty and crime. Despite their quality, some will question the wisdom of putting them in a textbook in introductory sociology, inasmuch as most schools have general courses in social problems as well as special courses dealing intensively with several of the "social tensions." Genuine sociological insights can come from a study of poverty and crime, however, as these chapters show.

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War Without Inflation. The Psychological Approach to Problems of War Economy. By George Katona. New York, Columbia University Press, 1942—X, 213 pp. \$2.50.

This remarkable book presents a modified gestalt approach to an economic problem which lends itself better than any other to psychological treatment. The great emphasis which Keynes placed on the role of anticipations in economic life has revived the economists' interest in a more substantial study of the economically relevant response pattern. This in turn calls for some measure of interdisciplinary coordination. The great potentialities of this approach are well illustrated by the present book. The author, who is at home in economics and psychology, shows how economic behavior is conditioned not by a mere mechanistic reflex of certain stimuli but by a complex of factors which include the past experience of the responding persons, the setting of the stimuli, and the way in which the stimuli are understood. Applied to the inflationary process, this implies that this process is set in motion by a set of factors among which psychological conditions are preeminent and that again other psychological conditions must be present if anti-in-

flationary measures and policies shall succeed. In wartime, a sharp reduction of the output available for civilian consumption is normally accompanied by increasing money incomes. Inflation occurs when people respond to this situation by bidding for consumers goods which are not in existence, thereby bidding up the prices of the existing consumers goods. With the dwindling contents of the market basket becoming more expensive, income receivers tend to press for higher incomes and use the increment for bidding up prices to a still higher level. The inflationary "vicious spiral" is thus the product of a collective misunderstanding of the situation. So far so good. But the collective misunderstanding is no sum of individual errors, since groups whose incomes increase faster than those of other groups are capable of increasing their relative share in the total output although the latter itself may become smaller and smaller.

Severe taxation cannot make the total output larger, but it prevents people from buying it at higher prices than they used to—simply by taking away from them the money which they otherwise would spend in an abortive attempt to buy non-existent goods. However, the effectiveness of severe taxation as an anti-inflationary measure is seriously impaired if it produces a similar pressure for high money incomes as that produced by an increase in prices. In the resulting dilemma governments usually have recourse to a control of incomes, of spending, or to a mixture of both policies. The touchstone of the optimum anti-inflation policy is its effect upon production. An increasing level of prices and unlimited incomes produce an atmosphere favorable to the great expansion of military production, while severe taxation and restrictions on incomes and prices do not encourage additional work and entrepreneurial initiative. This applies with especial force to highly progressive taxes which absorb so large a percentage of earnings for additional work. On the other hand, if the legislator turns to the control of spending, the repercussion upon production will be conditioned by the people's willingness to have

their present effort rewarded, in part, by a share not in present but in future consumption.

In the preceding analysis the limits of the psychological approach to the inflationary process have become distinctly recognizable. According to Katona, inflation can be checked by legislative and administrative action in conjunction with orientation of the public to effect an understanding of how inflation comes about and how it can be arrested (p. 97). However, in a full-fledged war economy mere educational measures do not suffice. The transformation of normal economic incentives, which takes place under a system of rigid controls, does not call for a mere understanding of the relevant phenomena but requires the replacement of the old incentives by a new motivation. In the war economy, economic behavior, to the extent to which normal monetary incentives have faded away, is conditioned by a set of factors among which patriotic impulses and specified rewards (larger rations for additional work, etc.) are outstanding. Education and orientation of the public are of help, but they alone can not take the place of incentives which, at least temporarily, are gone.

H. W. SPIEGEL.

Duquesne University.

Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race. M. F. Ashley Montagu. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. (216 pp., \$2.25. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.)

Ashley Montagu's volume takes an honorable place in the growing ranks of lay expositions of scientific findings in the field of race. It is unique among these in respect to two novel views first explicitly offered here. The first of these, a genetic criticism of the anthropological concept of race, based upon the work of Dobzhansky, Strandskuv, Haldane, Hogben and others, may encounter some opposition among conservative physical anthropologists, but will certainly appeal to those more attuned to recent developments in the field of human biology. The second, an ardent and loosely reasoned defense of the notion of "heterosis," or hybrid

vigor, will encounter more serious and solid objection.

For the anthropologist, "race" has represented a fundamental and static taxonomic category based upon the distribution of overt morphological characters. To Ashley Montagu, this technique is extremely superficial and rests on the fallacious assumption of fundamental immutable types. The anthropologist, in building up his race structure, is using the end-points of complex genetic processes and treating them as unit-characters. So to do, in his judgment, is to ignore criminally all the work in human genetics directed toward the determination of what these unit-characters are. Instead of viewing race in traditional anthropological terms, Ashley Montagu offers the notion of an "ethnic group" as the momentary concrescence of genetic elements that are universal throughout all human groups. Thus in human history races are constantly forming and reforming.

While his adverse judgment of anthropologists is sound, it would be fair on his part to point out that the view is not alien to the practical work of Boas, Herskovits, and others.

In his disquisitions on hybrid vigor, however, he is extremely disappointing. In his zeal to deny the alleged ill-effects of race mixture, he goes to unwarranted extremes and in the process overthrows much sound genetic doctrine and indeed his own very sensible methodological canons.

After a pellucid demonstration of the lack of relation between physical type and culture, he turns about in this one chapter to rest his argument on the grounds he has just so eloquently refuted. In defense of the notion of "hybrid vigor" he quotes Shapiro's study of the Norfolk and Pitcairn Islanders to the effect that the biological superiority of these latter to their Tahitian and English forebears can be seen in their social organization! (p. 109) The same argument is cited with approval in respect to the Rehobethar Bastards. This is racist argument in reverse.

The traditional criteria for "biological superiority" are notoriously loose and specious, for example, the criterion of

greater fertility of the hybrid. Now, if recent population studies respecting the birth rate have any meaning for us to read it is that, by and large, the actual birth rate would appear to be independent of biological considerations and almost entirely dependent upon social and historical grounds. Would the catastrophic decline of the birth rate in modern times, say in the United States, be taken to indicate a lessening of "biological fitness"? To paraphrase the author's own admirable stricture on the Spanish armada: is it a matter of genes, or is it a matter of social conditions?

No solid case can be argued on such grounds, nor does anti-racism require such support. It is sufficient to state what can be well attested, namely, that hybridization implies no degeneracy of biological type. The determining factor in all crosses (read "marriages"), whether inter or intra-group, is the genetic constitution of the mating individuals.

HERBERT PASSIN.

Office of War Information.

Taboo: a Sociological Study. By Hutton Webster. Stanford University Press, 1942. pp. 393. \$4.00.

The barest glance at this excellent compendium serves to reveal the great gap between the theoretical interests of a by-gone day in anthropology and those of modern times. As an exemplar of the older tradition and interest, Professor Webster's volume invites comparison with both past and present. It shares both the virtues and the defects of the Spencer-Frazier tradition. On the one hand, it is encyclopedic in dimensions, felicitous in style, and catholic in the range of human social experience sampled. On the other hand, it suffers gravely from lack of theory and conceptual structure for the systematic organization of the vast multitude of variegated customs assembled here.

In both intent and demonstration Webster must be placed squarely with Frazier and those early students of human culture who sought to comprehend the immense variety of human behavior. Within that body of tradition it may be granted that a

"gap" has been filled by this volume. But with reference to current theoretical problems of the character treated in Radcliffe-Brown's recent study, likewise entitled *Taboo* (a Frazier lecture), it certainly cannot be considered a major contribution. The difference between Webster's *Taboo* and Radcliffe-Brown's *Taboo* is an exact measure of the distance scientific anthropology has traversed in the past 40 years.

The author's stated intention is "to fill the gap in the literature of social anthropology by a comprehensive treatment of taboo as a phenomenon of wide prevalence." (vii) In addition, he wishes "to show . . . how important a place taboo holds in the cultural evolution of mankind." (vii) He succeeds with reference to the first; but it all boils down to the simple fact that what has been defined as "taboo" is not a local Polynesian, but a more widespread phenomenon. While this conclusion may be useful for the layman, it hardly merits the time and attention of the anthropologist, however commendous the demonstration. Also, it may be pointed out that modern sources are eschewed by the author in favor of less reliable, earlier reports, which dwelt heavily on the "exotic" character of primitive society.

The second intention of the volume is not realized. Certainly the implicit assumptions of Spencerian evolutionism and of "primitive" society as fettered and handcuffed by tradition and taboo will hardly be credited by the modern student. Anthropology has had much to say about these hypotheses, but so much could never be inferred from Webster's volume.

There is certainly much of value in the way of ethnographic materials to be found in this genial echo from anthropology's past both for student and layman. But the more discriminating will demand somewhat harder theory.

HERBERT PASSIN.

Office of War Information.

Youth in the CCC. By Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill. Prepared for and published by the American Youth Commission of the American Council

on Education, Washington, D. C., 1942. \$2.25. pp. xv, 262.

Congress abolished the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1942, the year this report was published. But the appraisal is timely. The book is neither an epitaph nor a job of "whitewashing." Behind it lies a five-year study by a staff of over twenty members, sponsored by the American Youth Commission and undertaken with the full cooperation of the United States departments of War, Agriculture, and Labor, together with other agencies jointly responsible for the CCC program.

But there is more behind this book than a five-year study—it is the conviction that the CCC's really most challenging function was neither of the two jobs cut out for it by Congress at the height of the depression. "Time and experience have made increasingly clear the fact that in a large sense the training of young men was not only a necessary and important end of CCC effort, but was perhaps the chief end to be served." (p. 245)

"To build better health and health habits, to show the individual how to live co-operatively with others, to instruct him in the value and importance of carrying out orders, to improve his conduct and moral outlook, to develop his understanding of work and his capacity to work to teach him work skills, and to cultivate in him an understanding of and a capacity to participate in the responsibilities of citizenship—these are the ends to be sought in training." (p. 246)

The authors grant the general efficiency with which the CCC executed its official aims of emergency employment and conservation of natural resources. It was, however, in the training program, gradually adopted as official policy by Corps Administration, that the staff sensed the greatest need of improvement. To promote more adequate training the staff undertook an experimental "work-centered" training program in ten midwestern camps.

Essentially the purpose of the experiment was to test the theory held by the survey staff that more rapid progress in vocational, avocational, and cultural education,

work morale, recreational and character development among camp members would result from the building of the educational program around the daily work of the camps. The fruit of the experiment was frosted in the bud, as the war emergency doomed the entire CCC program.

The CCC has been laid aside. Yet the book is timely, for a period of military demobilization lies, we hope, in the not too far off future. The thoughtful reader cannot fail to see the great potentiality of the CCC camp, perhaps in modified form, as a demilitarizing vestibule for the millions of returning soldiers who may find a sudden transition to civilian community and occupational participation difficult.

What the authors do not discuss but what strikes the reviewer as the most disturbing thought awakened by the book was not the question, why were the emergency employment and the conservation necessary? Nor was it, how well did the CCC handle the job? Rather it was the disturbing question, what factors have produced those immense recurrent crops of American youngsters who need, not just employment, but the very rudiments of work morale, and work skills, ambition, awareness of the necessity of occupational choice and preparation, the elements of cooperation social discipline and democratic citizenship? If this is all part of being underprivileged, our next question is whether the CCC is the answer to the problem of the underprivileged, whether the problem of training which the CCC had to meet was not rather the sign of a need for a drastic revision of our public school system and community youth organizational programs.

The need for the CCC is apparently in direct proportion to the failure of the family, the school, the community, and the economic system. The authors seemed tacitly to accept this connection as axiomatic and the failure of basic American institutions, at least to this extent, as a fact. Their proposal for a bigger and better CCC is thus a remedial rather than a prophylactic approach to America's youth problem.

JOHN B. HOLT.

University of Maryland.

Marriage and the Family. Edited by Howard Becker and Reuben Hill. Boston. D. C. Heath, 1942. xxix + 663. \$4.00.

Writers in the field of the family, like the social pathologists before them, are searching for a clothesline upon which to hang a varied array of garments, not so much to give uniformity to the garments as to justify having them all in the same wash. A textbook writer who seeks to combine the features of an "institutional" course in the Family with the even more popular course in Marriage is often hard-pressed in finding a theoretical basis to unite the many different topics needing treatment. In the case of the Becker and Hill symposium the theoretical approach is through the *secularistic trend*, which occurs when a sacred (resistant to change) society at one pole moves toward the secular society, with its disorganizing features, at the other pole. The reverse of this is *sacralization*, a term which is acceptable until one speaks of the "family sacralizing itself" (pages 111, 362, 415, 566), a personification of an institution which tends to cloud over what actually occurs and thus prevent analytical thinking. But even though this attempt at unity of approach may not satisfy everyone it certainly is a step in the right direction, and one that needed to be taken.

The book is exceptional as a symposium in that there is a competent handling of material, with almost no duplication of content. In several places where the writer of some chapter engages in a controversial issue the editors interject a note, to maintain a balance as it were. The seven parts deal with Contexts of Family Life, Preparation for Marriage, Physical Factors, Marriage Interaction and Family Administration, Problems of Parenthood, Family Disorganization, and Prospects for the Future. Some points of interest are the discussion of war and the family; the fallacy of moral relativity in connection with preliterate family patterns; the fact that courtship, like childhood, should be an end in itself and not merely preparation for marriage; the excellent diagrams of reproductive organs, structure of a spermatazoon, and the cycle of ovarian changes.

Each chapter contains a selected bibliography and a list of topics for discussion.

One deficiency of the book is its failure to treat the question of marriage laws, which really deserve more consideration than divorce laws. Marriage laws offer one of the most effective ways of avoiding family disorganization. Another deficiency is the limited treatment given to the American farm family (two pages), whereas seven pages are devoted to the Hindu family, seven pages to the Latin American family, and over three pages to the Negro family. If we are to accept the findings of Burgess and Cottrell to the effect that those reared in a rural rather than an urban area have a greater chance of marital happiness, is it not essential that any book on marriage analyze those phases of rural life which condition this happiness?

Space does not permit the passing out of bouquets to the writers of individual chapters. They all have done a job of a high order, which should make this one of the very popular texts in this expanding field.

IRWIN T. SANDERS.

University of Kentucky.

Principles of Anthropology. By Eliot Dismore Chapple and Carleton Stevens Coon, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1942. Pp. iii + 718. \$3.75.

If the word "Sociology" were substituted for the word "Anthropology" in the title of this book it would become a very popular sociology text for those teachers who want their students to think that sociology uses the same methods and principles as the natural sciences. Those sociologists with behavioristic leanings will find many illustrations from both primitive and modern societies with which to bolster their position. The book will not however, satisfy those sociologists who believe that the study of the nervous system, the conditioned reflex, and descriptions of human relations in terms of equilibria are residual categories of little significance in understanding important group behavior. Students who belong to the old school of mechanistic determinism, especially those who think that technologies are prime movers will be

delighted at the book but those interested in specializing on human attitudes and value orientation and those of anti-positivistic tendencies will accuse its authors of "misplaced concreteness." The authors as anthropologists state their position to be that of the functionalist school lead by Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and Warner, but modified by the "insistence on operational procedures and the use of *time* as the measure of human relations."

Whether the work is called anthropology or sociology it contains a new system which will be of particular interest to rural sociologists who are perhaps more inclined to participate in practical programs and to deal with that which is measurable. In this system the principal concept is that of the equilibrium. The basic unit is that of the human relationship which is "originated" by one person who may be a leader and "terminated" by another who may be a follower. When more than two persons are involved as in the drilling of a regiment a "set" of relationships is involved. An institution is a system of sets in equilibrium. A ritual is a "symbolic configuration used to restore equilibrium" in a set or sets after a crisis. "Religious institutions arise from the establishment of sets in which one individual originates to others in times of crisis to restore equilibrium." With these and other basic concepts the authors undertake to study human technologies, institutions and symbols. Their analysis of modern industrial and governmental administration puts them out of the class of anthropologists who deal only with primitive society.

None should fail to inspect the ingenious graphic descriptions of social organizations. The six world maps showing ethnographic locations, world environments, technologies, division of labor and trade, institutional complexities of societies and world religions are remarkable.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS.

U.S.D.A.

Life and Thoughts of a Country Preacher. C. W. Grafton, D.D., L.L.D. By Allan Cabaniss. With Foreword by William Warren Sweet. Richmond, Va.: John

Knox Press, 1942. Pp. 219. \$2.00.

Life and Thoughts of a Country Preacher was written by a Presbyterian minister in tribute to one of the South's outstanding churchmen, Dr. C. W. Grafton, who, for sixty-one years carried the stern message of Calvinism to one small community in rural Mississippi. The book is nothing like many of the recent best-sellers which deal with country preachers, doctors, and lawyers in their daily routine as father confessors, friends, and general problem-solvers for the community. Rather, it is concerned with a single individual, his life and the doctrine of conservative Presbyterianism which he believed in and taught. Some space is given to the early history of the State and of the Presbyterian Church; most of it is devoted to the life of Dr. Grafton, and to his beliefs and teachings.

Rural sociologists will be interested in the position which Dr. Grafton took in regard to social issues and in the implications of such a position. Thus:

"... Only in so far as the issue was clearly only a moral one without any political suggestions and one dealt with in spiritual revelation did Dr. Grafton give public expression to his attitude on it..." (p. 97).

If such a moralistic and doctrinal point of view is common to the rural church of the South (as it indeeds appears to be) then undoubtedly such a point of view is one of the factors associated with the relative lack of social-consciousness which is so often pointed out as being characteristic of the rural South.

JULIEN R. TATUM.

University of Arkansas.

Better Rural Careers. By Paul W. Chapman, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1942. Pp. 264. \$0.96.

Dean Chapman, in *Better Rural Careers*, has attempted to give rural young people (from the sixth grade up) an idea of the range of jobs open to them. The style is simple and clear, and the wealth of photographic material will add materially to its interest.

The subject matter deals to a limited

extent with the range of opportunities open to youth on the various types of farms in the United States. It deals more fully with the many service fields which are associated with farming, ranging from tobacco marketing to agricultural engineering. Each of the larger divisions of services is dealt with in general terms, and the opportunities, type of work, and qualifications relative to each of the fields is discussed.

Rural sociologists will not, of course, be especially interested in materials which are presented in such elementary form. They should be interested, however, in the fact that people like Dean Chapman are recognizing the necessity of giving rural children some ideas about their occupational possibilities while they are in the elementary grades, and are demonstrating to them definite ways in which their school work can be planned to take advantage of existing opportunities.

JULIEN R. TATUM.

University of Arkansas.

Problems of a Changing Social Order. By John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt. Cincinnati, Ohio: American Book Company, 1942. Pp. 819. \$4.00.

This book has been designed for use as a text. Its objectives, as stated by the authors, are to "... improve the abilities of the student to make effective adjustments to changing social conditions, and to bring intelligence to bear upon the problems of social maladjustment."

The companion concepts of adjustment and maladjustment are introduced in the first chapter to assist the reader in identifying social problems. These concepts are not specifically defined and seem, in fact, to be rather loosely used. Part Two of the book, comprising nine chapters, considers problems of adjustment to nature, population, and wealth. Then the continuity is broken. Later, in chapter twenty-two, problems of marital adjustment are considered.

A social problem is defined as a "maladjustment" or a "misadjustment," the normative aspects of which are determined by society. The authors take the position that a social condition does not become a

social problem until the society in which the condition exists defines it as a problem. Slavery is cited as an example; it was "... complacently tolerated by civilization until a sympathetic understanding of human nature and a wide altruism had come into existence."

A considerable part of the first chapter is devoted to a polemic seeking to establish the scientific nature of the "social problems" approach to the study of society as compared with "social pathology," "social disorganization," and "pure sociology." It seems doubtful if such controversies contribute a great deal that is of interest or of value to an undergraduate. Chapter two seeks to establish the importance of the study and solution of social problems to society. Some sociological concepts are presented in this chapter also. Part Three deals with health and mental efficiency; Part Four with race and nativity conditions; Part Five with the family and the child; and Part Six with problems of social control, including public opinion, crime, alcoholism, government and law, and international relations.

Except for the final chapter and the two chapters which constitute the frame of reference, the book deals almost exclusively with social problems existing in the United States. The lists of references at the end of each chapter would be more useful if they had been brought up to date. One wonders, for example, if there have been no notable studies of crime since 1933, or of health protection since 1932, or of poverty and dependency since 1931. The questions at the end of each chapter appear to be well phrased and should be suitable for use in classes conducted on a discussion basis.

WALTER L. SLOCUM.

South Dakota State College.

certain diseases in the urban population, obtained both a record of births occurring during the year prior to the enumeration and certain indexes of socioeconomic status. The urban sample included approximately 700,000 families living in 83 cities of 18 states. A much smaller supplementary rural enumeration, using the same schedule forms, was made in selected areas of three states.

The organization and content of this monograph are summed up by the author as follows, "... the plan of this report is, first, to present fertility rates by nativity, color, area, and size of community. Then, these rates are analyzed according to occupational status of the head, educational attainment of the wife, and family income, respectively. Next, a chapter is devoted to available cross-classifications of the data. This is followed by a comparison of the pattern of class differences in marital fertility with that of class differences in general fertility and reproduction rates. The ensuing chapter is devoted to the rural sample and the next is concerned with group differences in ratios of pregnancy wastage. Finally, some attempt is made to bring together the outstanding results of the study and to appraise their implications."

Studies of differential fertility, in the main, have shown an inverse relation between class and marital fertility. However, a few recent studies of the situation both here and abroad have suggested that an exception to this traditional inverse order is emerging at the peak of the socioeconomic pyramid. Kiser's study provides evidence that this change has progressed to a considerable extent among native-white urban married women in this country. No longer do those at the top of the socioeconomic scale exhibit the lowest birth rates. The wives of the professional men are characterized by higher fertility rates than the wives of business men. The importance of this reversal stems not from the higher birth rate of the numerically insignificant professional segment of the sample but from the lower level of fertility of the wives of business men, comprising over one third of the sample.

Group Differences in Urban Fertility. By Clyde V. Kiser. Baltimore: Wilkins Company, 1942. pp. ix & 284. \$2.50.

Fertility data on which this analysis is based were collected as a part of the *National Health Survey*. This survey, although primarily intended to yield information on the incidence and severity of

Particularly of interest to the rural sociologist are the results of the supplementary rural survey in selected localities of Georgia, Missouri, and Michigan, although no claim is made that the data are representative even of the rural population of these three states. In line with accepted notions, rural fertility, considerably higher than urban fertility, was found to increase successively with progression from small town to village to purely rural population.

Although one may prefer more and better data, Kiser's analysis of those provided by the Health Survey is thorough, cautious and systematic. He does an excellent job of showing what has been happening in the field of differential fertility in America since the study of 1910 data by Notestein and Sydenstricker, and that of 1930 data by Notestein. It will remain the most up-to-date comprehensive treatment of the subject until the data collected in the 1940 census from a 5 per cent sample of the population concerning the number of children ever born are thoroughly analyzed.

HOMER L. HITT.

Louisiana State University.

Social Work as a Profession. By Esther Lucile Brown. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1942. Pp. 232. \$1.00.

Social work as an emerging profession developed with dizzying rapidity during the 1930's. The U. S. Census of 1930 recorded 31,241 "social and welfare workers" and in that same category in 1940, over seventy-two thousand were reported. Miss Brown, after tracing the evolution of social work from the humanitarianism of the wealthy classes for the lower classes to the federally supported and supervised system of public assistance of today, raises the question, "Is social work a profession?" The answer to that question constitutes the major thesis of this interesting monograph.

The sociologist will particularly want to peruse the convenient compilation of information on the schools of social work, their curricula and requirements. To the rural sociologist, the discussion of rural social work is most pertinent. He will be concerned that despite the dynamic and

growing interest and programs for assisting rural people, scarcely more than one-third of the forty-two approved schools of social work make any provision for courses in rural social work or in rural social and economic conditions. The schools in state universities, surprisingly enough, do no better than those in private institutions.

There is as yet no satisfactory answer to the belief that differences between rural and urban social work practice result largely from differences of culture patterns and that, therefore, skills and knowledge basic to one type of practice are basic to the others. The rural sociologist would probably agree with Miss Brown when she says:

"... that what the social worker needs most as background for practice in rural areas is an intimate knowledge of those sociological and psychological ways of thinking and behaving that manifest themselves in non-urban places; of the educational and community resources that both reflect and determine standards of living and cultural levels; of economic forces which have produced the sharecropper, tenant farmer, and migrant, and also large-scale mechanized farming and the Associated Farmers."

To professional people, to vocational counselors, to the laity, this small volume assembles and interprets significant data on one of the fastest growing yet least understood vocations of the present day.

JOHN J. CRONIN.

University of Louisville.

Guide for the Study of American Social Problems. Compiled for the American Social Problems Study Committee. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 181. \$1.00.

This book is designed as a study guide for individuals or groups interested in getting at the basic facts for an intelligent understanding of American social problems. It was sponsored by a committee of prominent educators, labor leaders, scientists, religious leaders, welfare workers, and others, under the chairmanship of Dr. Harry J. Carman of Columbia University,

and the vice-chairmanship of Dr. Margaret Mead of the American Museum of Natural History.

Eleven chapters are devoted to the problems of the consumer, the worker, the farmer, women, the Negro, youth, education, housing, civil liberties, national unity, and international security. Each of these chapters includes a brief introductory statement by an authority in the field, a statement of the central problem, and a bibliography including periodicals, magazine articles, books, government publications, and films. For example, the chapter on the farmer outlines references covering answers to questions such as: Why are farmers poor? What are their standards of living as compared to city dwellers? How does the poverty of the farmer affect the living standards of everybody in the nation? What are some of the problems of the farmer that you should know about in order to understand his situation? What is the relationship between you—the consumer—and the farmer? What is the farmer doing to solve his own problem? What have the farmers won from the government? How has the government helped to save human and soil resources through its program?

The guide will be especially useful for women's clubs, church, and civic groups, as well as high school and college students, in "aiding them to understand the insistent problems which press from every side and whose solution is necessary if human beings are to live in peace and security." Toward this end, "the choice of references was largely conditioned by three factors: first, their authenticity for providing historical background or current setting of the problem; second, their suitability for nontechnical use; and last, their cost." Because of this last factor, a wide use is made of free material in pamphlets and magazines.

In conclusion, the Committee suggests a plan whereby interested persons in neighborhoods and more self-contained communities can go about setting up Community Councils for the purpose of achieving a better and fuller democratic way of life.

HENRY G. STETLER.

University of Connecticut.

The Subnormal Adolescent Girl. By Theodora M. Abel and Elaine F. Kinder. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xiii + 215. \$2.50.

Concerning Juvenile Delinquency: Progressive Changes in Our Perspectives. By Henry W. Thurston. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 236. \$2.75.

Abel and Kinder's book is an illuminating and readable study, well illustrated and based on observed case material. It considers the special problems presented by subnormal adolescent girls in various fields of activity. Of these, two examples may serve to illustrate the practical value of such an investigation.

In war industry, women today are taking an increasing part. It is estimated that by the end of 1942, about 4.5 million women will be directly engaged in war production. Among the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, many will be in the category which these authors have studied; adolescent girls whose I. Q. falls between 50 and 89. The book, therefore, has a special interest for three occupational groups in industry: Employment managers, personnel men and production supervisors.

Of particular interest to the employment manager is the discussion of a follow-up study of 84 subnormal, non-delinquent girls. They were employed for three years in a New York industrial area, having started work at 17. All girls received special guidance by placement counselors and social workers who investigated suitable work opportunities and smoothed out difficulties in employer and family relationships. In spite of all this help, during the first year of employment, 35 per cent were considered failures in that they were unable to hold any job for more than two weeks without being discharged. At the end of the third year, 20 per cent of the girls still showed themselves unfit for employment.

Supervisors of Industrial Relations should be interested to learn that many of the subnormal girls, to hide their feelings of insecurity, "complained frequently and indiscriminately" about their employers and work conditions.

Production supervisors can derive great benefit from this penetrating analysis of the subnormal adolescent girl. Lack of mental and manual versatility and a tendency to perseverate in any behavior tendency once adopted, create special problems in work assignment and discipline.

The authors show that properly understood and skillfully handled, the subnormal adolescent girl can be an asset to industry.

In the social life of a community, the subnormal adolescent girl frequently figures as a trouble-maker and sex delinquent. War conditions aggravate problems of adjustment in family life and school, as well as leisure time activities and recreation. Parents, teachers, social workers, police women and probation officers will find this study of great interest.

Thurston's book is a general supplement in the field of juvenile delinquency. It is a popular presentation of the subject but lacks the scientific precision of Abel and Kinder's study. For example, the technique of presentation in the chapter, "A Forum Discussion on Causes," is clever but misleading.

Leonard W. Mayo, Dean of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, contributes a short but incisive chapter on principles which point up the community aspects of juvenile delinquency.

PAUL FIGORS.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Contraception and Fertility in the Southern Appalachians. By Gilbert Wheeler Beebe. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1942. Pp. xii + 274. \$2.50.

The mores of privacy complicate problems of sampling and of getting accurate data in social studies of human reproduction. These difficulties are not resolved in this book, but they are attacked with statistical skill. The basic data are records of contraceptive service to more than 1,300 rural nonfarm women, aged 15-44, in the coal mining communities of Logan County, West Virginia, 1936-1938. The service and the study were sponsored by the National

Committee on Maternal Health, supporting an "interest in the control of excessive population growth and in the utility of simple contraceptive methods." (p. 53). In this report, a brief social and economic description of the Southern Appalachian Region is followed by a report of the establishment of the contraceptive service, then a detailed description of reproductive patterns in the area, then a review of the effects of contraceptive instruction upon fertility, and finally, a statement about the organization of contraceptive services. An important conclusion is "that the uncontrolled chance of conception in the Southern Appalachians is probably no higher than elsewhere, and that only lack of contraceptive endeavor could possibly explain the high fertility for which the region is noted." (p. 84). Thirty-two per cent of the women, controlling over 50 per cent of the fertility in the county, accepted instruction. Of the white women in this group, half had previously attempted contraception. It is concluded that, "Family limitation has gained a real foothold in the Southern Appalachians, but it has not yet made any great headway." (p. 122). The author's claims are not extreme, but he may be asked whether the general social disorganization of mining camps, in contrast to the relatively more stable familism of agriculturists in the Appalachian hills, may not tend to exaggerate the weakening of mores opposing family limitation in the entire region. Following contraceptive instruction for the women in this Logan County sample, the birth rate fell 41 per cent, indicating the partial effectiveness of imperfect birth control. The study "by no means proceeds from the assumption that family limitation alone would enable the region to achieve economic and social parity with the nation as a whole." (p. 36). The proposal for organization is that contraceptive service be medical, but not only therapeutic, and that there be a gradual development toward its inclusion with other public health services. The book has a good index, a bibliography of 151 titles, and an appendix discussion of research methodology.

HOWARD W. BEERS.

University of Kentucky.

A Prophet and a Pilgrim. By Herbert W. Schneider and George Lawton: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xviii + 589. \$5.00.

This book describes one of the more obscure of the many religio-economic movements of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it will no doubt prove a surprising revelation, even to those students who have delved most deeply into the history of "The Fabulous Forties," including the land settlement experiments. Brook Farm, the Oneida Community, the Shakers, the Fourierite and Owenite communities are well known; but few will know of Wassaia, Amenia and Brocton, New York or Fountain Grove, California—all places successively occupied by the Brotherhood of the New Life. Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906) the Prophet and leader of this fantastic cult, is also an unfamiliar name to contemporary Americans in spite of his rather voluminous writings. The Pilgrim, and proselyte of Harris, Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888) of England, is a more familiar name. A famous writer, diplomat, politician, and world traveler, he gave up a seat in the House of Commons and with his mother, Lady Oliphant, joined the Harris farm community at Amenia, Dutchess County, New York. The two provided a large part of the capital which went into the new community at Brocton, near Buffalo, when the colony moved from its former location.

This is a biography of two remarkable individuals of widely different social backgrounds and experiences, whose lives were fortuitously brought together through a common interest in a mystical formula for regeneration of mankind. Both were motivated by nineteenth century humanitarianism, and the prevalent spiritual unrest with its concomitant millennial hope. Like the founders of Brook Farm, the "Brotherhood" sought spiritual purification in manual labor, which led to the establishment of an agricultural community. Like Oneida, Zoar, the Shakers, and the Mormons, their philosophical formulations were mixed with unconventional relations of the sexes.

The book is also something of a biography of a social movement or contains

much raw material out of which one can be constructed. Through its pages, the "Brotherhood" can be traced through the phases of a life cycle, from the prophetic visions of Harris, through the development of a community of believers under the strict authoritarian control of the prophet, the inevitable dissensions and apostasies, conflict with the outside world, rivalries for leadership, and final decadence.

The authors adhere to strict narration, and make no attempt at correlating the rise of this movement with comparable contemporary developments. This is, of course, justifiable procedure particularly in view of the mass of material to be handled; but one cannot avoid hoping that the authors or other students, might produce another volume dealing particularly with social origins.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

Community Life in a Democracy. Edited by Florence C. Bingham. Chicago, Illinois: National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1942. Pp. 246. \$1.00.

Addressed to the PTA, this volume seeks to develop for members of that group a community consciousness and a realization of their responsibility and, indeed, opportunity to use the community as a focal point for a well directed and socially inclusive PTA program at the local level. This book is written by a group of prominent professional experts, each specialized in the particular approach to community organization that he makes. It describes and interprets for the layman the various aspects of the community scene and the part that he can play, particularly as a member of the PTA, in making his community a more socially satisfactory and stimulating place where youth can develop into adults capable of taking their places in a dynamic and democratic society.

For members of the PTA and for other organizations made up of laymen who are sincerely interested in the welfare of their community and their children, this book will open up a clearer vista of the many problems of community welfare lying with-

in the scope of their activities and interests. It will challenge and inspire them to belated activities. Certainly it is a contribution in that it places before the people themselves—i.e. the layman American citizenry—in a readable and comprehensive way an awareness of the concept of the American community as such, and the contribution harmonized community organization can make to the welfare and happiness of the members of that community.

Such an approach is heartening to the sociologist. If the average American citizen can be made aware of his community, the problems that must be faced in adequate community organization, and the part he can play in solving such problems, a forward step of significance has been taken in obtaining through the democratic process the beginning of a fuller and more comprehensive American way of life for more and more of its citizens.

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Grass Roots Politics: National Voting Behavior of Typical States. By Harold F. Gosnell. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. ix + 195. \$3.00.

First, this book surveys election returns in the United States since 1896. While shifts in the nation result from changes in business conditions, in the international situation and in party organization, political tides in the states "come and go with changes in political personalities, in issues which affect the economy of the states directly, and in social issues which have peculiar importance to the culture of the communities concerned." Comparison of the states with national trends differentiates those which parallel national trends, those which swing with the nation but more violently, those which swing with the nation but less violently, and those which show no relation to national trends.

Next, an examination is made of the election returns by counties in six typical states, viz., Pennsylvania, which emphasizes industrial politics, Wisconsin with its progressivism, Iowa of the farm belt, Cali-

fornia with its utopias, Illinois with its rural-urban conflicts, and Long's Louisiana. Economic indices are related to shifts in the vote of each county or region of the six states. The influence of urbanization, social, ethnic and religious characteristics and party tradition and discipline upon the vote is analyzed.

In an appendix to the study the author asserts the value of statistical methods which have been viewed critically by many political scientists. Here it is pointed out that the "refined statistical techniques" employed in this study such as zero order correlations, simple regression equations, partial correlations, net regression equations, and factorial analysis using the centroid method are not only labor- and time-saving devices, but they also "give some very fruitful results if significant hypotheses and relevant indexes can be devised." A second appendix contains tables showing election returns since 1924 for the six states, certain selected social and economic variables, and a matrix of correlations with voting behavior.

WILLIAM H. COMBS.

Michigan State College.

Community Organization and Adult Education—A Five-Year Experiment. By Edmund deS. Brunner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. 124. \$2.00.

Sociologists have heard much during recent years about the Greenville experiment in community organization. Fortunately, this experiment was carefully observed by competent sociologists and we have in Dr. Brunner's new book an objective analysis of the manner in which the Greenville County Council for community development came into being, and gave leadership in assisting the people to study their problems and to develop plans for their solution.

This experiment in community development is significant in that it brings to sociological literature much needed factual material on community organization from the South. It is further significant in that it blazes new trails in the field of adult

education, pointing out what can be done by properly developed plans which are based upon sound sociological principles.

The Greenville experiment is convincing proof of the fact that community organization doesn't just happen. To organize communities is hard work, work which requires skill and untiring leadership. The sociologists talk a lot about the importance of community organization as a means of solving local problems. The fact remains, however, that community organization carried to the perfection of effective community councils is yet to be developed. This little book of Dr. Brunner's is proof of the fact that much good can come through the development of community councils. It should, however, impress the uninitiated with the understanding that community organization is not something that can be blueprinted and superimposed from without. Organization is a process and must be developed from within, where the people work and live.

Dr. Brunner skillfully points out both successes and failures of this Greenville experiment. His real contribution comes from pointing out the sociological principles associated with these successes and failures.

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The Kentucky Poor Law 1792-1936. By Emil McKee Sunley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. 160. \$1.50.

This is the first poor law study in a series of nine, to deal with a southern state; others have dealt with the midwestern tier of states, and Rhode Island, Montana and Kansas. As the oldest form of social security, the poor law, still based on the Elizabethan principles of the 17th century, persists as the last public resort for people in distress. Sunley points out that during the economic depression of the 1930's the old poor relief system of Kentucky collapsed and both children and adults were starving. Relief came through the Red Cross, the Friends Service and finally the federal government. As late as

1924, the poor in parts of Kentucky were still being "hired out" to the highest bidder; as late as 1935, it was impossible to learn the extent or amount of poor relief. No books were kept. The student of social problems should read how Kentucky, not unlike practically every other state, is trying to meet modern agricultural and industrial social conditions with a system of poor relief which was dated even in colonial times.

JOHN J. CRONIN.

University of Louisville.

Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work 1942. Columbia University Press. New York. \$5.00.

This volume contains fifty-one papers, carefully selected from the 122 presented at the New Orleans meetings of the National Conference of Social Work. Discussion of the problems of rural areas as such is limited to case material concerning a rural county in the deep South presented as part of the paper on "Human Needs Pertinent to Group Work Services"; and two papers dealing with child welfare: "Developing Community Interest in Foster Homes" and "Problems of Adoption in Rural Areas."

Disorganization Personal and Social. By Ernest R. Mowrer. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942. Pp. viii + 682. \$3.75.

The older approaches to social disorganization, according to Professor Mowrer, involve too many value-judgments, or give insufficient attention to social processes, or fail to show at what point and how and for what reason the changes that constitute social disorganization get under way. Mowrer himself finds the genesis of both social and personal disorganization in the variant behavior of individuals. This is traced to differential experience in family and social class and vocational group, or to contact with alien cultures. It is when this variant behavior meets with social disapproval that disorganization comes. If the individual seeks sympathizers and organizes for conflict with the social order

marked disorganization, both social and personal, results. If he retreats into a subjective world, he does not disturb the social system but sacrifices his human nature. In any case his adjustment is largely a function of the basic personality pattern which in turn is traced to early experience in the family.

Mowrer's interest seems to be in personal more than in social disorganization, and he discusses a number of types. His treatment is always illuminating, always discriminating. When he studies social disorganization, he deals mostly with statistical data drawn from the Chicago area between 1929 and 1935. A vast deal of material has been compiled and interpreted with consummate skill. It is apparent that the author has lived with his data and knows fully their meaning and their limitations. Yet one could wish to have the abstractions of central tendency and correlation supplemented by the kind of dramatic treatment of the changing patterns which Linton gives of the disintegration of the dry rice culture among the Tanala. Mowrer does a good deal of this in his treatment of the family.

This volume is brought out as a textbook. But it seems unlikely that students will make use of the appendix of 85 pages in which data already presented in a

plethora of charts are displayed in tabular form. The cross-hatched map, much used in presenting the Chicago data, reveals certain limitations in the mechanics of construction. The shading in the maps is not consistently graduated from light to dark, solid black areas commonly representing less than the maximum concentration of cases. Where it is expected that a succession of maps will relate trends to different phases of the economic cycle, it is unfortunate that the hatching scheme should vary from map to map. This makes comparisons difficult.

It may be doubted whether Mowrer's frame of reference achieves the objectivity he seeks. Whether one sees disorganization depends in some measure upon the point and breadth of view. Mowrer speaks of social disapproval bringing disorganization. Whose disapproval is this? One may be organized by the approval of a well-knit ingroup and be to some degree impervious to the disapprovals of the larger society defined as an out-group. Delinquency may be explained, in many cases at least, in terms of the delinquent culture that has fashioned it without any reference to the pattern of the delinquent's early family relations.

THOMAS HANCOCK GRAFTON.
Mary Baldwin College.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Robert A. Polson

ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS: This Council was established by the American Association for the Advancement of Science to advise conservation agencies on problems of human relations. The most intensive work of the Council has been with the U. S. Forest Service. At the national level the Council has deliberated on many of the most important public relations problems of the Forest Service and also on problems of personnel and morale within the Service. The Council has promoted a few useful spot studies of the sociological and psychological factors in man-caused forest fires and has offered numerous suggestions calculated to improve the procedures of the Forest Service when dealing with people.

Considerable effort has been expended upon plans for the development of research in the human relations aspects of forestry, and to this end an attempt has been made to interest the social scientists located in those parts of the country where such problems are acute, in cooperating with the Forest Service on the study of these problems. A preliminary conference for this purpose was held in Asheville, N. C. during the spring of 1941 and more recently (January 1943) similar conferences have been held on the Pacific coast.

The Pacific coast conferences were held at Portland, Oregon, Berkeley, California, and Los Angeles, California. Each lasted two days and all were under the sponsorship of the Advisory Council with the U. S. Forest Service cooperating. The personnel of the conferences consisted of 25-30 invited persons about half of whom were social scientists (sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists). Forest Service officials presented their problems for discussion by the scientists. Local conditions were stressed. The social scientists showed much interest, and plans are now under way to organize regional advisory groups which will serve as local counterparts of the national Advisory

Council. Such an arrangement should in time result in the production of valuable research in the field of the human factor in conservation.

C. E. LIVELY, *Secretary*
Advisory Council on
Human Relations.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY: Harold E. Smith, former assistant in the Department, who for several months was mathematical instructor at Scott Field, Bellville, Illinois, has enlisted for training in the weather school of the Army Air Corps. He is stationed at the Pantlind Hotel, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Lieutenant James E. White, a former assistant, has recently been awarded the Purple Heart Medal by the War Department for meritorious service as an officer in a machine gun platoon in the Pacific theatre. He was wounded in action but recent reports indicate he is well on the road to recovery.

Dr. William M. Smith, Jr., resigned his position as Extension Instructor April 1st to enter farming near Norwalk, Ohio.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY: Francis M. Vree-land, Professor of Sociology at DePauw University, died February 6, 1943.

DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL WELFARE: C. R. Draper, Assistant Social Scientist of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Upper Darby staff, reported to Lewisburg, Pa., April 2 with the CAA. Henry W. Riecken of the same office entered the Army March 22 and is at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

S. Earl Grigsby, Associate Social Science Analyst of the Atlanta staff is a Naval Ensign at Ft. Schuyler, N. Y., and Robert E. Galloway, formerly Area Leader in Atlanta, is on active Navy duty as a Lieutenant (j.g.).

OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE: Robert Turner McMillan (B.S., M.S., Oklahoma A & M College), Associate Professor of Sociology and Rural Life, received the Ph.D. degree from Louisiana State University in June 1943. The title of his thesis, which was completed last summer, is "The Interrelation of Migration and Socioeconomic Status of Open Country Families in Oklahoma."

William Lester Kolb (A.B., Miami, M.A., Wisconsin), Assistant Professor of Sociology, received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin at the end of May 1943. The title of his thesis, which was completed in April, is "The Peasant in Revolution: A Study in Constructive Typology."

John C. Belcher, B.S., Oklahoma A & M College, 1943, has been appointed graduate assistant in Rural Sociology at Louisiana State University, effective July 1, 1943.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE: Professor W. R. Gordon of Rhode Island State College resigned his position as rural sociologist at that institution and is now Extension Rural Sociologist at Pennsylvania State College, a position he previously held for several years.

Dr. W. R. Kerns, formerly of Pennsylvania State College, is now a Lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps.

SOUTH DAKOTA STATE COLLEGE: Walter L. Slocum recently resigned his position to join the Farm Security Administration as Assistant Chief, Farm Labor Training and Placement Section at the Lincoln, Nebraska regional office.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA: Dr. E. W. Burgess, Past President and Secretary of the American Sociological Society, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, was a visitor in Tucson during the winter quarter. He was guest of honor at a dinner meeting of the University of Arizona Social Science Club February 25 and spoke on his studies of predicting the success of marriage. Dr Burgess is working on his book on *The Family*.

Dr. E. D. Tetreau, Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Arizona, has an article in the March issue of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* entitled, "Population Characteristics and Trends in Arizona." This article is an abbreviated version of the paper read at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dallas, December, 1941. In November, 1942, the Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station published Bulletin 186 under title "Wanted—Manpower on Arizona Farms." Preliminary analyses for higher farm labor requirements in 1943 were released in January in Mimeographed Report No. 52. The analysis of Arizona rural society continues.

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE: A recent rural sociology report of the Agricultural Experiment Station pertains to the "Nutrition of Virginia People as Indicated by the Diets of School Children." It was made in cooperation with the State Nutrition Committee and the WPA.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY: Clarence Senior, formerly Director of the Inter-American Institute, University of Kansas City, has been appointed Chief of the Latin American Division, Office of Exports, Board of Economic Warfare, in Washington.

An Analysis of Specified Farm Characteristics for Farms Classified by Total Value of Products has just been completed as a cooperative study by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics representing the United States Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of the Census. The tabulations were based upon a 2-per cent sample from the 1940 Census of Agriculture expanded and adjusted to agree with the recorded census totals. They are intended to help answer questions concerning the resources of farms at different levels of gross farm income and the characteristics of the operators of farms in the various value groups which influence their potential agricultural production; to show the extent to which farms in the different value groups are operated by full-time or part-time farm-

ers; to indicate the amount and kind of work done off the farm in 1939; to help uncover sources of unused and underused manpower; and to provide useful data on farm labor requirements and farm expenditures. Many of the data will be helpful in analyzing the problems associated with social-security programs for farmers.

The following reports have been published: (1) Age of Operator, Work Off Farms and Days Worked, Operators Reporting Residence not on Farms Operated, 1940; (2) Workstocks and Other Livestock, Specified Farm Machinery and Facilities, Business with or Through Cooperatives; (3) Land Resources and Size of Farm; (4) Appalachian Region, which will include data relating to the 5 Appalachian States, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee; (5) Specified Farm Expenditures; (6) Family and Hired Labor on Farms, September 24-30, 1939 and March 24-30, 1940; (7) Farms Classified by Major Sources of Income; (8) Color and Tenure of Farm Operators.

A limited number of copies are available from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

ROY L. ROBERTS.

Division of Farm Populations and Rural Welfare, BAE, USDA.

FARM LABOR FOR YOUTH is a packet of pamphlets prepared for the guidance of youth—particularly town and city youth—who may be interested in not only rendering a useful service but also in gaining experience in agriculture and rural life.

The packet contains nine pamphlets and papers and sells for 25 cents each, but only 20 cents each in quantities of 20 or more. Orders may be addressed to: Town and Country Department, Congregational Christian Churches, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

A Comparison of Three Measures of Socio-economic Status. By George A. Lundberg and Pearl A. Friedman. ♣

Rural-Panama: Its Needs and Prospects. By Ofelia Hooper.

The Kolkhozes in the Economy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. By Germina Rabinowitch.

Some Problems of Status and Social Solidarity in Riverbottoms Area. By John W. Bennett.

Social Participation Differences Among Tenure Classes in a Prosperous Commercialized Farming Area. By C. Arnold Anderson.

Wartime Changes in Employer-Employee Relations in Agriculture. By Edgar C. McVoy.

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A Comparison of Three Measures of Socioeconomic Status

By George A. Lundberg and Pearl Friedman†

ABSTRACT

A sample of 232 families in a rural township in Vermont was scored for socioeconomic status according to the Chapin scale, the Guttman-Chapin scale and the Sewell scale. The results are analyzed from the standpoint of the characteristics of the three scales as revealed by a detailed analysis of the ten cases showing greatest discrepancies in scores. The scores of the Guttman revision of the Chapin scale agree quite closely with those of the Chapin scale, except for a tendency of the Guttman revision to reduce still further the low scores. The correlation between the Chapin and the Sewell scores is $r = +.76$; between the Guttman revision and the Sewell, $r = +.73$. Scale scores are also compared with the self-ratings of the families studied.

RESUMEN

Una muestra de 232 familias en un poblado rural de Vermont fué calificada de acuerdo con las escalas Chapin, Guttman-Chapin y Sewell para medir el estado socioeconómico. Los resultados son analizados desde el punto de vista de las características de las tres escalas según manifestadas por medio de un análisis detallado de los diez casos que muestran mayor discrepancia en los resultados. Los resultados de la revisión Guttman de la escala Chapin se acercan mucho a los de la escala Chapin, excepto que la revisión Guttman tiende a rebajar aun más los resultados bajos. La correlación entre los resultados Chapin y Sewell es $r = +.76$; entre la revisión Guttman y Sewell, $r = +.73$. Los resultados de las escalas también son comparados con las calificaciones aplicadas a sí mismas por las familias incluidas en el estudio.

Definition of concepts and testing of hypotheses are carried out in the mature sciences through the use of appropriate instruments of observation and measurement. The perfecting of such instruments must proceed in the social as in the other sciences by extensive testing of tentative scales through comparison of the results shown by different types of instruments and through the correlation of such results with accepted criteria of validity. The necessary data for the improvement of the scales and the interpretation of their results can be secured only from careful analysis of the results of many applications of the scales to actual and varied samples of phenomena.

The present paper reports the results achieved in a Vermont rural township from scoring 232 homes with three measures of socioeconomic status, namely: (1) the Chapin *Social Status Scale 1933, Revised 1936*;¹ (2) the Guttman-Chapin Scale, 1942 (same as (1) but with differently weighted items);² and (3) the Sewell Scale, 1940.³

¹F. S. Chapin, *The Measurement of Social Status* (University of Minnesota Press, 1933). Reprinted with revisions, 1936.

²L. Guttman, "A Revision of Chapin's Social Status Scale," *American Sociological Review*, VII (1942), 362-369.

³W. H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*. Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Technical Bulletin No. 9 (Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1940). See also W. H. Sewell, "The Development of a Sociometric Scale," *Sociometry*, V (1942), 279-297.

† Bennington College.

The population scored lives in a rural area including an unincorporated village in southwestern Vermont. The population of the entire township in 1940 according to the Federal census was 1577; the number of families, 418. A comparison of the occupational distribution for the whole township according to a contemporary directory⁴ and for the sample scored is shown in table I.

TABLE I. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF SHAFTSBURY TOWNSHIP, VERMONT, 1941

	Survey Sample %	Manning's Directory %
Farmers	30.1	26.2
Skilled	13.2	8.4
Semi-skilled	21.5	20.8
Unskilled	7.3	13.5
White collar	8.2	10.6
Business	4.3	4.1
Professional	4.7	4.1
None	10.7	12.3
	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(233)	(370)

It will be seen that the occupational distribution of our sample approaches very closely the occupational distribution of the township as a whole. Only in one instance, namely, the proportion of unskilled, does our sample differ from the whole population by as much as 6.2%. There is strong reason to believe that our sample is highly representative not only of this township but of a much larger area of rural New England. However, the present paper is pri-

marily concerned with the comparison of three different measures of socioeconomic status rather than with the representativeness of the scores and other findings, which will be reported in a later paper.

Chart I and tables II and III show the distribution of scores for each of the three instruments. The difference in position of the curves on the horizontal scale indicates, of course, merely the difference in the basis of standardization, i.e., the absolute values assigned to different items constituting the scale. This basis for the Chapin scale, both in its original and its revised form, is considerably lower than for the Sewell scale, as is indicated by their respective means. (See table IV.) Of greater interest is (1) the distribution of scores around their respective means (table IV) and (2) the reasons for the occurrence of radically different *relative* scores for the same home, according to the three scales (table VI). The latter point will be considered below.

As will be seen from chart I, the chief effect of the Guttman revision of the Chapin scale is to decrease certain low scores to a degree which distorts the normality of the distribution as compared with both the unrevised Chapin scores and the Sewell scores. The correlation between the scores of the Sewell and the Guttman-Chapin scale is also lower than when the unrevised Chapin scores are used. (Guttman-Chapin and Sewell, $r = +.73 \pm .031$; unrevised Chapin and Sewell, $r = +.76 \pm .028$.) The reason for the sharp increase in the frequency of the lower scores of the

⁴ Manning's *Bennington, Shaftsbury and Arlington Directory* (Volume 28, H. A. Manning & Company, March, 1942).

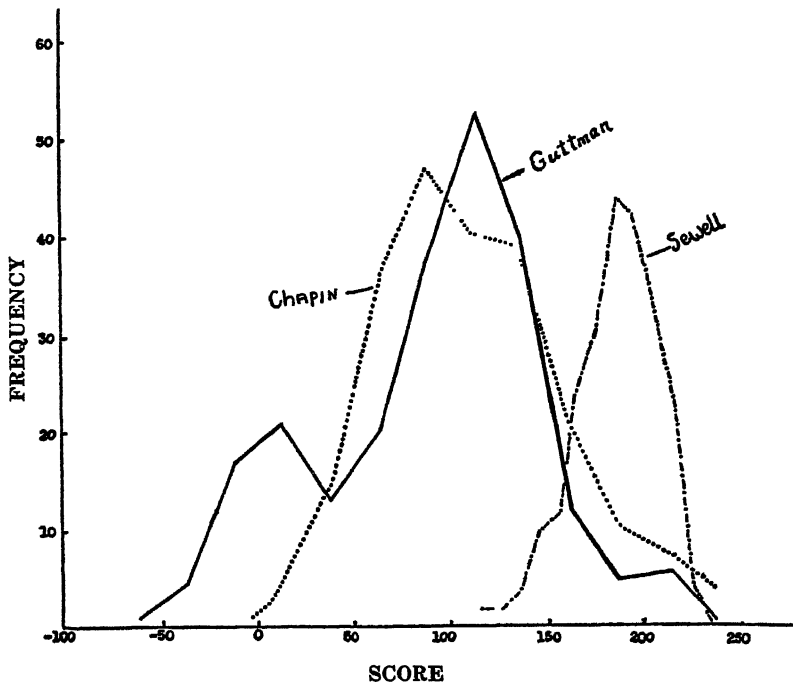


Chart I. The Distribution of Scores of Socio-Economic Status of 233 Families of a Rural Vermont Township According to the Chapin, Chapin-Guttman, and Sewell Scales, 1941.

TABLE II. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CHAPIN SOCIAL STATUS SCORES (Shaftsbury Township, Vermont, 1941)

Score	F
0- 24	11
25- 49	15
50- 74	36
75- 99	47
100-124	40
125-149	39
150-174	22
175-199	10
200-224	8
225 and over	4
	<hr/> 232

Guttman-Chapin scale is the relatively heavy increase in weights which the revision assigned to nega-

tive answers to the subjective items of the original Chapin scale. Thus, a "spotted or stained" condition of the living room and furnishings was weighted -4 in the Chapin scale (1936) as compared with -19 in the Guttman revision. The corresponding weights on the item "articles strewn about in disorder" are -2 (Chapin) as against -20 (Guttman). Negative weights of other items of this type are also heavily increased in the Guttman revision. Altogether, the negative weights in Part II of the Chapin Scale are increased by Guttman a total of 61 points whereas the increase in positive weights on the

corresponding items total only 33.⁵ This accounts for the asymmetrical distribution of the low scores in the Guttman revision (chart I).

TABLE III. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SEWELL SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS SCORES (Shaftsbury Township, Vermont, 1941)

Score	F
110-119	2
120-129	2
130-139	3
140-149	10
150-159	12
160-169	24
170-179	32
180-189	44
190-199	42
200-209	32
210-219	23
220-229	4
230-239	1
	231

Whether the results shown by the revised scale or by the original shall be regarded as more valid for the cases here under consideration depends, of course, upon what criteria of validity we adopt. If the "common sense" criterion of the field workers in this survey is adopted, the feeling was that the Guttman revision assigned too much weight to the subjective items in the Chapin scale. Not only are these items objection-

able in themselves because they are relatively subjective, but they are also highly dependent on chance factors such as the particular time of the interview (e.g. "house cleaning" time, soon after moving into a house, etc.). Assuming a random sample, which was certainly approached in the present case, and assuming that in a random sample socioeconomic status is normally distributed, the distortion of the normality of the distribution by the Guttman revision of the Chapin scale suggests the presence of spurious factors in the considerations on which the revision is based. In any event, the Guttman revision results in a higher coefficient of variation for the distribution as a whole (table IV).

The distribution of scores obtained from the Sewell scale for this sample is conspicuously homogeneous and symmetrical. A coefficient of variation of only 11.9% as compared with 46.3% (Chapin scale) and 64.5% (Guttman Revision) characterizes in a summary fashion one of the results of the application of the three measures.

It will be recalled that the Sewell scale was standardized for farm fam-

TABLE IV. COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ACCORDING TO THREE SCALES

Measures	Scales		
	Chapin	Guttman-Chapin	Sewell
Mean	108.2	92.2	184.8
Median	104.1	100.8	186.9
Mode	90.1	101.9	183.5
Standard Deviation	50.2	59.5	22.0
Coefficient of Variation	46.3%	64.5%	11.9%

⁵ L. Guttman, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

ilies in Oklahoma whereas the Chapin scale was standardized for urban working class families in Minneapolis.⁶ This fact and certain details of its construction suggest that the Sewell scale should be the more valid instrument for the sample here under consideration. In order to observe, however, the operation of each of the three instruments in particular cases, we consider below a selected group of actual cases in which the discrepancies between the three scales were largest.

Table VI indicates the relative decile positions of ten cases on which scores secured from the Chapin scale and from the Sewell scale showed the greatest discrepancy. The table also shows the position of these cases on the Guttman-Chapin scale. To make the scores comparable their decile position in their respective distributions is given in the last three columns of the table.

These are, of course, extreme cases. The correlation noted above ($r = +.76$) between the scores of the Chapin and the Sewell scales for this sample indicates that, on the whole,

there is good agreement in their results. A careful scrutiny of the cases of maximum disagreement is valuable, however, in revealing the peculiarities of either or both scales. Accordingly, we consider below the particular conditions surrounding these cases which resulted in the gross disagreement of the two principal scales in the relative socioeconomic rating of these families and the effect of the Guttman revision in each case (table VI).

The low Chapin score of Case 217 is due chiefly to the absence of fireplace with utensils, desk, and periodicals, especially the last item, which in this scale receives a weight of 8 points for each periodical taken. On the other hand, the Sewell scale credits this family with 14 points for high school education of both husband and wife and gives them a total of 38 points for church membership, church and Sunday School attendance, and the wife's membership in the P.-T.A. Thus the Sewell scale assigns a total of 52 points to aspects of the family's social status for which they receive no points on the Chapin

⁶ The average scores of farm and village homes on the two scales in our sample were as follows:

TABLE V. CHAPIN AND SEWELL AVERAGES FOR FARM AND FOR VILLAGE HOMES

	CHAPIN		SEWELL	
	Farm (N = 126)	Village (N = 105)	Farm (N = 126)	Village (N = 105)
Mean	101	112	180	190
Median	96	111	181	191
Mode	74	106	174	189

The mean score for village homes on both scales is about 10 points higher than for farm homes. The distributions are not otherwise significantly different.

TABLE VI. EXTREME CASES OF DISAGREEMENT IN SOCIOECONOMIC SCORES ACCORDING TO THE CHAPIN SCALE, THE GUTTMAN-CHAPIN SCALE, AND THE SEWELL SCALE

Case (Serial Number)	Scale Scores			Deciles		
	Chapin Score	Guttman- Chapin Score	Sewell Score	Chapin	Guttman- Chapin	Sewell
3	62	99	192	2	5	6
5	242	127	186	9	8	5
34	102	67	207	5	4	9
41	96	123	211	5	7	9
79	36	13	188	1	2	6
111	70	7	200	3	2	8
176	156	8	160	9	2	2
205	74	64	193	3	3	7
217	82	78	208	4	4	9
226	105	130	210	5	8	9

scale. The Sewell scale further takes into consideration the relatively spacious and comfortable house (room-person ratio, 7 points) with running water (8 points), kitchen sink (7 points) and separate kitchen, dining room, and living room (18 points). The items enumerated above altogether account for about half of the points in the total score on the Sewell scale. The Chapin scale assigns no credit to these features. The Guttman revision places this case in the same decile of its distribution as does the Chapin scale, namely, the fourth. The Sewell scale places the family in the ninth decile. There is no doubt that by the standards existing in this community this family belongs above the mode as the Sewell scale places it, rather than at the mode as the Chapin scale has it. On a self-rating scale of "very comfortable," "comfortable," "not so comfortable," this family further confirmed the validity of the Sewell rating by estimating itself as "very comfortable."

The same general factors in varying degrees also account for the dis-

crepancy in the scores assigned by the two scales to Cases 3, 34, 41, 111, 205, and 226. In Cases 3 and 226 the Guttman revision agrees more nearly with the Sewell scale, by placing the case in an adjoining decile. In Cases 34 and 111 the discrepancy is increased slightly by the Guttman revision, but it agrees closely with the Chapin score. In Case 41 the Guttman revision places the case in an intermediate position as compared to the the other two scales. Case 205 is placed in the same relative positions by the Chapin scale and the Guttman revision.

Another case of this type but with some differences in detail is Case 79. The Chapin scale places it in the first decile, whereas the Sewell scale places it slightly above the mean and exactly at the mode for this community. The Guttman revision agrees closely with the Chapin scale. Again the self-rating of "comfortable" agrees with the Sewell score. The low Chapin score is the result of no large rug, no window drapes, no fireplace, library table, armchairs, piano bench,

desk, or periodicals. In addition, the general condition of the living room and furniture further reduces the score by almost the maximum possible. On the basis of the data taken into consideration in the Chapin scale, this seems to be a family legitimately classified as of low status. The Sewell scale in this case arrives at its total score by the accumulation of small credits for the more numerous items which it includes. The house and the room-person ratio receive minimum credit, except for a separate kitchen and finished floors and woodwork. On the other hand, the case receives maximum credit for piped water, kitchen sink, linoleum on the kitchen floor and power washer. Also the family receives maximum credit for education of both husband and wife and the latter's church membership and participation in the P.T.A., but very little credit for other social participation. The general picture is that of a large family of a skilled industrial worker which by common sense standards is perhaps regarded in the community as of average status.

In Case 5 a radically different set of circumstances accounts for the discrepancy in the scores on the Chapin and the Sewell scales, with the Guttman revision again agreeing closely with the Chapin rating. The high Chapin score (242) is accounted for almost entirely by the fact that the family takes 15 periodicals which on the Chapin scale receive 8 points each. This weight is reduced in the Guttman revision to 2, which accounts mainly for the lower Gutt-

man score (126). The explanation of the surprisingly large number of periodicals was that "they just love to read". The wife also said "I'd like to write books" in answer to the question "If you could do whatever you liked, what would you most desire to do?" Since this literary urge does not receive specific recognition in the Sewell scale, the case receives only an average score on this scale although it receives the maximum credit for possession of books (8) and for the wife's education (8) and next to maximum credit for the husband's education (6). On the other hand, the family score on church and Sunday School attendance and membership in farm cooperatives and P.T.A. is the minimum. Also, there is no piped water in the house, and no rugs or carpets on the living room floor, no telephone and no life insurance. Clearly this is a case of neglect of the "physical" in favor of the "spiritual" life, and whether it is more properly rated in the ninth decile by the Chapin Scale or the fifth decile on the Sewell Scale is one of these questions which must be decided entirely on the basis of whatever criteria of validation are adopted. The family rates itself as comfortable, which is in agreement with the Sewell rating (fifth decile). Whichever way it is decided, the decision must be kept in mind as a fundamental one in the definition of the term *socioeconomic status* whenever that term as defined by a given scale is used. There is obviously no point in trying to settle the question

by arguing about what socioeconomic status "really is".

A similar but even more aggravated case is 176, which falls in the second decile of the Sewell distribution and in the ninth decile of the Chapin distribution. (The self-rating was "comfortable"). The high Chapin score results chiefly from the fact that the family reports taking nine periodicals. The Sewell scale, on the other hand, credits the family with minimum or low scores on education, participation in church and community organizations, and records that there is no separate kitchen and dining room. The apparent incongruity of the large number of periodicals in this situation is partly explained by the fact that the list includes *Hunting and Fishing, Field and Stream, National Sportsman, Woman's Day, American Agriculturist, and New England Homestead*. The Guttman revision of the score of this case (8) brings it into the same decile on this scale as it is on the Sewell Scale. This results from the reduced weight given to periodicals in the Guttman revision and from the heavy penalties assigned by this scale to poor and unkempt conditions of articles in the living room.

Thus, in three of the ten cases of extreme discrepancy, namely Cases 3, 176, and 226, the Guttman revision agrees more nearly with the Sewell rating. In six cases (5, 34, 79, 111, 205, 217) the Guttman and the Chapin scores agree more closely; and in one case (41) the Guttman revision takes an intermediate position. With the exception of one case

(41), the self-rating of all of these ten families corresponded more closely to the Sewell score.

The self-rating consisted of asking the person interviewed, usually the wife, after the Sewell schedule had been completed, whether she would characterize the family situation as "very comfortable," "comfortable," or "not so comfortable." The question is, of course, somewhat ambiguous, and somewhat delicate under existing conventions. It was not intended to use the results as tests of validity of the scales but rather as an indication of the standards of individual cases and as a possible clue to maladjustment. The statistical results secured from the question were as follows:

On the whole, the population takes an optimistic view of their situation. Eighty-eight percent of all answering the question rate themselves as "comfortable" or "very comfortable," including more than half (62%) of those in the lowest 23% of the Sewell distribution. (The proportion not answering is about the same in each socioeconomic group.) Of the middle 51% of the distribution, three times as many (18) regard themselves as "very comfortable" as compared to those who regard themselves as "not so comfortable" (6), although the overwhelming majority (70) in this middle group regard themselves as "comfortable." The upper 26% of the Sewell distribution are the most conservative in their self-estimate, since more of them (26) regard themselves as only "com-

TABLE VII. SELF-RATING OF 230 RURAL FAMILIES COMPARED TO THEIR SOCIOECONOMIC RATING ON THE SEWELL SCALE (Shaftsbury, Vermont, 1941)

Sewell Scores	Not so Comfortable	Comfortable	Very Comfortable	No Answer	Total
Under 170 (Lower 23%)	15	26	1	11	53
170-199 (Middle 51%)	6	70	18	24	118
200 and up (Upper 26%)	0	26	23	10	59
Total	21	122	42	45	230
Percent	9.	53.	18.	19.	99.

fortable" rather than as "very comfortable" (23).

The recent notable growth in number and quality of scales of the type here under consideration is undoubtedly one of the most encouraging developments in recent social science. The significance of these instruments in the testing of hypotheses and the development of scientific theory far transcends their other "practical" values. The greatest weakness of the social sciences is not their paucity of generalizations but the lack of reliable techniques of determining *under what conditions* these generalizations are true and *to what extent* they are true under varying conditions. As P. W. Bridgman⁷ has pointed out, in science a question is regarded as meaningless unless a set of operations can be specified and carried out which would yield a definitive answer. This fact is only beginning to be faced in the social sci-

ences. Hitherto it has been customary to regard the development of instruments for the objective definition of the categories and testing of hypotheses in sociological theorizing as a somewhat pedantic side issue. Actually, this is a crucial matter without which social theorizing is meaningless in Bridgman's sense. The elaborate theories which today constitute the principal content of the social sciences, remain, in effect, merely hypotheses until they are more specifically defined and tested.

This end cannot be achieved until more specific definitions of the concepts used in sociological theory are formulated. It is not a matter of arriving at a single "true" definition of such words as "status," "prestige," "class," etc., but a matter of inventing instruments of whatever number or graduations are necessary meaningfully to discriminate with objectivity and precision the phenomena and the relationships we talk about in our theorizing. The development

⁷ *The Logic of Modern Physics* (Macmillan, 1932), p. 30.

of scales and tests for the measurement of abilities, personality traits, attitudes, and other personal characteristics has greatly advanced psychology and sociology in the last two decades. There are some evidences that the necessities of the present war may impart a considerable impetus to this movement. It is to be hoped that a substantial part of future developments will be in the direction of defining more objectively the distinctively sociological concepts which figure so largely in the theorizing of all the social sciences.

DISCUSSION OF LUNDBERG-FRIEDMAN PAPER

*By Genevieve Knupfer and
Robert K. Merton**

"Validity" refers to a covariation of a set of observations obtained in one way (e.g., a scale or measuring instrument) and another set of observations obtained in some other way. But, this should be added: the second set of observations, the "validating" data, must refer to the materials with which one is directly concerned. For example, it is commonly asserted that if we wish to validate a sociometric scale we may correlate the results obtained through its use with the results obtained through the use of another sociometric scale. Of course, this only begs the question, for we have still to ask—in what terms has the second scale been validated? Consequently, a reason (purpose, objective, problem) for the use of a scale must be clearly specified in order to determine the relevance and adequacy (i.e., validity) of the scale. The paradigmatic query is always in order: a scale of socio-economic status *for what*? To distinguish income-strata so that potential markets for certain types of commodities can be detected? To distinguish authority or power-groups in order to determine which kinds of

communally significant *decisions* are made by these strata-groups? To distinguish prestige strata to determine which will in given instances elicit deference from members of other strata? To distinguish "sociability" groups to determine in which strata members have actual or potential mutual accessibility on terms which are culturally defined as those of "social equality"? To discriminate between ethnic or age or sex groups so that we can predict characteristic behavior of members of each of these groups in specified types of situations? And so on. There are no grounds for assuming that a *single scale, compounded of various elements, will effectively satisfy these distinct purposes*. If it does, well and good. If not, its *particular function* must be ascertained and specified. And this requires a specification of objectives—"measurement of what for what" if tests of validity are to be applied.

These and kindred problems are immediately brought into sharp focus by a comparison of three measures of socio-economic status. A comparison presupposes some criterion, otherwise it can only resolve itself into a series of statements to the effect that "those things differ in the following respects"—which raises the question of "What of it?" That is what happens in this article.

The usual criteria of validity employed for such scales are their correlations with other so-called independent indices of status—such as income and occupation. But now we have three scales, all of which are correlated with other status indices. Then how shall we compare and evaluate them? Shall we say, the scale with the highest correlation with effective income is the best? But that would amount to saying that the scale is supposed to measure effective income. If that were the case it would have been devised with that aim in view and the correlation should be much higher—at least $+ .8$ or $+ .9$ —to be satisfactory. But the scale is not supposed to measure income. Both Sewell and Chapin have adopted Chapin's original definition: "Socio-economic status is the position that an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing aver-

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age standards of cultural possession, effective income, material possessions, and participation in the group activities of the community." Let us *assume* that these four factors have been adequately defined and measured by the original four parts of the Chapin scale, ignoring for a moment all the grave questions brought up by such an assumption. Even from that point on the problem of validity of the scale is serious. How much weight should each of the four factors have in the total score? If we have two scales which give different weights to the four factors, how shall we decide between them? This leads us to the fundamental question—why did we combine them to begin with? Presumably, because it was felt that a combined score, as compared with any component, would better enable us to predict certain things about the behavior of individuals making that score, or the behavior of others with reference to these individuals. To the knowledge of the writers, this has never been demonstrated. Of course, .5 and .6 correlations may be obtained between scale scores and innumerable other social phenomena. Level of occupation and education, possession of any of a vast list of articles, amount and type of reading and radio listening, delinquency and dependency, birth rates, intelligence, political opinions, all will vary with these scale scores, as they do with income. And these variables will not be very highly correlated with the Chapin scale just as they were not with income.

The validation of the Chapin scale has always been its weakest point. How is this problem met in the article under review?

The authors' premise is that "the perfecting of such instruments must proceed in the social as in the other sciences by extensive testing of tentative scales through comparison of the results shown by different types of instruments and through the correlation of such results with accepted criteria of validity." What is meant here by a *comparison of results* and by *accepted criteria of validity*? Apparently, as we shall show, "result" here means simply the scores obtained by the use of each scale.

The first criterion mentioned is that of common sense. Common sense has been variously used and conceived in sociology at one time or another, but rarely with less justification than here, as a basis for the criticism of the Guttman weights. Field-workers had the "feeling" that "the Guttman revision attached too much weight to the *subjective* items in the Chapin scale." And what does this imply? If by "subjective" is meant *unreliable* then the test is not common sense but the degree of correlation between scores on these items obtained by different observers. If by "subjective" is meant that the items are of questionable *validity*, that they are not truly diagnostic of status, then we are indeed on dangerous ground. Such criticisms could be levelled at any single item in the scale. *No item can be justified in itself*. Is an alarm clock an important element or index of status? Its objectivity alone—the fact that there is no disagreement among observers as to whether there is or is not an alarm clock in the living room, does not make it a valid item.

The Guttman weights were assigned entirely on the basis of the correlation between the item and a status factor which was carefully defined as the factor common to education, occupation, income and participation. If it can be shown that these weights are not valid according to the same assumptions, on another sample, then the weights can be criticized. Or if the assumptions are criticized and other standards for defining status are set up, then we also have a basis for judgment. But to criticize an index because certain field-workers "feel" that it has been assigned too much weight although it has been found to be related to that which it was assumed to be related, is arbitrary, to say the least.

The second basis for comparing and evaluating the scales is "statistical" in nature. And here Lundberg and Friedman make some extraordinary assumptions. It is assumed, first of all, that "*in a random sample socioeconomic status is normally distributed*." This strange assumption then becomes a basis for suggesting

"the presence of spurious factors" in the Guttman revision, inasmuch as this scale leads to a "*distortion (sic)* of the normality of the distribution." But what reason have we to believe that socioeconomic status is normally distributed? If "status" is like income or education or occupation or property-ownership or political position, it is not normally distributed, but skewed. If status is merely what the tests measure (and validation thereby becomes a needless luxury), then Sewell-status is normally distributed, and Guttman-Chapin-status is not. Nothing more can be said.

The higher coefficient of variation of the Guttman scores is, by implication, viewed as further evidence of the limitation of this revised scale. Quite apart from the question of the applicability of this measure at this point, a high variability might, if anything, be interpreted as a virtue of a scale designed to discriminate levels of socioeconomic status.

A third criterion of validity offered is the self-rating of respondents as either "very comfortable," "comfortable," or "not so comfortable." Apart from the evident ineptitude of such categories, noticed by the authors themselves, two considerations are in point. If the aim of the scale is to match the self-rating, we may say that the scale does not do it very well; the correlation is not very high. And even if it were, it is not clear what purpose would be served by having the blind lead the halt. For what significance has the respondent's self-rating in these crude terms for predicting the social behavior of the respondent or of others with reference to him? This self-rating "scale" is scarcely a test of validity.

Finally, there is a comparison of the "results" of the ten cases showing the greatest discrepancy in their decile positions on the three scales. The question is raised: Why is a given family considered high in status on one scale, and low on another? The answer is unambiguous and thoroughly revealing. Families who have certain items included (or more heavily weighted) in one scale but not the items of another scale will be high on the first and low on the second!

When we come to judge the significance of these differences we are again faced with the glaring lack of criteria. In one case the Sewell rating is endorsed by the authors because "there is no doubt that by the standards existing in this community this family belongs above the mode as the Sewell scale places it." What are these standards? If we know these standards, why use the scale? The reason often suggested for using a scale is that the local standards could otherwise be learned only by an elaborate study involving actual residence in the community, whereas the scale enables us to "rate" families without knowing anything about the community. But, to start with, we do *not* know the standards existing in this particular community;—that is, the "operations" by which the authors arrived at a knowledge of the standards are not disclosed. Moreover, in this reference to standards of the community are the first faint glimmerings of a possible basis for validation. *Whatever the components of socioeconomic status, different weights may be assigned to each of these components by the standards of different local communities.* For example, family-origins and race, ignored by all three scales, may be of varying relevance for determining the authority, power and prestige exercised in certain situations and for fixing the attitudes of others toward the family. Viewed in terms of validity, how can a "standardized scale" with *fixed weights* for items reflect such differences in local standards of social status?¹

Another issue can be pointed up by examining the detailed comparisons of deviant cases. In one case it is shown that a high score on the Chapin scale was due to the large number of periodicals, which received more weight in the Chapin scale than in the others. Well—is it or is it not a good idea to assign a high weight to periodicals? The authors suggest that this shows a ne-

¹ Guttman perceives this problem in observing: "The weights are relative to the configuration of relationships between the items considered and to the *standardizing population* as well as to the variate to be estimated." *Op. cit.*, 367-8.

glect of "the physical" (resulting in a low Sewell score) in favor of "the spiritual." Should we conclude that the Chapin scale is a measure of the spiritual aspects of life? The Sewell score on the other hand does give credit for attending church and Sunday school, whereas the Chapin score does not. No, it is unfortunately true that none of the scales can be described as a measure of anything except of that particular set of items which it includes. *This is not enough.* All we want to know is, that if Chapin-status is what the Chapin scale measures, then what is it good for except to score families on the Chapin scale? If its validity on the other hand depends on its correlation with income or participation, etc., then what is gained by using a scale instead of income or participation? If it represents a combination of income, education and "culture" and participation, we may ask: How much weight should be assigned to the composite factors of economic possessions, "cultural" possessions and social participation, and how shall each of these be measured? Is "culture" better indicated by education—used in the Sewell scale—or by periodicals—used in the Chapin scale? Which economic possessions should be most heavily weighted? Suppose one scale gives weight to windows with drapes, the size of the house, the possession of a refrigerator and another scale uses none of these items—how then shall we judge between them? Which is "better?" How shall we judge which is the right combination of material, cultural and associational items?

The absence of any criteria by which to judge the relative value of these scales shows the consequences of inadequate concern with the conceptual basis of the scales. We may agree with the authors that "in science a question is regarded as meaningless unless a set of operations can be specified and carried out which would yield a definitive answer." But the fact that the instrument itself is operationally defined is not enough. There is no disagreement on *methods of obtaining a score on the Chapin scale*. But such "partial operationalism" does not specify the behavior which is to

be "measured" by the instrument just as it fails to state the confirmed hypotheses and theories which are the basis of selecting certain "index-items" rather than others. The validity of thermometers and telescopes, we need hardly point out, *does* presuppose confirmed hypotheses and theories. Is it not suggestive that the operationalist authors confine their "accepted criteria of validity" to (1) the "feelings" of field-workers, (2) a trichotomous self-rating "scale" of comfort, and (3) an assumed normal distribution of socioeconomic status? Surely it is time to discontinue jibes at those who are concerned with what socioeconomic status "really is," until the makers, purveyors and disseminators of "status scales" squarely meet the problem of validation, i.e., the effective definition of "accepted criteria of validity." "To know what we are measuring" is to have an explicit statement or test of *the grounds* for anticipating specified relations between variables; in a word, "to know what we are measuring" is to avoid random observation. Lacking this requirement, as the Lundberg-Friedman paper clearly shows, partial operationalists take on a "trained incapacity," they become "fit in an unfit fitness."

REJOINDER TO THE MERTON-KNUPFER DISCUSSION

*By George A. Lundberg**

The basis of the above criticism, as is frequently true in such cases, is a complete misunderstanding of the purpose of the original paper. Whether the misunderstanding was due to the faulty exposition or to defective reading is a fruitless question. Let us simply try to clear up the difficulty.

The critics are clearly under the impression that our paper contends that a mere comparison of the scores of different scales enables us to pronounce upon the validity of one or all of the scales. We thought we

* The junior author was absent at the time this rejoinder was written, and is absolved from any responsibility for the present remarks as well as for the criticized aspects of the original paper.

had made the opposite point when we point out that it is quite futile to argue whether a given case is more properly rated by one scale or the other because this will depend entirely on *what criteria* of validation we adopt. The *advisability* or *wisdom* of adopting some criteria rather than others will be determined by the results each yields in relation to the theory, the hypothesis, or purpose of the research. It is true that in the literature on this subject it is commonly pointed out that when one scale has been thus validated, it is permissible to judge the validity of another scale from the correlation between them. That is the most that has ever been contended, to my knowledge, regarding the correlation of scale scores as a test of validity.

The critics' mistaken impression as to what our paper was about apparently arises from a misunderstanding of the second sentence of our first paragraph, which they quote. That sentence is a correct statement. We have no desire to modify it, nor can the critics deny it. Validation *does* depend on correlation of score results "with *accepted* criteria of validation." We regret not foreseeing that from this statement (or from anything else in our paper, for that matter) some readers would jump to the conclusion that we regard a mere comparison of scale scores as "accepted criteria of validation." We still regard that as a remarkable jump. But that is immaterial—our main purpose here is to clear up doubts as to what we do or do not hold on all the points raised by the critics.

Although we have not considered, except perhaps most incidentally and indirectly, the problem of validity in the present paper, I have treated this and related subjects elsewhere, and I have no objection to the critics' taking this occasion to discuss any aspect of the matter that seemed relevant to them. The bulk of their discussion, unfortunately, is directed at a position which I have taken neither in the present paper nor elsewhere. If the reader wishes to satisfy himself of that fact, I recommend that he read pages 300-306 of the second edition

of my *Social Research* (see also pages 201-202, 242-245), which also summarize my previous statements on the subject. In fact, I should be quite content to let these pages stand without modification or addition as my rejoinder to the Merton-Knupfer discussion. The critics will find in the pages mentioned that I completely agree with most if not all of the principles they invoke. A few specific references to the criticism, however, will be illuminating.

The critics devote a long and eloquent first paragraph to the doctrine that a scale must have a specified purpose—"measurement of *what for what*." It seems superfluous to call attention to all the places where I have vigorously emphasized the importance of clearly defined theory, hypotheses, problems, purposes, etc., in all scientific activities whatsoever and in the construction of scales in particular. If my views on this subject are not sufficiently well known by this time, certainly a few additional sentences or references here will not accomplish much. It will be more relevant in connection with the present paper to invite the critics to study the detailed account of the construction of the Sewell scale, for example (to which we refer on the first page of our paper, since we did not intend to deal with the subject), and then say whether Sewell had a purpose in mind or merely engaged in "random observation," and otherwise failed to "squarely meet the problems of validation." I would also ask what *types* of "concern with the conceptual basis of the scales" the critics have in mind *other than* those considered in the literature on the subject, and by Sewell in his successive and still continuing refinements of his scale. (See especially Sewell's account in *Sociometry* 5: 279-297, 1942.) Experimental testing under varied conditions are *among* the techniques contributing both to estimates of validity (by *whatever* criteria are adopted) and to the clarification of the conceptual basis of a scale. Theory and measurement instruments advance *pari passu*, as can best be observed in the advanced sciences.

This is not to say that all questions of validity are settled in the minds of scale makers—far from it. But it is surely absurd to say that Sewell or Chapin, for example, did not recognize the problem essentially in the terms stated by the critics. If the critics will study how Sewell actually went about the construction of his scale, I think they will find answers to most of the questions they raise. Among them will be discovered very definite “grounds for anticipating specified relations between variables,” as well as an answer to the question of whether and in what sense the author of the scale did in fact “know what he was measuring,” as the characteristically vague phrase has it. In fact, a simple inquiry into just what this fine phrase means in behavioristic terms will promptly render unnecessary further argument about it.

Space forbids further consideration of details of the critics’ discussion. In the general reference which I have mentioned they will find ample and very vigorous indications as to whether I regard common sense or self-rating as a sufficient criterion of validity, which is specifically disclaimed also in the present paper; whether it is true that “none of these scales measure anything except that particular set of items which it includes” (see especially pages 303-304 and footnote 44 of *Social Research*); and many other points raised in the discussion. In fact, they will find that their principal arguments have been advanced and accepted by scale constructors and advocates for at least ten years.

It is doubtful if this would have dissuaded our critics, however, because their enthusiasm for their task is such that they actually find in our paper statements which are not there. For example, we are quoted as having said that “in a random sample socioeconomic status is normally distributed.” We have made no such statement. What we said was, “*Assuming that in a random sample socioeconomic status is normally distributed,*” then one scale conforms better than another. That is a factual

statement from the data, which cannot be denied. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to make any statement about the distribution of socioeconomic status until some particular definition of the term is simply *agreed on*. If it is agreed to use the expression “socioeconomic status” to designate the phenomena specified by a given scale, then it may be said that socioeconomic status “is” distributed normally or not according to what the scores show. This is the type of statement we made, and to convert the conditional clause into an alleged statement of fact, apparently irrespective of any definition or measure—now really, what purpose is served by this type of discussion? I don’t think such misquotations are deliberate—they are rather like the case of the hunter who is so imbued with the spirit of the hunt that he sees animals where there aren’t any, or at least where there are only vague configurations of the foliage. Surely there are enough things to disagree about on this subject without inventing straw men for the purpose.

If after the perusal of the relevant literature the critics wish to return to the subject, a detailed point by point rejoinder will be in order. Their present position really amounts to an assumption that because the points they raise are not covered in this brief paper devoted to quite other matters, therefore the scale makers have overlooked these problems. Our footnote references to the literature were calculated to obviate this type of attack and we can only call attention to the citations again.

We deplore, with the critics, the unsatisfactory state of social measurement. We doubt that it will be improved by the type of criticism offered in their discussion. If the critics will suggest approaches to the problems they have raised other than those used by the people who have pioneered in the construction of the instruments in question, we shall be most interested. In the meantime we have studied and shall continue to study with sympathetic interest the efforts of those who have made the attempts

under discussion, and in our paper merely intended to make available to others the results of some applications of various instruments, with analysis of some of the differences found. We have found the data of

interest, as apparently have the editors, and we have found the results useful for the purposes of the larger community study of which the data are a part, as noted in our original paper.

Systems of Land Tenure In Sao Paulo*

By Carlos B. Schmidt†

ABSTRACT

During the recent boom in cotton production in São Paulo the renting of lands has increased greatly. Of 64,517 cotton farmers in 1937-38, 31.3 per cent were renters. In 1939-40 only 57.8 per cent of 111,541 cotton farmers were owner operators, although the inclusion of some share croppers in the totals makes it impossible to determine the percentage of renters. Rented lands are quickly exhausted, especially those leased to Japanese.

In addition to renting, a system of sharing, *parceira*, is widely used in the production of crops that are planted annually. Throughout the parts of the state that are most advanced agriculturally, the land-owner prepares the land, and furnishes the seed, while the *parceiro* does the planting, the cultivating, and the harvesting. The two parties may share equally, or in some cases where the soil is most easily prepared and requires no fertilization, the owner may get only one-third. In the long settled, mountainous areas of the Paraíba Basin landowners permit *parceiros* to cut and burn small clearings (*roças*) and plant in return for one-fifth or one-fourth of the product.

RESUMEN

Durante o recente período de produção intensificada do algodão em São Paulo, tem aumentado de uma maneira marcada o arrendamento dos terrenos. Entre 64,517 cultivadores de algodão em 1937-38, o 31.3 por cento eram arrendatários. Em 1939-40, somente o 57.8 entre 111,541 cultivadores de algodão eram proprietários, ainda que seja impossível determinar o percentagem dos arrendatários devido à inclusão de alguns parceiros neste número. Desgastam-se rapidamente os terrenos arrendados, sobre tudo os arrendamentos dos japoneses.

Além dos arrendamentos, tem um sistema de participação que chama-se "parceira." Este sistema é amplamente usado quanto aos produtos semeados anualmente. Nas regiões mais avançadas do estado, o proprietário prepara os terrenos, e o parceiro encarrega-se de semear, cultivar e segar. Podem participar os dois no proveito em forma igual, ou em alguns casos onde é mais fácil a preparação do solo sem precisar de fertilizante, o proprietários recebe somente o terço. Nas regiões montanhosas da Bacia do Paraíba, povoadas já ha muitas anos, os permitem aos parceiros cortar e queimar as roças pequenas e fazer as suas próprias planlações a troca de uma quinta ou uma quarta parte do produto.

When cotton culture in São Paulo passed from being a highly risky un-

dertaking, due to the difficulty in the control of the pests, the lack of a staple that was in demand, the instability of prices, and the obstacles to exportation, the attention of nearly

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every one returned to the production of cotton. Then the growing of cotton developed rapidly, and with it, agricultural enterprises conducted on rented lands.

Various motives contributed to this increase. The high prices which lands had attained, putting them beyond the reach of those who desired to increase the size of their farms or to establish themselves as agriculturists, and the spirit of adventure which seized many residents of the cities and the certainty of large profits carrying them to attempt a quick fortune in agriculture, were essential factors. Lands already impoverished, where the coffee tree withered in deficient culture, lands devoted to the growth of slightly profitable cereals, and pastures where cattle raising was practiced under the least attractive conditions were transformed, with all the lack of foresight characteristic of the Paulistas, into vast cotton fields. The soils found on such lands were, in general, those which a reasonable fertilization would restore to their former vigor. The zones nearest the capital were enabled, in this manner, to re-live epochs of prosperity, aided by the good transportation facilities that were accessible. Small proprietors, lacking resources to acquire new farms, were enabled to increase their farming activities; and others, who were not proprietors and who previously worked for wages, had their opportunity, it being unnecessary to say that a large number of them understood how to take advantage of it.

What are the advantages and disadvantages that the phenomena pre-

sented? The rural family is better off cultivating good lands, even though they be rented than on a *sítio* (small farm) of its own where the lands are of inferior quality; industrious agriculturists who lacked capital, were enabled to work with better prospects; and it can also be admitted that there was a stream of migration flowing from the city to the country. Thus cotton growing developed rapidly and in a few years the number of farmers engaged in its production reached 64,517. This was in the crop year 1937-38. Of these, 31.3 per cent were renting the lands which they were using. It is interesting to note that this same percentage is found in Spanish agriculture, in a region that includes 27 provinces of Spain.

On the other hand, the renting of land does not promote the genuine and profitable establishment of man on the soil. The interest of the renter is to draw from the land the maximum product, in the least possible period, and with the smallest expense to himself. This has always been the rule; at the end of the contracted period, the renter returns the land in the condition to which it is reduced after the growing of cotton, whatever this state of affairs may be. No care or precaution is taken to prevent or reduce to a minimum the waste and impoverishment of the soil. The lands which have been rented to the Japanese are a good example of how much the soil can be damaged by being farmed on the basis of an absolutely unilateral interest. Already the conviction is deep rooted that the land which the Japanese has culti-

vated, as a renter, will produce nothing more, *nem mesmo capim* ("not even grass")—say our rural people.

The renter draws out all he can, without returning anything or almost nothing. With few exceptions, rational cultural practices are not followed. If the land is not already cleared, still containing for example the trunks of trees, the renter himself is prevented from utilizing it in the most economical manner. To cultivate such land with machinery would necessitate pulling out the stumps. The contracts generally are too short to permit the undertaking of such tasks, and of others such as erosion control activities. Thus the lands proceed to be wasted and the farms enter into decay, losing in the course of the years their productive capacity and their value. Coffee farming offers certain examples of this. Fields which are worked on a share basis, the worker and the owner dividing equally the harvest, soon enter into a period of decay, because the *parceiros* (a kind of sharecropper) do not give them adequate care. This situation is still further aggravated when the coffee fields are only slightly productive, because then the half-hands (*meeiros*) plant other crops between the rows and the land is even more quickly exhausted.

In São Paulo the systems of land tenure may be divided into three: owner-operation, renting, and sharing. Omitting the first, in which the land is operated by the owner himself, and considering the last two it may be said with us in São Paulo

until a few years ago the latter, sharing (*parceira*) was the most used.

The recent boom in cotton farming, an agricultural enterprise which becomes highly remunerative and profitable when conditions are favorable, has resulted in a diffusion of the system of renting. Under a renting arrangement the land is given by the proprietor in return for the payment in cash of an amount which generally varies from 100\$000 to 300\$000,* and sometimes even 500\$000, per *alquiere* (2.24 hectares). There are also cases in which the payment is made in kind, that is, the renter agrees to deliver a certain number of pounds of un-ginned cotton, which may more or less equal the sums given above.

Both the cash price and the payment in kind vary in accord with various factors: quality and capacity of the soil, distance from gins, transportation facilities, et cetera.

On the basis of the type of payment given for the use of the land the system of renting may be divided into a fixed and a semi-variable category. The fixed consists of payment in cash. In this case the proprietor of the land receives a certain rent without running any risks. The advantage is all his. In the second case, the owner of the rented land is subject to the variations in price and the renter runs smaller risks from a possible decline in the value of the products. If this system does not divide the risks equally, at least it reduces the

* \$5 to \$15.

disadvantages for the one who utilizes his labor in agricultural exploits.

In the agricultural years 1937-38 and 1938-39, respectively, 64,517 and 63,101 farmers cultivated cotton. Of these totals 20,213 and 19,771 were renters of land, which equals exactly 31.33 per cent in the two years under consideration. In the following year, 1939-40, the number of farmers engaged in cotton growing rose to 111,541. The percentage of owner-operators, which had been 64.83 per cent and 64.84 per cent in the two years, fell to 57.68 per cent. It is not possible to obtain the exact number of renters for this year because their number is combined with that of the share croppers (*parceiros*). Since in the preceding years the ratio maintained between renters and sharers was 8.18 to one, we may consider the percentage of renters as 36.15. This would represent a significant increase over the preceding years and a tendency for this phenomena to become more widespread.

Parceira (sharing) is a system of agricultural enterprise in which the payment for the land is made through a division of the harvest in an agreed proportion. Relative to its frequency, this is the type of tenure most prevalent among those who are not owners. If this is not the case in cotton culture, where, as we have seen, the system of renting is eight times more frequent, it may be stated, without fear of error, that in all the other enterprises, including coffee growing, *parceira* (sharing) is the predominant system. The proportions in which the productions are shared vary

according to numerous factors, but *parceira* is undertaken under two principal forms: that in which the owner gives some assistance and that in which he gives no aid whatsoever. Within each of these two basic forms there may be various alternatives.

The first of these, that in which the owner renders some assistance, is to be found principally in those zones in which agriculture is in the most advanced state. This is generally in zones where the topography is favorable, in the section that adjoins the pioneer zone. This is the area to which agriculture, or better coffee farming, penetrated in the second half of last century. Since the assistance rendered by the owner includes plowing, cultivating, mechanical planting and fertilization, this type of *parceira* is not observed in the zones where the hillsides are steep, where mechanical work is very difficult; it is seen very little in areas of new lands, where the soil, whose original forests were recently felled, still gives large return without fertilization.

Ordinarily, the agreement is made according to the following conditions: the proprietor delivers to the worker the soil which has been plowed and harrowed and he also furnishes the seed. The *parceiro* is responsible for the planting, the cultivation, and the harvest. The division of the product is always made in the field itself, one-half going to each party, each of whom is responsible for the transportation of his own part to the storehouse or granary. If some pests attack the crop during the growing sea-

son, the proprietor furnishes the necessary insecticides and the *parceiro* is responsible for applying them. The same takes place when there are ants to be extinguished before beginning the operations. When it is necessary to use fertilizer the proprietor is responsible for making the purchase, generally on time, and he pays half of its cost.

In the zones which have been in cultivation for several years where the soil, because of its rich composition, is still reasonably productive, the *parceira* is made on thirds, the proprietor receiving one-third of the gross production of the land. These two forms are frequent in the central zone of the state (an area without a precise geographic limitation), that to which we referred as being the one in which agricultural techniques are the most advanced.

Parceiras in which the payment for the utilization of the land is as low as 25 and even 20 per cent of the products harvested still are very common in the São Paulo part of the Paraíba valley. This is a part of the state where agriculture was first introduced. Although farming was begun there more than two centuries ago, the land still produces because of its optimum physical and chemical constitution. The entire region is extremely broken. Nowhere in the area except in the great bottoms along the Paraíba River, where the culture of rice is carried on by modern processes (including a system of mechanical transportation), is it practically impossible as a general rule to use a plow and other agricultural

instruments. However, a hardworking rural population lives in the valley. It is an old territory where the land is in many places greatly subdivided and many of its inhabitants, although they may be proprietors of their own small farms, are obliged to look for economically usable lands on the larger properties.

Thus on the large properties, and on the medium-sized ones as well, there usually are found various *parceiros*, erroneously called "renters." If some of them, working on the lands which they take on *parceira*, live on their own farms, the majority reside on the property where they plant their small *roças* (tracts prepared for planting by being burned over). Many even go so far as to construct their own dwelling houses on the other person's property. Some remain for years on the same property, others, perhaps even the larger part of all, constantly change from place to place, always with the goal of procuring more fertile lands, carried on by the desire of larger returns.

In a general way we may summarize the question of renting and sharing in the state of São Paulo as follows: (1) the most common form of agricultural exploitation, excluding that of owner-operator, is the *parceira*, varying however according to the conditions in which it is carried on, with or without the aid of the proprietor, and by the division of the harvest in larger or smaller percentages; (2) agricultural exploitation through renting increased greatly with the development of cot-

ton farming which took place during the last ten years. The variations which appear are in the form of the payment, which may be in money or in a determinate quantity of the product previously agreed upon. In the absence of superior numerical data these are the prevailing conditions verified by long observation on the ground.

Rural Panama: Its Needs and Prospects

By Ofelia Hooper†

ABSTRACT

Panama, awakening to the needs of its rural people, was turning to them when war brought a lack of imported food that forced the Republic to focus on its rural areas and assay their agricultural possibilities. Thus Panama has both a long-time and a short-time program for rural improvement. It is sending out a few trained agricultural and home economics workers to show the rural people how to do more intensive farming and raise more crops, to extend their diets and to sell to the two Panamanian cities.

But these workers find a rural people living in very primitive fashion. They hew out a new plot from the forest each year for a few crops and then abandon it, although the homesite with hut and few fruit and coffee trees is permanent. Malaria and uncinariasis have been rampant, but are coming under control. Malnutrition is prevalent. The people are not generally conscious of their needs, but the responses to a little experimental improvement work have indicated the possibilities. Their average cash income is now \$13 a year, most of which is claimed as fees of various kinds. The traditional junta festival offers a promising point of contact for extension work.

RESUMEN

Panamá despertaba a las necesidades de su población rural y se volvía hacia ellas, cuando la guerra trajo la falta de alimentos importados que ha obligado a la República a prestarles atención a sus áreas rurales y a ensayar sus posibilidades agrícolas. Por esta razón Panamá tiene dos programas de mejoras rurales. Uno de estos programas es a plazo largo y el otro es a plazo breve. Panamá está enviando al campo a unos cuantos expertos en agricultura y en economía doméstica a enseñarles a los campesinos a hacer un trabajo agrícola más intenso, a producir más cosechas, a extender su dieta y a vender sus productos en las dos ciudades panameñas.

Pero estos trabajadores hallan una población campesina que vive de una manera primitiva. Esta población le arranca, cada año, un nuevo pedazo de tierra a la floresta, produce en ella unas cuantas cosechas y lo abandona luego, aunque el "sitio" donde cada campesino tiene su bohío y unos cuantos árboles frutales y cafetos es permanente. La malaria y la uncinariasis han predominado, pero comienzan a ser vencidas. Prevalece la mala nutrición. Los campesinos, generalmente, no tienen consciencia de sus necesidades, pero la manera como responden a los pocos ensayos de mejoras rurales que se han hecho, indica sus posibilidades. El promedio de sus entradas es, ahora, de \$13 anuales. La mayor parte de estas entradas la reclaman tarifas de varias clases. La "junta" tradicional ofrece un prometedor punto de contacto para trabajo de extensión.

† Editor's note: Senorita Hooper was participating in the Latin American Trainee Program of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics when the following article was written. Financed by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the

Trainee Program has brought students from most of the Latin American countries to study the work of the BAE and other Department of Agriculture agencies. The article which follows is from the very able pen of Caroline B. Sherman who has here synthesized several monographs prepared by Señorita Hooper.

Panama, already awakening to the needs of its rural people, was turning attention to them when acute war conditions forced the Republic to focus sharply on its rural areas and assay their agricultural possibilities. Thus Panama now has two programs—a long-time plan for permanent improvement and an immediate one which must be paced as rapidly as many retarding influences will allow.

The long-time program was concerned with social as well as economic phases. It aimed, perhaps primarily, to improve the living conditions of the rural people—the bare-foot people who are so different in circumstances from those who live in the two cities of the Republic, Panama and Colon. To improve their way of life inevitably meant improvement in agriculture, for subsistence among them was very meager.

Rural people make up 67 percent of the half-million total population. The Republic came to realize that national welfare required that this large proportion of the population eventually become a sound part of the economic and social structure of the country. True national progress depended upon it. This would mean a change from primitive methods and living to a somewhat commercialized kind of farming with a coincident evolution of a more adequate level of living. The Republic had realized that this evolution, even though consciously and systematically aided, would be slow.

War Demanded Changes

But when war came the ships that had formerly brought to the busy cos-

mopolitan ports of the Isthmus the products of the world disappeared from the seas. Suddenly these two modern cities, that not only have their own people to feed but have been depended upon somewhat to sell to the Canal Zone, faced serious shortages of food with practically no local supplies from which to draw.

At once a short-time phase of the rural program had to be forged and effort made to put it through. Panama's rural areas must help to feed its cities and benefit themselves while doing it.

For themselves the rural people had been cultivating in primitive fashion about 32 percent of the 33,000 square miles of the total acreage of Panama. Only occasionally did they sell anything but a few animals. Their cattle were sold disadvantageously at the end of the dry season and at very low prices. The buyer fattened for market and made the good sales.

The Department of Agriculture of Panama now aims to awaken these people to the new opportunities and to show how to take advantage of them at the same time it is developing the active interest and cooperation of the commercial and industrial people of the republic and of the other government agencies in assisting the rural people to make the needed changes.

To do this the Department plans to organize simple but effective machinery through which these groups can cooperate in improving the agriculture and the living levels of the rural people, in strengthening the

basis of life in the cities, in developing the national productive resources, and in welding the Nation into a unified whole.

Retarding Influences

Retarding influences are plentiful. The wages of the rural people have not changed very much through the generations. Their traditional attitude toward land is not only illustrative but is one of the real barriers to progress. They have believed for centuries, in spite of instruction and laws, that the land belongs to the people collectively and not to individuals—they may have the use of it but they must not own it exclusively. Therefore, although the Government for nearly 15 years has been willing to give the rural families land in tracts of 15 to 20 acres the farmers avoid ownership and insist on renting from the Government or they use public land without paying rent. The title to only 26 percent of the total land area is legally registered; of this, 67 percent is owned by 50 landlords and about 12,000 farmers own the remaining 33 percent.

They have no real knowledge of what is wanted in the outside world, no real markets. They have no urgent general wish to make changes or to live very differently.

Crops can be raised in only half of the country and during only half of the year. Where there is plenty of water on the Atlantic side the jungle growth prohibits farming. On the Pacific side of the great mountain backbone there is a 6-month dry season and no irrigation. Even so, Pana-

ma is using only about one-third of its agricultural capacity so there is a chance for much expansion in production.

The average yearly cash income of rural families was \$13 in 1940. From this the Government was to be paid for rent of land (about \$1), a tax was to be paid for slaughtering animals (\$4 for a cow, \$1 for a pig), the church was to be paid for religious ceremonies (\$1.50 for a christening, \$8 for a burial service, \$20 for a religious marriage ceremony), a little was to go for clothes and tools and sometimes a little to the doctor. When the families do not have enough to pay for services they do without. The marriage ceremony may be delayed until the children can help pay for it.

At the Crucial Point

One step up the economic ladder if taken by laborers, tenants, and owners of the land, should give economic and social advantages to the whole rural population. One step down this ladder would push 67 percent of the population to the condition of laborers in a colonial economic system. The rural people can no longer remain where they are on the economic ladder. The world situation will push them either up or down, family by family. The process, whichever it may be, will take years to accomplish but is more or less inevitable. The vital question today is, which direction will the movement take?

The national Department of Agriculture intends to decide this direction if that is possible. In facing the task of organizing the productive

agricultural resources of Panama, the Department does not have the assistance of any specialized agencies. The few technically skilled men who are working for the Department must face by themselves the present serious situation and wrestle with it. Research and planning are in the hands of these few men, yet the future economic and social welfare of the rural areas will be determined during the next decade. A few men and women are doing work with the rural people that approximates the agricultural extension work done in the United States. Both branches of work are to be strengthened and expanded.

The Rural Social Setting

To sketch realistically the setting in which these extension efforts will be made let us draw on some of the writer's own experience. When teaching in the rural areas, I would visit the scattered families, who live in bamboo or clay huts with thatched roofs—or perhaps there are no real walls. Vines and fibers may take the place of nails. Bare earth makes the floor and the open cooking fire is in the center. Utensils and furniture are primitive. Skins, mats or blankets are used on the bamboo beds.

Around the house is a small home plot which is usually planted to a few fruit and coffee trees which remain as a dependence. Each year the family hews a patch out of the surrounding forest for rice, corn, root vegetables, sugarcane, peanuts, or tobacco, according to the quality of the soil. The next year this plot is abandoned and a new plot is cut from the forests.

So far, the people have not learned anything about intensive and permanent use of cultivated land for crops. Seed is planted with the aid of sharp sticks sometimes tipped with steel. The weeds are cut down once or twice a year.

Malaria has been rampant and until recently, in the rural areas, there has been little control of health or disease. Undernourishment and diseases of the digestive tract, especially uncinariasis, are prevalent.

One day after seeing a family of undernourished and malarial children and a few lean dogs and pigs hover anxiously around the mother while she cooked a small dish of cassava in a dirty damp house, I came across the same children in school shivering with malaria while the teacher discoursed on the Italian Renaissance. That brought the resolve that hereafter my teaching would be intensely practical, that it would be aimed, as well as might be, to improvement of the daily living, and that I would use my spare time in home visiting. This kind of teaching included getting a few chickens raised, asking the Department of Agriculture and the Canal Zone Experimental Garden for seeds and giving them to the people, and using much advice from both places. Through them I introduced a better yielding variety of sugarcane, and introduced sweet potatoes and corn that were immune to prevalent disease. The families were induced to plant some vegetables that were new to them to extend their diets. At first they planted only to please me but in

time they learned to eat the vegetables. From some mahogany seed, a few now have mahogany trees. Little orange sprouts the children and I planted along the school house street are now real orange trees.

Everything was on a small scale and we had many failures—through refusals to try, through inadequate materials and care, through lack of funds, time, and training. But I did help the children to get better food instead of merely telling them or their parents to have better food. Moreover the improvements we managed, small and inadequate as they were, showed the possibilities under trained guidance.

My efforts toward sanitation met frequent obstacles that would not now be so hindering. As long as the other teachers, the children, and I confined ourselves to emptying and burying tin cans and bottles that had been collecting stagnant water, opening up a little natural hillside drainage, and pouring oil on other places, all was well. But as soon as appeal was made for help higher up locally that would be better trained, I had more than reminders that teachers were not supposed to be interested in drainage and health. This was not true of all those I asked—the National Government encouraged this work—and such responses would probably not be received under similar circumstances today. But just one incident will illustrate the need for a sympathetic intermediary in such work even between government and people. I found that the rural citizens believed that the quinine the Govern-

ment was selling in the schools at cost was poisonous. A supply of 17,000 pills was thus practically useless. I renamed them "Government medicine" and the pills were soon sold and were actually taken in proper doses.

As the rural local officers did not want this kind of teacher and I felt I must do the work I went to Panama City and there I found cooperation in such efforts. The Health Department agreed to teach the parents of my pupils the simple facts about tropical diseases, and a private physician kindly gave twice-a-month illustrated explanations about causes and prevention of ill health. As a result of house-to-house and face-to-face invitations hundreds of people came to these meetings.

Hopeful Aspects

In addition to these indications that progress can be made, promising centers for work are to be found in the traditional junta, a primitive form of long-practiced cooperation. For years untold, when a family has wished to achieve any particularly heavy or time-consuming task it has invited all the neighbors to come and help and together they have made good times out of these affairs. A house may be put together, a patch of forest cleaned, or poisonous snakes exterminated. The best workers and the prettiest girls are the first invited but all are welcome. Here boys learn from men, girls from women, young and old enjoy themselves together, news is exchanged, work is completed. Food and drinks circulate freely. It is a time of economic and

social gain. Here are the foci for modern cooperative endeavor, needing only to be remodeled and redirected with a knowing and wary hand.

Beginning the Work

Through the new agricultural policy of the Government a few home economics workers are already penetrating to some of the isolated settlements and some of the still more isolated rural houses, showing families how to improve their homes and diet. Of course, they find they can reach the mothers best by working with the daughters. Planting will be improved and canning and storage will be taught. Soon the young people will be given chances to join rural organizations somewhat like the 4-H clubs.

Rural sociologists are now studying the special characteristics of the rural people, their customs and institutions, and they are trying to interpret these things to the Nation, as an approach to the task of welding the parts of the population together into an effective whole.

Thus it is seen why the training that the writer is now having in the United States, in agricultural economics and sociology, has a chance of being put to fruitful use when I return to my own country. My studies have been only partially theoretical. Most of my time and study have been given to home life and to the actual services being offered to and used by rural families in the South. My studies have included the plans, methods, and services (either in Washington, at the State level, or in the field) of the Bureau of Agricul-

tural Economics, the Extension Service, Farm Security Administration, Soil Conservation Service, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I have seen the work from the centers out and I have stayed in rural homes and seen the services come in, and I have watched or taken part in their operation. Besides close observation in the homes, this part has included an observing attendance at discussion meetings; at 4-H, home demonstration, and agricultural meetings; at regular vocational classes in vocational schools; at church services and church organization meetings; and in several kinds of war-activity units.

Throughout, I study and ponder as to how much of the general philosophies back of these activities will fit the conditions in Panama, how well these methods would work or how much they would have to be modified, and how much alike or different the near and far objectives should be. Eventually I had chances to conduct some of these meetings in the United States which I particularly wanted to do, so I might gain confidence in my ability to introduce and carry through such methods.

Experienced rural sociologists in the United States will find the beginnings I propose to make, when I go back, very simple indeed. First, I want to encourage the farm families to see what their needs are, in production, cash, and home and farm improvements; then to help them fix goals to work toward and to help them to see what the obstacles will be and how to attack them; to help them

to see where they are going now and where they should want to go. Helping them actually to make the changes and the progress will be largely in the hands of others in the Department of Agriculture who are differently trained. But I should be able to prepare the rural families to take advantage of the work of the home demonstration and agricultural agents, and to awaken some enthusiasm in the youth toward all these

things. Perhaps I can help to find and to encourage potential local leaders.

After seeing what the United States and some of the individual States and many localities and organizations are accomplishing I can return to my people with strengthened confidence that I do understand what they need in their rural lives, what the difficulties and prospects are, and how to go about to achieve their progress.

The Kolkhozes In the Economy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

By Dr. Germina Rabinowitch†

ABSTRACT

In a planned economy geared towards industrialization of the country, the agricultural production could not be left outside the planning. The *kolkhoze* system which combines the advantages of large scale production with intensive small farming gave the State the possibility for enforcing increased production with the help of mechanization and improved methods of cultivation, thus ensuring the supply of food and of some of the raw materials. The interior structure is comparable to a cooperative society. A system of remuneration in proportion to quantity and quality of work performed was developed. The income of a *kolkhoze*, the division of this income among the members and the importance of the *kolkhoze* system for the war economy of the Soviet Union are discussed.

RESUMEN

En un plan económico encaminado hacia la industrialización del país, no podría dejar de incluirse la producción agrícola. El sistema de *kolkhozes*, que combina las ventajas de la producción en gran escala con el cultivo intensivo en pequeño, dá al estado la posibilidad de exigir mayor producción con la ayuda de equipo mecanizado y de métodos de cultivo más eficientes, asegurando así el abastecimiento de comestibles y de materia prima. La estructura interna de un *kolkhoze* es comparable a una sociedad cooperativa. Se ha desarrollado un sistema de remuneración en proporción a la cantidad y a la calidad del trabajo que se lleva a cabo. El artículo trata de los ingresos de un *kolkhoze*, de la distribución de estos ingresos entre los miembros y de la importancia del sistema de *kolkhozes* para la economía de guerra de la Unión Soviética.

"Peace and Land" was the most successful slogan during the year 1917. The question of land distribution always formed an important sub-

ject of political discussions in Russia and a substantial part of party programmes. It is probably one of the greatest shortcomings of the February Revolution that the intensity of land hunger was not taken sufficiently

† International Labour Office, Montreal, Canada.

into consideration, a tragic mistake repeated by the Spanish Republican Government some 17 years later. There was no time for an orderly land reform, the peasant would not wait for it. Whatever happened immediately after the October Revolution was by no means a land reform; it was just seizure of land by the land hungry peasants from the large landowners, church and State, and distribution among them: "Black Partition" (Tcherny peredel). In the years following the October Revolution the land was more and more subdivided. That did not prevent the increase of the number of landless peasants; and agricultural production, though certainly increasing in the years 1925-1927, began to decline again after 1928.

To the authors of the first five year plan, which had to cover the years 1928-1932, it seemed obvious that the situation in agriculture had to change. Something had to be done which would permit bringing the whole of agricultural production into the scope of the planned economy geared towards general development and industrialization of the country at the greatest speed. The first five year plan was rather for a slow process of collectivization. But, "in a speech made on 27 February 1929 at a conference of Marxist Agrarian Economists, Stalin gave the word for wholesale collectivization at a greater speed."¹

¹ "The Collectivization of Agriculture in the U.S.S.R." *International Labor Review*, XXVI (September, 1932), p. 388.

Looking back to the years 1929-31, especially in the light of experience of the last years, the reasons for collectivization appear clearly. A certain number of economic, social and political problems could not be solved or even approached without collectivization. Another question is, of course: if by a different procedure, could the tremendous number of victims have been avoided, or at least decreased? The main reasons for the necessity of collectivization were:

1. As long as the farming was done by individual households, using the same old methods of production, delivering their products only in exchange for manufactured goods, the plan of a general industrialization of the country had to fail. The economic units had to become larger and some system had to be imagined by which the State could enforce its decision and make the plan a reality.²

2. The agricultural production had to be increased not only to provide the growing cities and new industrial centers with food, but also to obtain an excess production which could be exported in exchange for industrial equipment from abroad. Only through collectivization could the necessary technical improvements have been imposed and large scale agricultural production of some of the basic products been achieved.

3. The growing industry needed

² In a speech delivered in 1928 Stalin said: "You can not base the Soviet State and the building of socialism during a too long period on two different principles; the largest unified socialized industry on one hand and the most backward unorganized rural small-trading economy on the other hand."

also an increased amount of technical plants (cotton, oil and rubber yielding plants, sugar beets, etc.).

4. The industrialization during the first and even second five-year plans did not provide enough consumer goods which could be offered in exchange to the farmer: a system of delivery to the State had to be imagined.

5. Last but not least the social and political conditions had to be considered. There can be no doubt that the *kulak*, who can be compared to an owner of a middle sized farm, had offered during the first years after the revolution some opposition to the Government and passive resistance against some of the economic measures. This resistance had to be broken and on the other hand the conditions of the "poor farmers" had to be improved and their sympathy definitely gained.

There is no doubt that the events of the years 1929-1930, years of rapid collectivization, can be considered as revolutionary. At a very high price a land reform was achieved this time. Even though the principle of mass collectivization was considered during the drafting of the first five-year plan in 1928, all the details of collectivization, its repercussions, necessary adjustments and so on, could not be foreseen, and the years 1930-1935 are characterized by a large number of decrees of all kinds dealing with problems arising through collectivization. These had to be solved one by one, and for the first time in human history. The extent of the rural revolution and the changes

in the economic and social structure of Soviet Russian agriculture appeared clearly only towards the end of the second five-year plan (1933-1938).

If the system of collective farming would only concern Russia, it would be worth while studying; but its importance extends beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. Half of the world population lives on the land; problems of land ownership and distribution are as old as the human race; and it would certainly be interesting to know whether and how the Soviet Union contributed to the solution of these very important problems.

In the following pages we shall try to outline the most important measures dealing with collectivization.

Process of Collectivization

Various forms of collective land-ownership for the cultivation of land in common have developed since the 1911 revolution. Three main forms of cultivation in common were known: associations for joint cultivation, in which all goods remain the individual property of the members, and only the most complicated machinery and part of the livestock are collectivized, a form which is the closest to an agricultural cooperative society; the agricultural *artel* or *kolkhoze*, in which members have private dwellings with gardens, but all the land is cultivated in common, the cattle also belongs to the *artel*; finally, agricultural communities in which all the property is pooled and all products distributed equally. It is the second form, the agricultural *artel*, which became the

form on which the collectivization was based. Besides the *artel* the only other important form of land cultivation consists of the *sovkhoe*, large land estates in the hands of the government, which is worked by salaried workers. The *sovkhoe*s have their part to play in agricultural large scale production and especially in the field of experimental farming. However, as they do not offer any special interest from the social point of view, no further consideration will be given to them.

The first five-year plan did not stress the necessity of mass collectivization. However, the year 1930, the second year of the five-year plan, started with the mass confiscation of property of well-to-do farmers. (Order of 4 January 1930). The first two months of the year was characterized

1931) stating that it was not necessary to aim at total conversion to collective methods. After that the collectivization continued to proceed at a more steady rhythm. At the end of the first five-year plan the majority of the peasants were in the *kolkhozes*, or *artels*, and in 1940 only about 3 to 4 percent of all the peasants had remained outside them.

The average size of the cultivated area per *kolkhoze* is approximately 1,200 acres. There are however great differences from one region of the Soviet Union to another. Each *kolkhoze* comprises on an average 76 homesteads.⁴

"The years 1930-1933 were the most violent period of compulsory collectivization. Thousands of peasants resisting collectivization were shot, millions were exiled from their

	1929	1930	1934	1937	1938 ⁵
Number of isolated households ³ (in millions)	24.8	19.4	5.9	1.4	
Number of households in ³ <i>kolkhozes</i> (in millions)	1.0	6.0	15.9	18.5	18.8
Number of <i>kolkhozes</i> ³ (in thousands)	57.0	85.9	233.3	243.7	242.4
Percent of collectivization: ⁴					
Farms	3.9	23.6	71.4	93.0	93.5
Cultivated land	4.9	33.6	87.4	99.1	99.3

by so much violence that after a famous declaration by Stalin on "Intoxication by Success" (8 March 1930), a resolution of 15 March 1930 ordered a slowdown of the collectivization. However, a new and most violent wave of mass collectivization started at the beginning of 1931, and again slowed down in the summer of 1931. The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued an Order on 2 August 1931 (*Izvestia*, 3 August

village to the far north. An enormous amount of the agricultural property was destroyed in those years, includ-

³ Kulischer, E. M., *Wars and Migration, 1914-1939* (Manuscript).

⁴ Bassiuk, T. L., *Organization of the Socialist Agricultural Production*. Moscow, 1939. (In Russian).

⁵ *The Socialist Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.* (Statistical Data) Gosplan, 1939. (In Russian).

The author is aware of the fact that the accuracy of official Russian statistics have been questioned. The critical and informed reader will, of course, use his own judgment on this controversial question.

ing nearly half the draft animals and productive livestock."⁶ Agricultural production decreased in the years of 1931 and 1932. Bad weather conditions still aggravated the situation and the year 1932 was a year of famine. Professor E. M. Kulischer calculated that during this period the collectivization and famine cost Russia the lives of 8 to 10 million people. Certainly a horrible price to pay for the progress of the following years.

Sir John Maynard, in his most remarkable book, *The Russian Peasant*,⁷ says that the "liquidation" of the *kulaks* meant that persons numbering with their families some five millions, were to be dispossessed of their properties and in many cases driven from their homes. On the other hand he believes that scarcity of the year 1932-1933 is in no way comparable with a great famine.

After the year 1933 the situation began to improve rapidly: the cultivated area increased, the yield per cultivated acre also increased, new kinds of plants were introduced. It took the longest time to increase the number of cattle but even in this respect progress was achieved before the war.

Mechanization

One of the basic ideas in enforcing the collectivization was the necessity and desire to modernize agriculture production. Large scale farming

made it now possible to use modern machinery to an ever increasing extent. After the year 1931, all the machinery and tractors had to be given over to the Machinery and Tractors Stations (MTS). The State delivered machinery directly to the MTS and the *kolkhozes* also had to hand over their tractors.

In 1940 the number of tractors reached 523,000 as against 483,000 in 1938, the number of combines — 182,000 as against 153,000 in 1938 as well as many other simple and complicated machines. Based on this technique the socialist agriculture became stable.⁸

There were 5,818 MTS in 1937, at the end of the second five-year period. In 1937 they served 91.2 per cent of the area cultivated by the *kolkhozes*, i.e. 105,800,000 ha.⁹

The relations between *kolkhoze* and MTS is based on contract. A model for such a contract was laid down first on 5 February 1933 and it was replaced by a new contract in 1934 and in force until 1938. Finally, a new model contract was worked out in 1939.

The MTS places at the disposal of the *kolkhoze* all the necessary machinery. Some of the technical personnel is provided by the MTS, but mostly by the *kolkhoze*. The MTS pays a certain minimum wage fixed

⁶ Report of Vosnesensky on the XVIII Congress of the Communist Party, Pravda, 19 February 1941.

⁸ *Achievements of Socialist Agriculture*, Moscow, 1939, p. 21. (In Russian).

⁷ Yugow, A., *Russia's Economic Front for War and Peace*. New York, 1942, p. 45.

⁹ London: 1942.

by Decree of 13 January 1939.¹⁰ The difference between the minimum wage and the actual earnings is covered by the *kolkhoze* which provides also the payment in kind. The *kolkhoze* pays the MTS in kind for the work performed. The MTS is also helping the *kolkhoze* in their administrative and technical problems; planning, organization of work, etc. The MTS is the main link between the State and the *kolkhozes*: through the MTS the State can also control the whole agricultural production of the country.

Through the MTS the State was able to acquire mass experience in the organization of large collective farming on a high technical level, in which the independent activities of the members of the *kolkhozes*, in view of building up their collective economy, is in the best way combined with the organizational and technical help as well as guidance by the proletarian State.¹¹

Interior Structure of a Kolkhoze

As early as 15 March 1931, by instruction of the Central Committee

¹⁰ The decrees of 9 May and 20 June 1942 provide for increased payments to workers on tractors and combines of the MTS (*Decrees and ordinances of the U.S.S.R.*), Nos. 5 and 6, 1942. (In Russian). To increase the material interest in a better and swifter performance of the work by the tractor crews, the Decree of 3 March 1943 concerning the preparation of tractors, combines and agricultural machinery belonging to the MTS for the agricultural work of 1943, established a system of bonuses for groups of tractor drivers. (*Pravda*, 3 March 1943).

¹¹ Decree by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, 12 December 1930, Bassiuk. *Op. cit.*

of the Communist Party, preference was given to the form of an *artel* over the two other forms of collective farming previously mentioned. If in the first years of the Revolution the agriculture commune was considered as the aim of collectivization, the Central Committee of the Communist Party declared in an Order of 4 February 1932: "that the tendency to hasten the transition from the form of the *artel* to that of the agricultural commune was premature, and even dangerous." (*Izvestia*, 6 February 1932). The same order as well as the one issued on 11 February 1932 by the Central Institute of Collective Farms makes detailed provisions as to the organization of work in a *kolkhoze* and to the distribution of income. All these measures, as well as problems dealing with property of the *kolkhoze* and the individual member, culminated in the *standard Rules of an Artel* promulgated by Decree of 17 February 1935. The *Standard Rules* were submitted and approved by the conference of shock workers of the *kolkhozes*.

For the rural population of the Soviet Union, the *Standard Rules of an Artel* are not less important than the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. for the people of the Union in general. The *Standard Rules* states that:

The land of the *kolkhoze* belongs to the State, like all land in the Soviet Union; in accordance with law, this land is granted in perpetual tenure and may not be sold or leased to others. . . . All the boundaries separating the lands of the members from one another shall be

destroyed and all the fields brought together and worked collectively. . . . All draught animals and implements of cultivation, together with all reserves of seed, a sufficient quantity of forage for the collective stock, and the buildings required for the working of the farm and the handling of its products shall be common property.

However, "every household of members shall receive small plots adjoining their houses, for their personal use as orchards, kitchen gardens, etc." The size of these plots vary from 0.25 hectare to 1 hectare according to different local conditions. The members are also allowed to own poultry, rabbits and a limited amount of livestock, varying from one cow and two calves, 10 sheep and goats to 8 to 10 cows with their calves, 100 to 150 sheep and goats in districts inhabited by nomads with little cultivation of cereals. These principles were confirmed in the constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1936.¹²

ARTICLE 7: Public enterprises in collective farms and cooperative organizations, with their livestock and implements, products raised or manufactured by the collective farms and cooperative organizations, as well as their public structures, constitute the public, socialist, property of the collective farms and cooperative organizations.

Every collective farm household, in addition to its basic income from the public collective farm enterprise, has for its own use a plot of land attached to the house and, as personal property, an auxiliary establishment on the plot, a house, produce animals and poultry, and minor agricultural implements—in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural *artel*.

ARTICLE 8: The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for their free use for an unlimited time, that is, forever.

ARTICLE 9: Along side the socialist system of economy, which is the predominant

In the years 1935-1939 the growth of the relative importance of the individual holdings can be observed as well as tendency on the part of the *kolkhoze* members to increase the size of their holdings. On 27 May 1939 the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars, of the Soviet Union (*Pravda*, 28 May 1939) issued an order, the object of which is to protect land belonging to the collective farms against attempts at individual appropriation on the part of farm members. Any attempt to extend individual holdings beyond the limits laid down by the *Standard Rules* will be considered as an offense.

The members of a *kolkhoze* form an association, and there can be no doubt that the structure of this association as defined by the *Standard Rules* is based on the same principles as the by-laws of a worker's productive cooperative society. The supreme organ of the association is the general meeting which elects the president and the management committee. The meetings also decide on the admission of new members; the expulsion of a member can only be decided by a meeting at which two-thirds of the members are present. Every new member pays an entrance fee and the "income of the association shall be distributed among the members on the basis of the number of days of work furnished by each." The work

form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law permits small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others. (*Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*).

itself is organized according to instructions drafted by the general meeting. "The management shall organize the members in groups." Each group is in charge of the accomplishment of definite tasks. The order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of 4 February 1932 (*Izvestia*, 6 February 1942) had already provided that all collective farms must organize their members in brigades (groups) and distribute the work among the brigades.

This organization of work is similar to the organization in the *kwuzah* (collective settlement) in Palestine. Definite tasks accomplished by an autonomous group of workers is also the principle of the labor *artel* (labor contracting cooperative), developed in Russia in various trades, and also known in France as *commandite de travail*.

The most interesting and important example of cooperative collective farming is probably given by the Mexican *Ejido*. Based on an old Indian tradition of community life their importance increased since the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and during the rural reform which took place after that date. According to recent governmental declarations (*El Nacional*, 4 January 1943) 6,592 *Ejidotes* covering an area of 25 million acres existed at the end of 1939, the date of the last census. The governmental spokesman declared that the *Ejidotes* are a factor of progress: irrigation, drainage, construction of roads, utilization of agricultural machinery, the construction of elevators, etc., can

only be imagined through the functioning of the *Ejido* system.

In many respects, however, a *kolkhoze*, differs from an agricultural productive cooperative, or I would rather say that the practice until now did not correspond to the generally admitted cooperative practice. The pressure exercised on individual farmers forced them to join the *kolkhoze*, thus interfering with the principle of freedom of membership. Even more important is the interference with the interior autonomy of a *kolkhoze*. Elections of presidents are generally influenced by the Communist Party, some decrees prescribe the exclusion of members as sanction for certain offenses. Other decrees provide special bonuses for work accomplished. These particular measures, however, can be explained by the exceptional circumstances under which the Soviet Union lived since collectivization.

System of Remuneration

During the first years of collectivization a member of a *kolkhoze* was paid according to the number of days worked.¹³ The result was a number of abuses, discouragement on the part of the more active members, and decrease of productivity. As part of the general campaign against equality in wages and the introduction of piece loans in industry, a system of piece loan for agricultural work had also to be elaborated. In March 1931, the Sixth Congress of Soviets ordered that those who worked best should

¹³ *Socialist Agriculture*, Moscow, February, 1941, p. 31 f.

receive more and those who did not work should receive nothing. The quantity and quality of work performed should be the only elements taken into consideration. An order of the Commissariat of Agriculture and the Central Institute of Collective Farms of 13 June 1931 contained detailed provisions for this purpose. (*Izvestia*, 27 March 1932). The basis of the calculation of labor output in terms of days of work varies according to the character of the work. In his previously quoted book, T. L. Bassiuk defines "a work-day as a unit for measuring the quality and quantity of work accomplished, which decides which part of the general income each member of *kolkhoze* shall receive." The tasks to be performed are divided into groups according to skill required. Bassiuk indicates seven groups of work. In the highest group the work performed during one day corresponds to two *work-days*. In the lowest, the work performed during one day corresponds to 0.5 *work-days*. The *work-days* performed by each member are entered weekly in his employment book, which is the only document conferring the right to a share of income in cash and in kind. The principle of *work-days* did not change and was consolidated in the *Standard Rules* adopted in 1935.

The agricultural work of the Association shall be carried out on a piecework basis. The management shall determine the standards of individual output and the rates of payment per working day for all agricultural work; its decisions must be con-

firmed by the general meeting. In fixing standards of individual output the work of a good member working conscientiously must be taken as a basis; the condition of the draught animals, machinery and implements and the characteristics of the ground must be taken into account. . . .

The group leader must calculate the amount of work performed by each member of his group at least once a week, and must enter the results in days of work in his book on the basis of the rates of payment which have been fixed.

The members of a group working in the fields which has obtained on its allotment a crop better than the average crop on the farm, and the members of a group working on a stock farm which has obtained a higher output of milk, a greater increase in the weight of the animals, etc., shall be entitled to a reward in the form of a supplementary allowance of 10 per cent of the total number of days of work carried out; the shock workers of the group shall receive 15 per cent, and the group leader 20 per cent.

When a group working in the fields obtains, owing to bad work, a crop lower than the average, or when a group working on a stock farm lowers the output through its bad work, the management shall reduce by 10 per cent the number of days of work credited to each member.¹⁴

A special quota of work-days is attributed to the president of a *kolkhoze* and to the managerial staff.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Standard Rules*.

¹⁵ *Socialist Agriculture*, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

With the development of individual holdings a tendency developed among farmers to devote less to collective work. The result was an artificial shortage of collective farm labor. Therefore, under the provisions of the order issued on 27 May 1939 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars, members of collective farms must do a certain minimum of work days on the collective farm, the number varying from 60 to 100, according to the region and to the type of cultivation.

This figure was found insufficient in wartime and a new Order of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued on 17 April 1942, increased the minimum number of work days to be furnished by all members of collective farms to 100-150. (*Izvestia*, 17 April 1942). The same decree states that

Able bodied members of collective farms, who, at the end of the year have not completed the fixed number of work days, may be prosecuted and sentenced by the People's Labor Court for Collective Farms to reformatory labor for not less than six months and a deduction of 25 per cent from his pay.

The management of the *kolkhoze* has the right to exclude such persons from membership.

The Decree of 31 December 1940, providing for extra pay to members of *kolkhoze* for increase in agricultural crop yields and increase in productiveness in livestock raising in the

Ukrainian S. S. R., introduced, for the first time, a bonus system payable not to the *kolkhoze* as before, but to a definite team (brigade) of *kolkhoze* members for the accomplishment of a work exceeding an established quota.

This decree directs the *kolkhoze* of the Ukraine to assign sections of fields, meadows, gardens, or separate branches of work to definite teams. A work quota, is established for each team. If the production does not exceed the quota, the members are paid only by the work day, but if a team produced above the norm, it receives part of the excess as bonus.¹⁶

In connection with this Decree, the Ordinance of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party of 19 December 1940, must be cited because it contains detailed description as to the planning of the *kolkhoze* production.¹⁷

In *Pravda* of 11 February 1941, N. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Ukraine explained the system in detail. In the same number of *Pravda*, the assumption is put forward that this system will be extended to the *kolkhozes* of the whole Soviet Union.

To encourage the laboring of fields at an increased speed, a special bonus was promised in the Autumn of 1942 to members of *kolkhozes*. (*Izvestia*, 20 September 1942).

I agree with Mr. A. Yugow that these Decrees, while creating a stim-

¹⁶ Yugow, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁷ *Socialist Agriculture*, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

ulus for increased production, certainly is a far reaching interference with the autonomy of the *kolkhoze* considered as a cooperative association.

Income

The income of a *kolkhoze* is composed of (1) payments received for deliveries to the State and (2) the money obtained for the selling, at free market price, of produce remaining after these deliveries. Free trade for the surplus products was admitted as early as 1932 (Decree of 4 February 1932). The general income of a *kolkhoze* can still be increased through industrial activities like handicraft, small industrial undertakings, fisheries, etc.

The system of State deliveries went through progressive changes and adjustments. The quantity of agricultural products subject to compulsory delivery to the State is fixed annually.¹⁸

In 1933, by Decree of 17 January of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the advance contracts of sale to the State were replaced by a fixed contribution in kind, estimated in accordance with the sowing plans, i.e., the amount is not calculated in proportion to the actual cultivated area, but to area which should be sown according to

plan.¹⁹ As with the piece loan system of the *work-days*, the State deliveries become more and more an encouragement for increased production and especially for increased productivity. With this aim in view, a fixed system was introduced and applied to the various branches of agricultural production. For example, in order to stimulate the production of wheat, an Order issued on 11 February 1936 introduced a system of progressive bonuses, payable to collective farms which, after completing the compulsory deliveries to the State, manage to supply not less than ten quintals of wheat. The bonus consists of an increase of 10-100 per cent in the price paid for surplus quantities delivered. Several other orders applied the same system to deliveries of sugar beet, cotton, and so on. The bonus system gives the Government also the possibility of obtaining an increased output of specific produce. Most interesting in this respect is the encouragement given to the production of *Kok-Sagyz*, a rubber yielding plant. By measures decreed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party and published in the *Pravda* of 26 February 1941, the *kolkhoze* delivering roots of that plant over the quantities expected, according to plan, has the right to obtain for a certain quantity of roots delivered, a definite quantity of rubber articles; like, for instance, overshoes, rubber shoes, and rubber soles.

¹⁸ Produce delivered to the State, in 1000 tons.

	1932	1937
Grain	12,282.2	25,856.5
Cotton	972.6	2,396.5
Flax	182.2	274.3
Sugar Beets	4,198.1	19,942.1
Dairy Produce	746.3	2,523.7

Socialist Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., p. 45.

¹⁹ *Industrial and Labor Information*, I.L.O. Geneva, 14 August 1933, p. 261.

In 1939-1940, the system of State deliveries was changed. The new policy of deliveries was inaugurated by the Order of 8 July 1939 concerning measures to encourage collective stock raising and by the Order of 30 January 1940, concerning compulsory deliveries of wool. The former system of deliveries of livestock produce operated to the disadvantage of collective farms, whose herds were increasing and favoured those which had no collective herds, or whose herds showed no increase. For this reason the Order of 8 July 1939 had provided that every collective farm must have a certain minimum quantity of livestock and that deliveries of meat to the State would be calculated on the bases of the area of land belonging to the collective farm. By the Order of 7 April 1940, the new policy of compulsory deliveries was extended to a number of agricultural products such as grain, rice, potatoes, vegetables and oil seeds, exception being allowed for certain industrial crops; such as, cotton, sugar beets, flax, hemp, and tobacco. Each collective farm must supply to the State a quantity of products proportionate to the number of acres of arable land at its disposal, including vegetable gardens and land still to be cleared.²⁰

Similarly, the area of land available will be utilized as the basis of calculation of deliveries of milk and eggs. Out of the remainder, after the compulsory deliveries, the State can also buy agricultural produce from

the *kolkhozes* at market prices, i.e. higher prices than those paid for the produce delivered.

Division of Income

Income in kind. Out of the produce of various kinds which remain after compulsory deliveries, the *kolkhoze* must repay seed loans, pay partially in kind for the services rendered by the machinery and tractor station (thus indirectly increasing the amount of agricultural produce delivered to the State), they must then form the annual seed and fodder guarantee fund to meet the possibility of a bad harvest; funds must then be instituted for the relief of the infirm and aged—not more than 2 percent of the total production; finally, the general meeting fixes the part of the production which can be sold to the State or on the market. The rest of the produce is distributed among the members on the bases of their *work-days*.

Cash income. According to the *Standard Rules* of 1935 the distribution of the cash income was to be made in the following order: (1) taxes and insurance premiums, (2) current production requirements, payment in cash to the MTS, (3) administrative expenses, (4) cultural requirements, (5) 10-20 percent of the income must be paid into the "indivisible" fund, (6) distribution among members.

According to the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars and Central Committee of the Communist Party on harvesting the crops and preparing for delivery of agricultural

²⁰ *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, I.L.O., 6 May 1940, p. 131.

produce in 1942, of 12 July 1942, to encourage the greatest effort:

Collective farmers are to receive an advance payment in kind from 5-15 percent of the part of the particular crop already handed over to the government. This advance, calculated to cover the domestic needs of the farmers while the harvest is in progress, is divided among them according to the number of work days credited to each. Farmers who fail to perform the required minimum amount of labor are not entitled to any advances. For the purpose of advance payment, it is recommended that the farms shall calculate each work day at 1½ kilogram of grain, or 3-5 kilogram of potatoes and vegetables.²¹

The legislation concerning taxation of the *kolkhozes* was changed several times. The Act of 1 March 1941, on income tax for the *kolkhozes*, abolished all previous legislation and contains new regulations. The income from payment for the compulsory State deliveries, the money received for supplying the Red Army, as well as the part of the income used for improving livestock, is exempted from taxation.

Economic Development

The development of the agricultural economy of the U.S.S.R. proceeded in various ways after the agriculture recovered from the violent collectivization of the years 1931-1932; general increase of acreage under cultivation, increase of the general output of agricultural pro-

duce, increase of the yield per acre owing largely to improved methods of cultivation, increase of the relative importance of industrial crops and spreading of agricultural production over new areas of the North and East of the country with the help of remarkable research work accomplished by Russian scientists.²² In this respect the declaration of Vosnesensky at the XVIII Party Congress (*Pravda*, 19 February 1941) is most interesting:

It is very important to note the development of the production of cereals in the South-Eastern and Eastern regions of the U.S.S.R. . . . In the amount of cereals harvested in the Union the relative importance of the Eastern region increased remarkably. Notwithstanding the lack of rain, 1,482,000 puds of cereal was harvested in the Eastern regions of the U.S.S.R. in 1940, an increase of 88 percent as compared to 1913. Thus, has been created in the East and South-East of our country a granary for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Two articles published in *Pravda* (15 March and 15 April 1943) report on the remarkable development of agriculture in the Eastern Republics

²² During the same period the stock of cattle was replenished, in this regard the specialized cattle farms are of outstanding importance. Their number increased from 63,600 in 1932 to 406,300 in 1939. (*Soc. Agr.*, p. 75). During these years the number of cows increased by 220%, of pigs by 322%, goats and sheep by 1,699%. The plan for 1943 provides for a further important increase in herds of cattle, number of goats, pigs, etc. Provision was also made for assistance in the reconstitution of flocks and herds in the *kolkhozes* of the liberated regions. (*Pravda*, 19 March 1943).

²¹ *Izvestia*, 12 July 1942.

of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan has become the biggest stockraising center in the Union. On an average, each collective farm had 1,500 head of stock in 1942. A similar development is reported from the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The Order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union of 27 May 1939, contemplates migration of members of collective farms towards the Volga, Omsk, Cheliabinsk, Altai, Kazakhstan, Far Eastern and other regions. A migration department, the duty of which will be to direct and supervise these movements, is to be attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union. The plan for 1942 foresaw a further increase in

production of sugar beets in Kazakhstan and also increase in irrigated area in the southeastern regions of the Soviet Union.

Another favorable result of improved methods of cultivation, also underlined by Mr. Yugow²³ and also by Soviet writers, is the greater steadiness in the yearly output.

The productivity of Russian agriculture is still low as compared with the productivity of the most advanced

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 49 ff.

²⁴ Cotton cultivation:

In 1913—688,000 ha.

In 1938—2,082,900 ha. of which 24.6% in new areas. (*Soc. Agr.*, p. 65).

This cotton production covers the needs of the Soviet Union. The Decree of 19 March 1943 to approve the Agricultural Development Plan for 1943 contains information as to the further increase of cultivated area. (See *International Labour Review*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2, August 1943, p. 210).

	1913	1932	1937	1940	1941
<i>Land under cultivation in million hectares</i>					
All land under cultivation	105.0	134.4	135.3	151.0	157.0
All grains	94.4	99.7	104.4	110.9	111.1
All industrial crops ²⁴	4.5	14.9	11.2	11.8	12.0

Total production in millions of quintals

	1913 (1910-13)	1932	1937	1940	1941
Cereals	675.6	698.7	1,202.9	1,190.0	1,240.0
Cotton	7.4	12.7	25.8	25.1	..
Sugar beets	109.0	65.6	218.6	222.0	..

Yields of grain and industrial crops in quintals per hectare

	1913	1932	1937	1940	1941
Cereals	8.5	7.0	11.5	9.5	...
Cotton in irrigated regions	10.8	6.9	14.5	14.2	..
Cotton in other regions	10.8	6.0	12.2	12.0	..
Sugar beets	168.0	64.3	183.1	.	....
Potatoes	76.1	70.6	95.6	..	...

countries.²⁵ The output of the farmsteads of individual farmers increased steadily. According to A. Yugow in the first half of 1940 one-fifth of all the transactions of internal trade represented sales by *kolkhoze* members of the produce of these intensively cultivated farmsteads. They supply the towns with vegetables, eggs, fruit, mushrooms, berries, honey, etc.

²⁵ In a report delivered on 21 January 1943, at a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, M. A. S. Shtsherbakoff said:

"The war created great difficulties to agriculture. The *kolkhozes* and the *sovkhoses* had to increase the agricultural production, to learn and develop the production of many new plants, to fill out to a certain degree the losses suffered by our country because of the occupation of important agricultural areas by the enemy."

"Our agriculture was able to accomplish all these tasks. In 1942 the cultivated area increased by two million hectares as compared with 1941. Since the beginning of the war the production of cereals in the East has increased, the same applies to potatoes, vegetables, sugar beets and other plants."

"Not only the whole adult population, capable of work, participated in the work on the land, but also the old and young people. Workers, employees and students of the cities helped the members of the *kolkhozes*."

"The spring sowing, the harvesting and also the sowing in the fall of 1942 was accomplished better, quicker and with improved organization, in almost all the regions, than in 1941."

"Our *kolkhozes* and *sovkhoses* provide both our population and the Red Army with food, and industry with raw materials." (Stalin)

"The basis for these successes of our agriculture is assured through the *kolkhoze* system. It is evident that the individual farms would not be able to stand the hardships of the war and could not provide the army and the country with the necessary food and raw materials. Only with the help of the *kolkhoze* system can the Soviet Union overcome difficulties created by the war. . . .

"In the spring of 1942 many *kolkhozes* organized special sowing campaigns for a Red Army fund, which gave the army supplementary quantities of cereals and vegetables." (*Izvestia*, 22 January 1943).

The *kolkhoze* has not only freed its members from worry over the basic item of their nourishment—bread; but it has become for the individual farmstead an invaluable source of new, scientific methods of agriculture, and in addition it solved a problem of tremendous importance: it organizes the delivery and sale of the farmstead produce at the city markets.²⁶

The tendency to increase the area of the individual holdings was stopped by decrees of 27 May and 21 June 1939. The amazing side of this development is not the kind of division of functions between large scale production of cereals, cotton, sugar beets and other industrial crops by collective farms and the highly intensified truck gardening by the small farmsteads; but the way in which this development confirms the law of high correlation between the size of an agricultural enterprise and the efficiency of production: a problem which has to be faced and solved in all countries which expect to achieve social and economic progress. Because the structure of Russian rural economy corresponds to this law, it offers the best guarantee for the future development of agricultural production.

The reconstruction of agricultural production in the last years resulted also in a steady increase in the income of the *kolkhozes* and of the individual farmers. The 1932 average money income of a *kolkhoze* was 21,700 rubles, in 1937 it was 58,800 rubles, in 1939 it was 75,000 rubles.

²⁶ Yugow, *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

The average income of the individual farmer increased from 311 rubles in 1932 to 786 rubles in 1937 and 982 in 1939.²⁷ The average income in kind also increased during this period: in 1932 the average allotment per *kolkhoze* household was 600 kilograms of grain, in 1937 it was 1,740 kilograms. Allotments of potatoes, vegetables, fruit, feed, etc., was also in 1937 two-thirds larger in 1932.²⁸ The average payment per *work-day* in cash and in kind also increased considerably.²⁹ The very large increase of the trade of the rural consumers cooperative societies during the years 1932-1940 also illustrates the increase of the income of the rural population. The trade in rural areas increased from 4.6 billion rubles in 1928 to 41.8 billion rubles in 1938, an increase of 327 percent.

Many articles, for instance, gramophones and records, musical instruments, bicycles, watches, etc., appear for the first time in these areas.³⁰ The number of schools have also increased as well as the number of copies of books and papers sold in villages. However, there is still a differentiation in the income of the various *kolkhozes*: some are well off and even rich, but the majority are still poor.

The war and the Russian resistance taught us that the result of collectivization cannot be measured by a few figures on the agricultural production and income.

²⁷ *Socialist Agriculture*, p. 45. The money income of all the *kolkhozes* was 4,567,000 rubles in 1932, and 14,180,100 in 1937.

²⁸ Yugow, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

The *kolkhoze* assured a tremendous basis of industrial and raw materials for defense industry. The Soviet Union entered the Great War with large stocks of raw material and food and with great possibilities of increasing them during the War. The creation of the *kolkhoze* system was one of the basic political and economic measures of the Soviet Government and Communist Party, in view of increasing the defensive power of the country. Along with the socialized industry, the *kolkhoze* is the best guarantee for victory.³¹

Conclusion

In concluding I want to present four theses which summarize from my point of view the *kolkhoze* experience.

1. Even admitting that in the ten years of its existence the *kolkhoze* system did not achieve a spectacular increase in agricultural production and income of the farmers, we must take into consideration that spectacular achievements in agriculture could not be performed in such a short period. Moreover, the importance of that system can not be measured by the number of cultivated acres and yield per acre or even in income only.

2. Once admitting that there are no spectacular achievements, we note, however, the mechanization and modernization of methods of production which secure an increase in the production of industrial crops, bring

³¹ Laptev in an article on *The Kolkhoze system and the Great War* (Pod Znamenem Marxisma, August, 1942).

greater steadiness³² in the yearly output and contain a promise for the increase of production and income in the future.

3. Even if the *Standard Rules* are not entirely applied today, they offer a possibility for the building up of a democracy from the bottom. Except by the general attitude of the Russian people in this war, we have no possibility of judging whether the agricultural population, as a whole, approves of this system. I believe, however, that the majority of the rural population is in favor of the *kolkhoze* system: the poor landless farmer whose economic conditions certainly improved; the women who

now earn wages for the work they are doing, and who, at least in a great number of collective farms, benefit from the existence of nurseries and kindergarten; the young people who certainly have greater possibilities than ever before in acquiring knowledge and in improving their status.³³

4. From the international point of view, the *kolkhoze* system which combines the advantages of large estates without a landlord, with small farmsteads, offers a formula for the solution of the problem of rural reform which is certainly one of the basic economic and social problems in many countries in this continent and elsewhere.

³² *Achievements of Socialist Agriculture* (In Russian).

³³ See also Sir John Maynard, *The Russian Peasant*.

Rural Problems and Village Welfare In the Middle East

By Afif I. Tannous†

ABSTRACT

For thirteen centuries the Middle East has been a center of dynamic cultural contact between the East and the West. The impact of Western culture has been limited mainly to urban centers. The rural community, which is a village type, continues to live to a large extent according to the old established patterns. During the past few years, however, under the influence of a new spirit of constructive nationalism, a pioneer youth movement developed and launched a campaign of rural reconstruction. Through its summer camps, established in the neighborhood of village communities, one can witness an unprecedented process of acculturation taking place in the fields of health, agriculture, home welfare, adult education and recreation. The movement is still young and limited in its influence, but it seems destined to play an important role in the post-war reconstruction plans for that part of the world.

RESUMEN

Durante trece siglos el Mediano Este ha sido un centro de contacto cultural dinámico entre el Oriente y el Occidente. El impacto de la cultura occidental ha estado limitado principalmente a los centros urbanos. La comunidad rural, que

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es del tipo de aldea, continúa viviendo casi completamente de acuerdo con las antiguas formas establecidas. Durante los últimos años, sin embargo, bajo la influencia de un nuevo espíritu de nacionalismo constructivo, se ha desarrollado entre la juventud un movimiento pionero que ha inaugurado una campaña de reconstrucción rural. A través de sus campamentos de verano, establecidos cerca de comunidades rurales, se puede apreciar un proceso sin precedente de "aculturación" que está llevándose a cabo en los campos de la salubridad, la agricultura, el mejoramiento del hogar, la educación para adultos y en nuevas formas de recreo. El movimiento está todavía en su infancia y su influencia es limitada, pero parece estar destinado a desempeñar un papel importante en los planes de reconstrucción de la post-guerra en esa región.

Historical Sketch

A dynamic movement, the Village Welfare Service, has been recently gathering momentum at the hands of educated youth in the various countries of the Arab Middle East. Unfortunately, very little is known and heard about this positive aspect of Arab nationalism, since our attention has been engaged mainly with the sensational political manifestations. Yet it is such internal constructive trends that will count most in the long run for a newly developing nation; and it is our appreciation and understanding of these trends among the Arabs that will help us most in our attempt to win them over completely to our side and to share with them successfully our post-war plans.

Like any social organization when seen in retrospect, this movement reveals clearly certain main factors or forces that have been responsible for its inception and subsequent development. The first of these is a great American institution, the University of Beirut. During a long continuous career, since the middle of the last century, its campus has been almost the only spot in the Near East where the great freedoms of speech, assembly, and scientific investigation

have been practiced in an atmosphere free from fear. During this period its graduates have supplied the Arab World with competent leadership in the various walks of life. In the early twenties, a new American professor, with imagination and foresight, organized among the students a society by the name of The Brotherhood. It was a unique religious organization through which members of various faiths—Muslims, Christians, Jews, Druzes, Bahais, and others—met together and put their religion into practice through a program of voluntary social work in the city and village communities. A second responsible factor has been the newly awakened spirit of Arab nationalism. In its early stages, this nationalistic spirit expressed itself along one line only, that of violent struggle against the ruling foreign powers, with political independence as its sole objective. Gradually, through bitter experience and disillusionment, many nationalist leaders, especially the younger intellectual element among them, began to realize that internal reconstruction along many lines was as much of a crying need as freedom from foreign rule. In 1931-32 the Near East Foundation of New York appeared on the scene and launched a sound and un-

precedented rural reconstruction program for the villages of Palestine and Lebanon. In their approach they made a complete departure from the usual line of charity and relief and aimed at rural uplift through cooperation with local elements.

Under the combined influence of these three forces—the American University tradition of patriotic leadership and social service, the new spirit of nationalism that stirred up a strong urge for achievement and identification with a worthwhile cause, and the Near East Foundation which supplied a practical project of reconstruction—students and teachers at the American University of Beirut took up the challenge and started their village welfare movement. In the summer of 1933 they held a short conference during which the tragic conditions of life in the villages were discussed and a preliminary plan of action was formulated. As a result of that, some eighteen students and faculty members volunteered to spend the summer months in outlying villages, with a view to getting first-hand experience of the situation and extending help wherever possible. With a few pieces of recreational, medical and agricultural equipment in bundles on their backs, they walked from village to village in the interior of Lebanon and Palestine and carried home to the *fellah* an unprecedented message of realistic good will. During their stay of a few days in each village, they were the guests of the poor but hospitable *fellahin*. They partook of their simple food, slept in their houses, and

played games with their children. In the evening they lectured to them on health, agriculture and home welfare and gave them some practical advice along these lines. Perhaps for the first time in the modern history of the Middle East the educated Effendi and the neglected illiterate *fellah* met and began to understand each other.

The following fall the few pioneer volunteers returned to the University at Beirut with a firm conviction in the urgent need for their message and a resolve to go ahead with it. Through public meetings, dramatized with revealing anecdotes and pictures, through discussion groups and personal contacts, they passed on to the entire student body and faculty the deplorable conditions they observed in the villages. They gave freely whatever little they could spare from their limited funds, and by the beginning of the second summer some sixty of them volunteered to serve in the villages. About half these were coeds. That marked the beginning of another significant trend: Arab young men and women working hand in hand in a national reconstruction project. The volunteers were divided into three groups and stationed at three camps in the outlying areas of Lebanon and Palestine.

A second and a third summer of similar activity followed. The number of volunteers and camps increased, and projects in the villages began to give results. The experiment proved a success and was for the first time publicized outside the campus of the University. Other youth organizations of Tripoli, Damascus, Aleppo

and Transjordan joined in. At the time war broke out, the Village Welfare Service of the American University of Beirut had begun to assume the proportions of a national movement which seemed destined to involve educated youth of several Arab countries (Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq) and to embark upon major reconstruction projects.¹

Conditions and Problems of Rural Life

It has been stated above that the Village Welfare Service developed as a response to the challenge presented by the serious problems of rural life in the Near East. It is essential, therefore, before we proceed into a discussion of the organization, principles and activities of the movement, that we should give a general picture

of the rural situation in that part of the world.

Population aspects: There are about 10 million people living in an area of about 767,000 sq. kms., of which not more than 84,000 sq. kms. is under cultivation. The following table shows the pattern of distribution of the total population within the area. It will be observed that Lebanon and Palestine, which contain the least productive land of the region, have the highest population density. Consequently, these two countries present an acute problem of high population pressure. Between 1880 and 1925 Lebanon was able to relieve this pressure through intensive emigration abroad, mainly to the Americas.² This door, however, has been practically closed since 1925, when various countries adopted strict immigration laws. The problem in

TABLE I. AREA AND POPULATION DENSITY FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, 1940*

Country	Area in Sq. Kms.		Pop. in Millions	Density Per Sq. Km.	
	Total	Cultivated		Total Area	Cultivated Area
Palestine	27,000	9,000	1.55	58	172
Trans-Jordan	90,000	5,000	0.35	4	70
Lebanon	10,000	2,000	1.00	100	500
Syria	190,000	18,000	2.00	11	111
Iraq	450,000	50,000	4.00	9	80
Total	767,000	84,000	8.90	11.6	106

* Calculated from official sources in the office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, U.S.D.A.

¹ Camps were established at the following centers, each of which served two or more neighboring village communities: (1) Ramallah, central Palestine; (2) Rameh, northern Palestine; (3) Shturah, central Lebanon; (4) Sidon, southern Lebanon; (5) Jibrail, northern Lebanon; (6) Judeideh, Oasis of Damascus, central Syria; (7) Aleppo, northern Syria; (8) Transjordan.

Palestine has emerged in recent years as a result of intensive immigration by Zionists. On the other

² For a detailed account of the extent and significance of such emigration, see my article, "Emigration, a Force of Social Change in an Arab Village," *Rural Sociology*, VII (March, 1942), 62-74.

hand, Iraq, which contains one of the most fertile valleys in the world, has a much lower population density. It is of significance to observe that several centuries ago some 20 million people lived in Iraq, as compared with 4 million of today. With respect to population composition, two outstanding features should be observed: that the overwhelming majority (between 80 and 90%) belongs to the Muslim religion and that an almost equally great majority (about 75%) is rural, depending mainly upon agriculture for a living. Perhaps the most keenly felt problem, in connection with population, is that of illiteracy. Taking the area as a whole, not more than 20% of its people know how to read and write.³

Community organization: Almost invariably throughout the Middle East, the nucleated-village type of rural settlement prevails. Farmers and animals live in the village, from which they go to work in the surrounding fields every morning. Unlike the American pattern of settlement, in between the villages no isolated farmsteads exist. Also unlike the American rural community, which is still in the process of becoming, the village community of the Middle East is several centuries old and has clearly defined psycho-social

and ecological boundaries. Identification with the community is intensive, and the behavior of the individual in all aspects of life is controlled and modified accordingly. Here are a few examples of such identification. When a stranger is introduced to others, the question always comes up: "Where does he come from?" His village must be identified. In inter-village feuds or competition, community consciousness is greatly heightened, and the whole village stands as one united front, with internal conflicts pushed to the background. Marriage within the community is preferable to marriage outside. Almost every village has developed a distinctive mark of identification by which it is widely known, such as its "good fighters," "good farmers," "lazy people," "educated youth," "loose morals," etc. Even with respect to agricultural practices, the community has laid down the pattern, deviations from which are not encouraged. Thus it will be difficult, if not impossible, for a farmer to take the step alone of changing his crop rotation, harvesting his crops earlier, or introducing new crops or other practices.

Within the village circle, life is organized around two primary centers. One of these is the family. By this is not meant the biological unit, but rather the joint family, consisting of the grandparents, their unmarried sons and daughters, their married sons with their wives and the children of these. This unit owns or rents the land, cultivates it and harvests the crops cooperatively. At the death of the grandfather, the unit splits

³ For more detailed accounts of the population situation the interested reader is referred to (1) *Social Relations in the Near East*, by S. C. Dodd, American Press, Beirut, Lebanon, 1940; (2) *Economic Organization of Iraq* (Arabic); (3) *Economic Organization of Syria*, and (4) *Economic Organization of Palestine*, by S. B. Himadeh, American Press, Beirut, Lebanon, 1938, 1936 and 1938 respectively.

into as many families as there are married sons. Aside from its economic function, there are several indices that reveal the significance of this unit. In the village proverbs and sayings there is frequent reference to family life. Also those swearing expressions which are meant to evoke violent reaction are directed against the family, rather than the individual. Another interesting indication is the practice of naming the parents after their first-born son — *Abu-Ahmed* (father of Ahmed) or *Um-Jirjis* (mother of Jirjis).

The third center, or pillar of community organization, is the church. In the majority of cases each village has one church, Muslim or Christian, to which everybody belongs. The individual is born into his church and is expected to remain in it to the end of his days. Changing from one sect to another is a rare occurrence indeed. As in the case of the community and the family, and in integration with these two, we find the influence of the church extending into the various aspects of life, including health and agricultural practices. Any change in such apparently objective situations cannot be made effective, unless it takes into consideration possible religious implications.

Agricultural practices: It is beyond the scope of this article to give a comprehensive presentation of the agricultural situation in the Middle East. Only a few main aspects will be touched upon. In the first place, it should be noted that the general statement "agriculture is a way of life" is especially true of the culture under

consideration. Agriculture to these people is not what may appear to a casual observer to be another form of an economic activity that can be evaluated independently. Its organic relations with other aspects of culture has been pointed out above. Furthermore, every agricultural practice, whether good or bad, as evaluated by the objective economist, has deep-rooted psycho-social implications that have been transmitted from generation to generation through many centuries. Consequently, any attempt at agricultural reform in such a stabilized culture has to take into special account the underlying habits of behavior and emotional attachments.

The second point to be observed is that, aside from a few exceptions that emphasize the general rule by glaring contrast, agriculture in this part of the world is still carried on by means of ancient techniques. Most of these are antiquated, but the people still cling to them due to ignorance of something better or because of other reasons mentioned above. The wooden plough of Biblical times is still there, pulled by a team of oxen; the bees are kept in earthenware or clay hives; in many places livestock and human beings occupy the same room; wheat is laboriously and patiently cut down by hand with a small sickle; on the plains manure is used for fuel instead of for fertilizing the soil; olives are beaten down from trees with sticks; and ignorance of how to combat plant diseases and pests prevails. The list could be made much longer. It must be emphasized, however, that some of the practices

used are excellently adapted to the demands of the local situation, and are more effective than possible modern substitutes. In other words, the *totality of the situation*—soil composition, climatic conditions, labor supply, habits of work, social organization, etc.—must be taken into consideration in order to arrive at a sound evaluation of a certain agricultural technique.

A third significant feature with which we should be concerned is the prevailing land tenure systems.⁴ In Lebanon, the most common land category is that of *Mulk* (from the Arabic root verb *malaka*, to own) or land that is held in "fee simple," to which the owner has full and free title. Usually such land is owned and cultivated cooperatively by the joint family. When this splits into new units, the land is divided into as many plots as there are sons. This process continues from generation to generation, resulting in extreme fragmentation of holdings. A typical farmer, for example, may own some fifteen acres, divided into as many plots and scattered in all directions from his home in the village. This is a problem the solution of which cannot be effected through mere consolidation of holdings. A change must take place first in the prevailing system of inheritance and in the social organization of the nucleated type of settlement. A second category of land, which exists to some extent in Le-

banon and which predominates in the rest of the region, is *Miri* (belonging to the Emir or ruler). This land is owned by the government and is leased out indefinitely to farmers, according to certain conditions and provisions. The main problem attendant upon this form of land tenure is that the farmer is permanently in a state of uncertainty, not knowing whether he is a real tenant or the absolute owner of the land. A third predominant category is *Mesha'* (from the root verb *sha'a*, to be shared in common). This is a form of communal ownership, harking back to the original tribal organization, wherein an individual or a family owns a certain number of shares in the village territory, but no specific plots. Assignment of plots for temporary cultivation is made every two, three or five years. The problem connected with this category derives from the fact that it is neither communistic nor individualistic. Under its hold the individual farmer is presented with no incentive for the development of his land (which the following year may not be his) or the improvement of his agriculture. Finally, there is the acute and widespread problem of feudal tenancy. It is estimated that about 50% of the land in this region is owned by feudal lords of various types. The majority of these are absentee owners, who have no interest in their land or their tenants other than to get out of them as much as they can. The tenant in his turn, knowing that he has no claim on the land or on the lord, does

⁴For a detailed discussion of such systems see my article "Land Tenure in the Middle East" in *Foreign Agriculture*, August, 1943.

not feel inclined to exert any special effort towards improvement.

Standard of living: It should be obvious that a very low standard of living would prevail in a region whose agricultural situation is as described above. One does not need to make an elaborate survey in order to reveal such a condition; occasional trips to typical villages are sufficient to convince one. A few years of intensive, first-hand experience by volunteers and experts of the Village Welfare Service have resulted in the following graphic conclusions:⁵ (1) Between 80 and 90% of the village people are afflicted with the eye disease, trachoma. (2) The infantile death rate is between 200 and 250 per 1000 live births. (3) Except in Lebanon, inadequate housing prevails. In many cases animals and human beings live together in the same room. (4) The existence of a latrine in a house is the rare exception rather than the rule. People relieve themselves in the open. (5) Knowledge of how diseases are caused and transmitted is very meagre. For example, the people in general have no idea of how flies and mosquitoes are related to trachoma and malaria, to say nothing about snails and bilharzia. (6) The average yearly income of the *fellah*, head of a family of five, runs from about \$50 to \$100. (7) The great majority of the *fellahin*

are in a constant state of debt to the landlord or the usurer, at exorbitant rates of interest, running from 20 to 50 and sometimes over 100%. (8) Inadequate diet is the rule. It lacks in quantity and quality. During the winter season, people do not have enough to eat, and during the harvest season there is too much dependence upon one cereal crop—wheat, maize or *durra* (grain sorghum). The emphasis of national policy has been upon the development of cash crops (cotton in Egypt, citrus in Palestine, dates in Iraq) rather than upon diversified agriculture and the production of protective food crops.

Organization⁶

Central committees and branches: In view of the fact that the movement started at the American University of Beirut, it was natural that its headquarters should have been established there. Every year the volunteers who have served at the camps elect an executive committee, which takes charge of the whole organization and appoints sub-committees for various purposes. Branch committees are organized in various localities as the occasion demands. Up to 1939 such branches had been organized in Palestine, Transjordan, Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli.

Membership: This consists primarily of college students and other educated youth, although older people may join, especially experts in various fields. Both sexes are equally eli-

⁵ According to the annual reports of 1933-37. See also my booklet *Village Reconstruction*, publications of the Arab National League, New York, 1940 (in Arabic), and my "Village Problems," two chapters in Dodd, Stuart C., *Social Relations in the Near East*, American Press, Beirut, Lebanon, 1940.

⁶ Information in this respect is based upon the author's rural field work in the Middle East (from 1931-37) and upon official annual reports of the movement cited above.

gible. The qualifications of each applicant must be studied and approved by the executive committee before he can be admitted. After admission, he has to serve for at least two weeks at one of the camps in order to become an active member. By the fall of 1939, at the outbreak of the war, not less than 800 individuals had achieved active membership. Among these were students, nurses, doctors, lawyers, agricultural experts, engineers, scout leaders and teachers.

Work at the camps: The personnel of each camp consists of a director, five expert leaders and about twenty to thirty members. This is considered to be the optimum size that is conducive to effective organization and achievement, and was decided upon after experience with camps of various sizes. The volunteers are divided into five units: agriculture, health, home welfare, literacy and recreation. At first the tendency was to concentrate upon one aspect of village life, especially agriculture, on the belief that improvement there will inevitably result in the improvement of other aspects. It was soon realized, however, that such is not the case, and that in order to bring about a balanced change in rural life, especially in a highly integrated culture, an approach must be made from several angles at the same time. Under the supervision of an expert, each unit, as far as it is concerned, first surveys the situation in the village and draws up a list of its problems. In the light of these, appropriate projects are drawn up and launched for realization. In this connection,

two techniques are considered essential: giving priority to those problems that are keenly felt by the *fellahin*, and starting with minor rather than with major projects. The *fellah*, in general, is not eager for change. He is the product of a stable culture, an agricultural way of life that has persisted, almost unchanged, for over thirteen centuries. At the same time, he realizes that any change in his agricultural practices might involve a risk, which, in his marginal economic status, he is not ready to take. Consequently, the *fellah* is more likely to offer his cooperation when the problem attacked is an urgent one and for which he is anxious to find a solution. Also the end result of a minor project can be easily foreseen, and the risk involved is not great.

The following are examples of what is actually done by each unit: *Agriculture:* seed selection; grafting new varieties of fruit trees on native stock; afforestation; demonstrating to the farmers how to combat plant diseases; substitution of Leghorns for the native roosters to increase egg production; introduction of the modern bee-hive; improvement of cattle by lending a Jersey bull to the farmers; organization of agricultural cooperatives. *Health:* inoculation against typhoid fever; distribution of quinine to cure malaria; campaigns against mosquitoes; hospitalization of tubercular cases; demonstrating the construction of bore-hole latrines; treatment of trachoma, the widespread eye disease; educational campaign in sanitation and preventive medicine. *Home welfare:* teaching

women how to take better care of their babies; working out a more balanced diet from available food items; demonstrations in canning; instruction in simple sanitary practices within the home; planting of home gardens. *Recreation*: revival and encouragement of folk dancing, singing and story telling; weekly social gatherings of the whole village; organization of boy scout troops, with emphasis upon the values and problems of rural life. *Literacy work*: holding of day classes for village girls, who normally have no chance to go to school; evening classes for illiterate adult farmers.

Basic principles: As the movement developed toward a stable organization, and as the volunteers and leaders gained more experience, basic principles and motives began to crystallize. Enumeration and explanation of these should reveal to us the driving force within the movement. *Non-political*: *Politics* is not permitted in the camps. A volunteer may belong to any political party, but he is bound not to use the camp as a center of propaganda for his party line. The significance of such a rule can be realized when it is remembered that the Middle East, struggling for national emancipation during the past twenty-five years, has developed an atmosphere supercharged with politics. Practically everybody, from elementary school children up, has felt the tension. Several political parties have sprung up: National Bloc, National League, Syrian Nationalist Party, Communist Party, Pan-Arabic Party, etc., etc.— and almost all of

these have been represented at the Village Welfare camps. One can well imagine what would have happened at these camps if this rule had not been strictly applied.

Non-sectarian: The broad spirit of all religions is manifest: unselfish service, sharing with others, and human brotherhood. However, no one sect dominates the atmosphere. Volunteers of the Muslim, Christian, Jewish, Druze and other faiths work together in the fulfillment of a common cause. The devotional or inspirational aspect of religion is clearly expressed in the daily sunset meeting of the camp. Sitting on the ground under an olive or oak tree, they report on their daily work, analyze their problems, share their success and failure, and reiterate their goals and ideals. A word of explanation is necessary for this emphasis upon non-sectarianism. Obviously an enterprise undertaken under the auspices of one sect tends to discourage outsiders from joining. A more serious reason is the fact that sectarian cleavages in the Middle East have been deep, and have been instigated and exploited by various vested interests. Consequently, the urgent need in that part of the world has been the development of constructive movements, which have no sectarian implications and which emphasize the realm in which sects share rather than that in which they differ. Another reason is the suspicion that has developed in the mind of the *fellah* that any apparently altruistic movement may have hidden ulterior motives. One such motive, against which

he is strongly prejudiced, is sectarian propaganda. The far-reaching significance of this factor can be appreciated more adequately when it is realized that, in contrast with the general American trend, religion in the Middle East culture is a way of life, perhaps more so than agriculture. Consequently, any threat, real or imagined, to the *fellah's* religion is a serious matter indeed.

Nationalistic: The spirit of Arab nationalism in its broad and liberal sense is emphasized: that the emancipation of the Arab peasant masses is the corner stone of ultimate political independence; that it is the grave responsibility of educated Arab youth to work towards internal national reconstruction, and that the village welfare camps afford one of the best means through which such youth, with various regional, political and religious backgrounds, learn how to understand one another and work together.

Cooperative service but not charity: From the very beginning this principle has been followed. Every volunteer, regardless of his social class and family background, is expected to offer his free services to the *fellah* in the spirit of performing his duty and living up to his national responsibility. At the same time, the *fellah* is expected to share to some extent in the expenses and labor involved in each project undertaken. It is felt that the people of the Middle East, especially since the first World War, have been too much the object of charity, extended by native or foreign organizations. Such an ap-

proach to reconstruction, it is believed, is in the long run detrimental to the character of both the minority that gives and the majority that receives. Furthermore, when the *fellah* actually shares in the realization of a project, he is in a better position to maintain it and appreciate its value.

Reaction to the Movement

Perhaps the most outstanding and revealing feature of the movement is the amazingly enthusiastic response it has elicited from the farmers, the volunteers and various classes and organizations in the country. It seems that a store of national energy was already there, waiting for a chance to express itself constructively. A few examples may be cited. When the first camp was started, in the neighborhood of a village in northern Lebanon, the volunteers had no funds to supply themselves with adequate camp equipment. The village people offered to build them shacks from tree branches, lend them mattresses and kitchen utensils and help them cook their meals. A medical student offered his services for one whole summer. He was the only son of a widowed mother, who had not seen him for the whole year and who was impatiently waiting for him to come home and spend the summer with her. She was willing to compromise by joining the camp herself and offering her services as a stewardess. There was another medical student, who was about to finish his medical course and who was planning to get married in the summer and start his practice. A call came from the youth of Aleppo

urgently requesting an experienced leader to direct their newly organized camp. That young doctor was the only leader available. His response was to get married and go with his bride to the camp and spend a honeymoon in village welfare work. A young lawyer from the city of Damascus literally "closed shop" for two months during which he took charge of a village welfare unit in the vicinity. In the neighborhood of one of the camps ruled a feudal lord, one of many in Syria and the interior of Lebanon. The volunteers were afraid that some day they would have to clash with him, for they realized that their movement was ultimately destined to destroy the feudal system. In fact, that ultimate objective was part of their long-term program. However, that feudal lord amazed them one day by appearing with his wife at the camp and requesting them to show him how to improve conditions in his villages. Perhaps the most radical and far-reaching step was taken when the Muslim women decided to join the movement. That took place in the summer of 1937. The national

spirit in Lebanon and Syria was then in a mood of elation and optimism, due to a generous treaty that was granted them by Leon Blum, former Premier of France. It was under the influence of that spirit that a group of ladies from the leading *Muslim* families of Damascus *took off their veils* and offered their services at one of the camps. That was indeed making history in the Arab World.

At the outbreak of the war, the growth of this young, promising movement was inevitably slowed down, and it was feared that its end was in sight. However, recent reports indicate that, in view of the optimistic turn in the war situation, the constructive spirit of Arab youth, centered at the American University of Beirut, is beginning to reassert itself. Looking into the near future, one cannot fail to see how the Village Welfare Service, with its seasoned leaders and hundreds of experienced volunteers, will readily serve as a center through which the United Nations can carry out some of their proposed rehabilitation projects for the Arab countries.

Social Participation Differences Among Tenure Classes In A Prosperous Commercialized Farming Area*

By C. Arnold Anderson and Bryce Ryan†

ABSTRACT

There is a distinct lack of tenure class differences in social participation among the farmers living in the prosperous area that we studied. Unrelated tenants, however, were somewhat less active than the other three groups. This is true, although a high rate of mobility and lower incomes explain much of this low participation. While unrelated tenants do not share proportionately in organized groups, they are very active in commercialized and general types of recreation where community roots and family connections are not important. Related tenants are less interested in these forms of participation but they are outstanding in organized groups. Business patronage and group participation are more widely dispersed and less community-centered among the unrelated tenants.

RESUMEN

Entre las clases arrendatarias hay una carencia distintiva de diferencias en lo que respecta a la participación social entre los agricultores que viven en las áreas prósperas que hemos estudiado. Los arrendadores residentes no-emparentados estuvieron un poco menos activos que los otros tres grupos. Esto es cierto a pesar de que un alto grado de movilidad e ingresos más bajos explican esta pobre participación. Mientras que los arrendadores no-emparentados no participan proporcionalmente en los grupos organizados, ellos se muestran muy activos en los tipos generales y comercializados de recreación, en donde las bases de la comunidad y las conexiones familiares no son de importancia. Los arrendadores emparentados se muestran menos interesados en esas formas de participación pero sobresalen en los grupos organizados. El patrocinio a los negocios y la participación en los grupos organizados están más ampliamente esparcidos entre los arrendadores no-emparentados y menos encetrados en la comunidad.

The hierarchy of tenure classes is one basic dimension of the social structure in every rural community, however widely rural societies may vary in other concrete economic, legal, or sociological aspects.¹ Many sociologists have demonstrated the

association between tenure status and participation and leadership in organizations and community activities.² Several facts may make this study of an old question significant, however. The two communities studied contain highly mechanized farms in which there are large capital investments, and the level of economic returns is high.³ The owner and tenant groups are much less sharply distinguished in education, income, scales of living, and social

* Journal Paper No. J-1144 of the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa. Project No. 525, 526. An intensive study of the organization structure of these two communities is being carried on separately by our colleague, Dr. Ray Wakeley.

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¹ A wide range of tenure systems is described conveniently in P. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *Source Book in Rural Sociology*, I, Chapt. 7 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931).

² For a picture of the situation in the nation generally, see Edgar A. Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, U.S.D.A., Social Research Report 4 (1938).

relationships than is commonly the case. While the mobility of tenants is high, ownership confers fewer privileges than in many tenure systems. Finally, we have sub-classified our material to take account of the significance of age, income, and mobility differences within each tenure group in order to show the extent to which inter-group differences are in fact related to these factors.

Membership In Organizations

The relatively small differences between owners and tenants in frequency of membership in organizations is shown clearly by the data of table I. Four-fifths of all operators belong to at least one, and three-fifths to two or more groups⁴; about as many were members of four or more groups as belonged to none. Among

TABLE I. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GROUP MEMBERSHIPS IN DIFFERENT TENURE GROUPS

	Owners			Tenants			Total
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners	Related	Unrelated	All tenants	
Number of operators	74	69	143	71	151	222	365
% belonging to none	16	19	17	16	20	19	18
% belonging to one or more	84	81	83	84	80	81	82
1	19	15	17	31	29	29	24
2	26	29	27	17	29	25	26
3	18	20	19	13	11	12	15
4-5	13	10	12	15	9	11	12
6+	8	7	8	8	2	4	5
Average number (among those belonging)	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.2	2.4	2.5

TABLE II. MEMBERSHIP IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS*

Type of Organization	Owners			Tenants		
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners	Related	Unrelated	All tenants
Church	80.6	87.5	83.9	81.7	82.6	82.3
Religious Auxiliary	8.1	16.1	11.9	5.0	5.8	5.5
Educational-Cultural	17.7	10.7	14.4	18.3	16.5	17.1
Occupational	32.3	23.2	28.0	20.0	13.2	15.5
Fraternal	45.2	46.4	45.8	46.7	24.8	32.0
Civic	17.7	17.9	17.8	23.3	12.4	16.0
Recreational	8.1	7.1	7.6	11.7	5.8	7.7

* Percentage of farmers belonging to any organization who belong to each type.

⁴ Grand Junction and Scranton communities in Greene County, Iowa. The two areas differ markedly only on such items as furnace heat or running water where the tenant cannot set his own level. The prosperous character of the area is indicated by the 1930 average census value of farms: Junction township, \$27,000; Scranton township, \$30,000; the state, \$20,000. Over 90% of the owners and nearly as many tenants have telephones and radios.

those holding any membership, the mean number was 2.5; among owners 2.8, among tenants 2.4. Greater

⁴ This average is high for farmers, but members of Farm Business Associations in Iowa typically hold about four memberships. See C. Arnold Anderson, "The Pattern of Social Activities in a High Participation Group," *Rural Sociology*, IV (1939), 463-464.

contrasts have been found in a number of other studies.

The simple dichotomy between owners and tenants blurs many sociologically significant distinctions, however. More understanding may be attained by separating tenants into those who are related and those unrelated to their landlords, and by separating owners into those having mortgages and those free of such encumbrances.⁵ Previous studies have shown that, sociologically, the first group of tenants is similar to owners. It is the unrelated tenant who approximates the stereotype of "the tenant." Even a separating out of unrelated tenants fails to reveal as great contrasts in participation as have appeared in other places; at the extremes, unencumbered owners had an average number of affiliations of 2.8, unrelated tenants of 2.2.

Types of Organizations To Which Farmers Belong

The communities studied appear to be at a halfway mark in the urbanizing of an agricultural area. Their ties to rural traditions show up in the fact that membership in either church or Sunday school, or both, was reported by 70% of all farmers and by 80% of those who belonged to any organization. Other types of affilia-

tion are much less frequent: one third in lodges, one fifth in farmers' organizations, and memberships of decreasing frequency in educational-cultural, civic, recreational, and religious auxiliary groups.

The order of preference indicated is substantially the same in each tenure group (table II). Church membership is uniformly preeminent, with recreational and civic groups almost as uniformly neglected. Occupational groups (farmers' organizations) and educational-cultural groups (e.g., night schools) are to be expected in this state; with regard to the importance of the second type, this county is clearly to be distinguished from some of the less "capitalistic" areas. While in general unrelated tenants belong less often to most types of organizations, they show a preference for educational groups as compared with other kinds of groups. Debt-free owners appear to be distinctly uninterested in such groups. The social handicaps of unrelated tenants are evidenced in their infrequent membership in occupational, civic, and fraternal organizations.

Attendance

Social participation is a function of attendance at meetings as well as of membership. Those organizations which enlist the largest membership tend also to have the largest numbers of persons attending meetings, though church attendance exceeds membership. The organizations with largest membership within each tenure class are also those most fre-

⁵ Walter L. Slocum has acted upon this principle in his recent study *The Influence of Tenure Status upon Rural Life*, S. Dak. Agr. Exp. Sta., Cir. 39 (1942). However, in his report one cannot, for purposes of comparison, separate "long-term debt free tenants" to combine with other tenants nor decide where to place Farm Security Administration clients. His data on participation cannot be related to those of other studies.

quently attended (at least occasionally) by persons in the same tenure group (table IIIa).

Frequent or "faithful attendance" (at least one half of the meetings) is not so closely associated with number of members, however (table IIIb).

regularly to educational, fraternal, and recreational groups. There is little difference between the two types of owners except for the relative disinterest of encumbered owners in occupational groups. Nor are the two tenant classes in sharp contrast to

TABLE III. ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Type of Organization	Owners			Related	Tenants	
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners		Unrelated	All tenants
<i>a. Percentage of All Farmers Attending Each Type at Least Once During Year</i>						
Church	77.0	91.3	84.0	84.5	80.8	82.0
Religious Auxiliary	6.8	14.5	10.5	2.8	4.6	4.0
Educational-Cultural	14.8	7.2	11.2	15.5	12.6	13.5
Occupational	25.7	15.9	21.0	16.9	10.6	12.6
Fraternal	37.8	33.3	35.8	33.7	19.9	24.3
Civic	13.5	14.5	14.0	18.3	9.3	12.2
Recreational	6.7	5.8	6.3	9.9	4.6	6.3
<i>b. Percentage of Those Attending Each Type Who Attend Over One-half of Available Meetings</i>						
Church	72.0	49.2	60.0	61.7	60.7	61.0
Religious Auxiliary	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	80.8
Educational-Cultural	81.8	80.0	81.3	81.8	52.8	63.3
Occupational	68.4	81.8	73.4	83.4	93.8	89.3
Fraternal	71.5	69.5	70.5	66.7	66.7	66.7
Civic	80.0	80.0	80.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Recreational	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	100.0	92.9

Church, for example, stands lower in regularity than in occasional attendance or membership. Civic, recreational, and occupational groups are well attended, as are church auxiliaries.

The distinctions among tenure groups in frequency of membership are not repeated to the same degree when the proportions of each group who attend meetings (at least once a year) are compared, and the differences are still further reduced when we compare faithfulness of attendance. Tenants attend occupational and civic groups more frequently than do owners, and they attend churches as often. Owners go more

each other except that the related tenants are more regular at educational, the unrelated tenants at attending occupational organizations.

Dependence of Membership Upon Age, Income and Mobility

Farmers who occupy positions in the various tenure categories differ in ways that are significant for their social roles in the community beyond the fact of owning or renting land, having a mortgage, or renting from a relative. Before making generalizations about the association between tenure position and social participation, it is desirable to examine some possible spurious effects of other fac-

tors which might affect such participation. We have therefore selected three factors which may be associated with both tenure and participation: age, income, and mobility.

Age: Debt-free owners are the oldest, related tenants the youngest, and unrelated tenants are younger than mortgaged owners (table IVa). The proportion of farmers not belonging to any group increases roughly with

ages for participation of unrelated tenants in any organization reflect low activity in the middle age group especially; the oldest group is as active as any except related tenants.

The average number of memberships among the large group of unrelated tenants aged 40-54 (table IVc) appears markedly lower than for other tenure classes. The favorable position of the aggregate of related

TABLE IV. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Ages	Owners			Related	Tenants	
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners		Unrelated	All tenants
a. <i>Percentage of Farmers in Each Age Group</i>						
Under 39	14	7	10	42	35	37
40 to 54	51	35	44	41	40	40
55 and over	35	58	46	17	25	23
b. <i>Percentage in Each Age Group Belonging to No Organization</i>						
Under 39	10	0	7	17	12	13
40 to 54	10	21	14	14	25	21
55 and over	27	20	23	17	20	20
c. <i>Mean Number of Membership Among Those Participating</i>						
Under 39	2.2	3.6	2.7	2.3	2.1	2.2
40 to 54	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.8	2.0	2.7
55 and over	2.3	2.4	2.4	1.4	2.5	2.2
All	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.2	2.4

age in each tenure class (table IVb) except among related tenants where the percentage holds about constant. The contrast is more distinct between the young and middle-aged. The poor participation of unrelated tenants is clearly not due to a special age distribution; if it were we should expect them to be at least as active as owners who are typically older. Unrelated tenants and unencumbered owners show especially high percentages belonging to no groups at all in the middle age range. The low total fig-

tenants is due to their high degree of participation in the same period of life. At advanced ages differences are slight except for the drop in activity of related tenants. Despite some of the erratic results in a small sample, these data are clear evidence that low participation of unrelated tenants is not to be regarded as due to age.

Mobility: Using the number of changes of dwelling during the previous five years as an index of mobility, the data of table Va confirm the expectation that unrelated tenants

are distinctively mobile, but related tenants are as stable as owners.

Among the farmers who did not move, unrelated tenants most often and owners least often belonged to one or more organizations (table Vb). Among those moving once, related tenants were the group most often lacking any affiliations. Only unrelated tenants fall in the most mobile category, and one third of these belonged to no organization. The unrelated tenants who made no moves thus showed a remarkably high degree of participation, while those moving several times participated very little and their inactivity statistically explains the low average for the whole group.

Using as our index the mean number of memberships per person belonging to at least one organization (table Vc) gives us a different picture. While mobility among unrelated tenants seems to explain complete non-participation, the active members of this class still belong to fewer groups on the average at each

mobility level. In fact, within each tenure group, mobility and participation measured in this manner show little relationship.

Income: The percentage of persons belonging to no organization decreases with income in all tenure groups except the unrelated tenants (table VIb). Within the low income group unrelated tenants have the highest record, while unencumbered owners have a strikingly poor showing. In the middle income group differences are slight, although somewhat to the disadvantage of unrelated tenants, and no significant differences appear among farmers with the highest incomes. Differences in income distributions partially explain the lower participation of unrelated tenants. However, this factor mainly supplements mobility as a condition underlying less frequent identification with any group. Nevertheless, at each income level participating unrelated tenants belonged to fewer organizations (table VIc).

TABLE V. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOBILITY AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Number of Moves	Owners			Tenants		
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners	Related	Unrelated	All tenants
<i>a. Percentage Distribution of Frequency of Moving</i>						
0	85	84	85	84	32	49
1	14	13	13	16	44	35
2 and over	1	3	2	0	24	16
<i>b. Percentage in Each Mobility Group Belonging to No Organization</i>						
0			16	13	6	
1			21	27	21	
2 and over					36	
<i>c. Mean Number of Memberships Among Those Participating</i>						
0			2.8	2.6	2.2	
1			2.8	4.0	2.2	
2 and over					2.1	

TABLE VI. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INCOME AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Net Income Group	Owners			Related	Tenants	
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners		Unrelated	All tenants
a. Percentage Distribution of Income Groups						
Under \$999	6.7	7.4	6.8	11.9	19.3	16.9
\$1000 to \$1999	33.3	35.2	33.7	49.1	68.8	62.3
\$2000 and up	60.0	57.4	59.5	39.0	11.9	20.8
b. Percentage in Each Income Group Belonging to No Organization						
Under \$999	20.0	55.5	48.0	22.2	17.8	18.9
\$1000 to \$1999	16.7	17.4	17.0	17.1	21.2	20.1
\$2000 and up	15.5	11.4	13.8	11.5	12.5	11.8
c. Mean Number of Memberships Among Those Participating						
Under \$999			1.9	2.0	1.8	1.9
\$1000 to \$1999	2.6	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.2
\$2000 and up	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.8	2.3	3.2

Participation In Formal Recreational Activities

Five recreational activities were included in this study: public dances, private dances, pool or bowling, movies, and athletic events. Only in the case of the movies do a majority of any tenure group ever attend. Except for athletic events, owners have the smallest proportion attending at least once a year, and related tenants have the largest percentage who attend at least occasionally, all except

public dances (table VII). If we consider only those who do attend at some time, tenants, particularly the unrelated tenants, engage in these forms of recreation (except the movies) a greater number of times in a year.

The patterns of recreation are quite similar for all four tenure groups, except for the clear preference of tenants for public dances. A larger percentage of both groups of tenants than owners attend each of

TABLE VII. PERCENTAGE OF TENURE GROUPS ATTENDING ANY OF SELECTED ORGANIZED RECREATIONS AND MEAN NUMBER OF EVENTS ATTENDED

Type of Recreation	Owners			Related	Tenants	
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners		Unrelated	All tenants
a. <i>Percent Attending</i>						
Public dances	12.1	6.8	9.1	16.9	18.5	18.0
Private dances	5.4	7.2	6.3	14.0	7.3	9.5
Pool or bowling	14.9	11.6	13.3	19.7	18.5	18.9
Movies	64.9	63.8	64.3	81.7	72.2	75.2
Athletic events	31.1	30.4	30.8	42.3	25.8	31.1
b. <i>Mean Number Attended</i>						
Public dances	11.9	8.6	10.9	9.0	15.5	13.5
Private dances	10.5	7.0	8.6	9.3	12.5	10.9
Pool or bowling	16.4	10.8	14.1	18.2	18.5	18.4
Movies	15.6	16.1	15.8	11.0	14.8	13.4
Athletic events	6.1	6.4	6.2	6.6	7.7	7.2

these types of recreational activity at least once a year—except that unrelated tenants are relatively uninterested in athletic events. Among farmers attending these various activities, unrelated tenants go to each of them, except movies, the greatest number of times; related tenants are much less active. This situation contrasts sharply with that found for organizational participation.

Reading

All of the farm operators in these communities read college bulletins and newspapers and farm journals frequently. The differences among the tenure groups are negligible (table VIII).

While the difference between all owners and all tenants is small, over half of the unencumbered owners have two or more such positions in contrast to one fifth of the unrelated tenants; related tenants approximate the first group while mortgaged owners barely exceeded unrelated tenants (table IXb).

These comparisons fail to allow for the different proportion of each group who have an opportunity to be on committees by virtue of belonging to organizations. We should expect related tenants to be most prominent because of the large proportion belonging to organizations, while the unrelated tenants would be least often chosen.

TABLE VIII. PERCENTAGE OF TENURE GROUPS READING SPECIFIC TYPES OF PUBLICATIONS

Type of Publication	Owners			Related	Tenants	
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners		Unrelated	All tenants
College bulletin	44.6	40.5	42.7	43.7	35.8	38.8
Newspaper	98.6	100.0	99.3	97.2	96.0	96.4
Farm papers	94.6	92.8	93.7	98.6	96.0	96.8

Leadership In Organizations

We have measured leadership by the number of committee memberships and officerships held during the previous year. About a fifth of all operators served on at least one committee, and of these one third held more than one assignment. By both criteria, owners barely exceeded tenants; in fact, related tenants more often, and unrelated tenants least often, were on at least one committee (table IXa). Variations are much greater when we make comparisons only among those on committees.

Correcting the data (as in table IXc) by computing the percentage of operators having committee ships among those belonging to one or more organizations, we find that owners exceed tenants very little and that the two groups of owners do not differ. The contrast between the two tenant groups still remains, as does the tendency for owners to fall between the tenant groups.

The correction for degree of participation can be carried one step further, in order to allow for the fact that even among those belonging to

TABLE IX. DISTRIBUTION OF COMMITTEESHIPS AMONG TENURE GROUPS

	Owners			Tenants		
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners	Related	Unrelated	All tenants
(a) Percentage holding one or more	23	22	22	27	17	20
(b) Percentage of farmers holding committeeships who hold two or more	29	53	41	47	20	32
(c) Percentage of farmers belonging to organizations who hold committeeships	27	27	27	32	21	24

organizations unrelated tenants hold the smallest average number of memberships. Is leadership in direct proportion to opportunities? A simple equation⁶ using data from tables I and X— $\frac{2.2}{2.8} = \frac{21}{x}$ shows $x = 27$ and gives the proportional leadership of each of the three other tenure classes if their mean memberships had been the same as for unrelated tenants. The data show that owners held their "expected" number of com-

mittee positions, while related tenants exceeded expectation.

Owners also slightly exceed tenants in the proportion holding one or more positions as organization officers; related tenants again make the best showing and unrelated the worst (table Xa). The order of tenure groups according to the percentage of officers holding two or more offices is the same as we found for committeeships (table Xb).

Among the operators belonging to

TABLE X. DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERSHIPS AMONG TENURE GROUPS

	Owners			Tenants		
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners	Related	Unrelated	All tenants
(a) Percentage holding one or more	24	22	23	30	16	20
(b) Percentage of farmers holding officerships who hold two or more	22	47	33	33	21	27
(c) Percentage of farmers belonging to organizations who hold officerships	29	27	28	35	20	24

⁶ $\frac{\text{Mean memberships of unrelated tenants}}{\text{Mean membership of other classes}} = \frac{\text{Percentage of unrelated tenants with committeeships}}{\text{Percentage of unrelated tenants with officerships}}$

one or more organizations, related tenants had the largest percentage of their number in official positions, and unrelated tenants the least; encumbered owners slightly exceeded those who were mortgage-free (table Xc).

Correcting as for committeeships by a formula similar to that used above, 25 percent of each of the other three tenure groups should have been officers compared to the 20 percent of unrelated tenants. Once more related tenants considerably exceed their quota, as do the two groups of owners in lesser degree.

Community Localization of Group Participation and Utilization of Business Services

Tenants are more prone than owners to go outside the local community

for their social life or business services. In table XI we show the proportion of each tenure class usually obtaining each of nine business services and two types of social contacts in other communities.

The tenants are less local in their social participation than in the bulk of their commercial buying. It is only for medical service that tenants disperse their patronage less than owners. In part this reflects the persistence of ties from previous residences, but it also indicates failure to become assimilated quickly into community life. Although none of the differences is large, the unrelated tenants are most prone to trade and attend meetings in other communities.

TABLE XI. PERCENTAGES OF VARIOUS TENURE GROUPS OBTAINING CERTAIN BUSINESS SERVICES AND SOCIAL CONTACTS OUTSIDE THEIR COMMUNITY

	Owners			Tenants		
	Encumbered	Unencumbered	All owners	Related	Unrelated	All tenants
<i>a. Purchase of Services</i>						
Farm machinery	22.2	12.9	16.9	10.0	26.4	20.2
Gas and oil	11.1	7.6	9.1	14.1	12.2	12.6
Good clothes	53.4	59.4	56.3	66.2	67.3	67.0
Groceries*	27.8	23.2	25.5	23.9	31.8	29.3
M. D.	37.1	22.4	29.9	28.2	28.3	28.2
Veterinary	27.0	17.4	22.0	21.1	23.2	23.0
Bank	18.6	23.4	20.9	18.6	28.0	24.9
Freight	6.8	2.9	4.9	5.6	5.9	5.8
Garage	16.2	14.3	15.3	22.5	23.0	22.8
<i>b. Attendance</i>						
Lodge	14.7	5.9	10.3	10.3	17.9	14.7
Church	6.2	6.1	6.2	8.7	11.9	10.8

* Since the two trade centers were without chain groceries, the above percentages refer to purchases from non-chain stores.

NOTES

Edited by Paul H. Landis

A DIGEST OF SENATE BILL 637

A Bill to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in more adequately financing their systems of public education during emergency, and in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities through public elementary and secondary schools.

In order to allay the fears of individuals who think Federal aid for public education will carry with it Federal control of schools the first section of the Bill states that "no department, agency, or officer of the United States shall exercise any supervision or control over any school or State educational agency" which receives the benefit of the Federal funds. It is hard to see how the Act could be drawn so as to guarantee more completely the freedom of States receiving Federal aid from Federal interference in the States' control and administration of public schools.

The Bill provides for the appropriation of \$200,000,000 annually beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944 for the purpose of enabling States "to meet emergencies in financing public elementary and public secondary schools by providing funds for the payment of salaries to teachers to keep schools open, to employ additional teachers to relieve overcrowded classes, to raise sub-standard salaries of teachers, and to adjust the salaries of teachers to meet the increased cost of living." An additional appropriation amounting to \$100,000,000 is provided for in the Bill for the purpose of "more nearly equalizing public elementary and public secondary opportunities among and within the states."

The funds provided for by the Act are to be apportioned to the respective States by the United States Commissioner of Education in a manner specifically prescribed. Each State shall receive as its share of the \$200,000,000 an amount which bears the same ratio to the total sum as the average daily attendance of the State bears to the

total of such average daily attendance for all the States. The latest records available to the Commissioner of Education will be used in calculating the State apportionments.

The appropriation of \$100,000,000 will be apportioned to the States according to their financial need. The need will be calculated by: (1) computing the percentage of the number of children, five to seventeen years of age, in the respective States is of the number of such individuals in all States including Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and Guam; (2) computing the percentage the total estimated income payments of each State is of the total of such payments in the United States; (3) computing the excess of the percentage of children between five and seventeen years of age is over sixty-five percent of the percentage of income payments made by the State. The excess thus calculated will be the index of financial need of the respective States. Ninety-eight percent of the \$100,000,000 will be apportioned to the States on the basis of financial need. Two percent of the \$100,000,000, or as much of that amount as is necessary, will be apportioned to Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands and Guam according to their respective needs for additional funds for public education.

The funds appropriated under the provisions of Senate Bill 637 shall be regularly disbursed by the Secretary of the Treasury to the State Treasurer. Payments will be made to each State in four equal installments on or about the first day of each quarter beginning with first quarter of the fiscal year for which the funds are made available.

The funds appropriated by the Federal Government are for the purposes of: (1) keeping the public schools open for a term of not less than one hundred and sixty days

per year; (2) raising sub-standard salaries; (3) employing additional teachers to relieve overcrowded schools; (4) raising teachers' salaries to meet increase in cost of living; and (5) more nearly equalizing educational opportunities in the poorer states.

Not over one percent of the funds appropriated by the Federal Government for public education may be used to pay the expenses of the State Departments of Education for the administration of the funds.

The latter portion of the Bill provides for safeguarding the Federal funds so as to guarantee that the money will be spent for the purposes specified in the Act. The Act specifies that: the State Treasurer or corresponding official shall serve as trustee for the Federal funds paid the State; the State Schools' head shall administer the funds; audits shall be made of the manner in which the funds are expended and reports of such expenditures shall be made to the United

States Commissioner of Education; States which maintain separate school systems for separate races shall provide the minority race with its just share of the funds received from the Federal Government without reducing the amount of the State support for such schools; no State may reduce the amount of State support of the public schools below that of the fiscal year ending in 1942 and receive the benefits of the Federal funds; schools in which teachers' salaries have been reduced below the average annual salaries paid as of February 1, 1943 shall not receive the benefits of the Federal funds.

The Bill provides for the appropriation of one half of one percent of the funds allocated on the basis of average attendance for the purpose of educational surveys and other studies designed to find the best uses of the funds made available to the States by this Bill.

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RURAL LEVEL OF LIVING INDEXES

The farm population and rural welfare staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has developed three 1940 rural level of living indexes: a rural-farm index, a rural-nonfarm index, and a composite rural index. A release of the Bureau presenting values on these indexes for each county of the United States will be available to rural sociologists and others interested in rural social research, probably by the time this note appears in print.

The methods employed in constructing the indexes, along with a preliminary rural-farm index, were presented in the June issue of *Rural Sociology*.¹ Suggestions received from sociologists and statisticians led to further exploratory work on this index. The suggestions offered related chiefly to two points: (1) the possibility of vary-

ing weights and possibly components by regions, and (2) the possibility of making substitutions for some of the components proposed.

With regard to the first point, the writer has not been able to find or devise a method for varying components or weights of an index by regions which will at the same time afford a valid basis of comparing an index value for a county in one region with that for a county in a different region. One of the primary advantages of the methods utilized is that they provide a basis for elimination of those components which showed important differences among the two States chosen for experimental purposes and the 200-county sample, in direction or degree of correlation with the other items included in the index.

Since only those components which proved satisfactory in each of the geographic situations (with one exception), were included

¹ Margaret Jarman Hagood, "Development of a 1940 Rural-Farm Level of Living Index for Counties."

in the final index, the matter of regional differences in the validity of certain items as indicants of level of living has been taken into account, even though the index is not varied by regions.

The principal suggestion as to choice of components related to possible substitutes for "percentage of farms with gross income of \$600 or over." Further exploratory work was done to determine the advisability of substituting "mean value of land and buildings per farm" for this component, but the substitute did not prove to be as satisfactory as the original selection. Hence the components proposed in the preliminary rural-farm index were retained.

A test of the validity of the index for the counties of Connecticut was made by Walter C. McKain, Jr. Members of the field staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics ranked the counties according to their subjective appraisal of variations in rural-farm level of living. The rank order correlation between the mean of the individuals' rankings and the rankings according to the index presented below was .92.

A minor modification in the derivation of the index weights was made at the suggestion of Dr. Meyer A. Girshick. This involved the use of "1's" as the diagonal entries in the matrix of intercorrelations instead of the highest correlation coefficient for each component.

By methods similar to those described for the rural-farm index, a rural-nonfarm index was constructed. The components and relative weights for these two indexes are given below. All data are obtainable from the 1940 Censuses of Population, Housing, and Agriculture.

COMPONENTS AND RELATIVE WEIGHTS FOR 1940 RURAL-FARM AND RURAL-NONFARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEXES.

Component	Relative Weight
<i>Rural-farm index</i>	
1. Percentage of rural-farm occupied dwellings with fewer than 1.51 persons per room	.859
2. Percentage of rural-farm dwellings with radios	.100

3. Percentage of farms with gross income of \$600 or more	.836
4. Percentage of farms reporting automobiles of 1936 or later models	.887
5. Median year of school completed by rural-farm persons 25 years of age and over	.877

Rural-nonfarm index

1. Percentage of rural-nonfarm occupied dwelling units with fewer than 1.51 persons per room	.831
2. Percentage of rural-nonfarm dwellings with radios	1.000
3. Percentage of rural-nonfarm dwellings with running water	.900
4. Percentage of rural-nonfarm dwellings with mechanical refrigeration	.846
5. Median year of school completed by rural-nonfarm persons 25 years of age and over	.841

When the county evaluations for these two indexes were completed, each was coded to a scale with 100 as the value for the United States mean and with 24 scale points as the standard deviation on each scale. Index values for any county may be computed directly from Census data on the above components by use of the following formulas, in which the subscript of each X denotes the number of the component as listed above.

$$\text{Rural-farm index} = .467X_1 + .281X_2 + 226X_3 + .403X_4 + 4.351X_5 - 11.6,$$

$$\text{Rural-nonfarm index} = .718X_1 + .462X_2 + .342X_3 + .565X_4 + 6.104X_5 - 77.6.$$

This method of coding was adopted to provide comparable scales in order that the rural-farm index value and the rural-nonfarm index value could be combined to obtain a composite rural index value for each county. The composite rural index for a county is formed by adding the product of its coded rural-farm index times the proportion its rural-farm population comprises of its rural population to the product of its coded rural-nonfarm index times the proportion its rural-nonfarm population comprises of its total rural population.

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CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Conrad Taeuber†

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION STUDIES

- The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations, by W. A. Anderson; Bulletin 695, April 1938, 28 pp.
- Farm Women in the Home Bureau, by W. A. Anderson, Department of Rural Sociology; Mimeograph Bulletin No. 3, October 1941, 41 pp.
- Farmers in the Farm Bureau, by W. A. Anderson, Department of Rural Sociology; Mimeograph Bulletin No. 4, November 1941, 41 pp.
- Farm Families in the Grange, by W. A. Anderson, Department of Rural Sociology; Mimeograph Bulletin No. 7, March 1943, 38 pp.
- The Social Participation of Farm Families, by W. A. Anderson and Hans Plambeck, Department of Rural Sociology; Mimeograph Bulletin No. 8, March 1943, 37 pp.

(Published by the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York.)

Reports of rural sociological research still accumulate too much like beads that remain unstrung and widely scattered. It is always gratifying, therefore, to examine a series of studies by observers who make successive investigations in some one area of social experience. Entirely apart from the many other merits the long series of Cornell studies (Sanderson et al.) of the rural community was exemplary because of its cumulative quality. They demonstrated scientific persistence, which is of a higher research order than hop and skip opportunism, expedient as the latter may be in some places and at some times. The more recent studies of participation, now at least five in numbers, by Anderson and his students deserve and here receive a similar

salute. Nor is there a more sociologically pertinent category of behavior than participation. It is here hoped that these studies will continue.

The first report (and unfortunately the only one that is printed) analyzes organizational memberships of 2925 farmers in four New York counties. The second, third and fourth reports compare characteristics of members and non-members in the Home Bureau, Farm Bureau and Grange respectively. The fifth report, in which Anderson is joined by Hans Plambeck is the only one of the series in which participation by any family member not under 10 years old was considered a datum. The locale of these studies is Central and Western New York State, where the interest group on functional association has been of increasing prominence as a feature of rural social organization in recent decades. Any "laws" of membership or participation derived in such a culture will provide interesting frames of contrast for data from areas that are still in large measure *gemeinschaftliche*, as for example in the rural south. None of these studies undertakes the study of "informal" participation, for which rural sociologists still seek adequate devices for observation.

The New York farm operators belonged to 1.8 organizations each, but one-fifth of them belonged to no organizations, and nearly one-third belonged to only one; only one-tenth belonged to as many as four organizations. Membership was usually continuous once established. Church, Grange, Dairymen's League, Farm Bureau, Lodge, other cooperatives, and social-civic groups held the most members in order of frequency. "The characteristics that are likely to distinguish those farm operators who belong to several organizations from those who belong to one are: ownership of the farm rather than rental; operation of a larger farm rather than a smaller one; operating of a farm with higher assessed

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny, Eleanor Bernert, Douglas Ensminger, Walter McKain, Anton H. Anderson, Josiah C. Folsom, Edgar A. Schuler, Earl H. Bell, and U. T. Miller.

value rather than one of lower value; stability in residence rather than frequent shifting; and better schooling. . . ."

In contrast to non-members, women who were members of the Home Bureau in Cortland County, belonged to more organizations, were more likely to belong also to Church, Grange, P.-T.A., or other civic associations, participated more in other organizations, were from farm owner operator homes on better land classes and had larger incomes for family living, had more school training, were somewhat older, had less mobile residence histories, lived closer to social centers and had better transportation and communication facilities. These differences parallel in most respects the Farm Bureau member—nonmember contrasts in Cortland and Otsego counties and the contrasts between Grange member families and nonmember families in the same two counties. It is strongly indicated by the data of these studies that farmer participation in formally organized groups is class selective.

The report that 21 percent of the 2925 farmers in four counties belonged to no organizations arrests attention. This proportion of one in five has been reported in several studies (Kolb, Melvin, Sanderson and others), and is nearly well enough established to constitute a generalization of central tendency about farmers in this kind of a culture. (In the last report Anderson and Plambeck say that in 25 percent (Cortland) and 17 percent (Otsego) of the families, no member had attended an organizational meeting during the past year).

The data are substantial enough to justify some analytical formulations. Do we not have indication here, that, as *Gemeinschaft* gives way to *Gesellschaft* and the interest group or functional association comes into greater prominence in the organization of a community, some persons more than others are involved in the change, and are more participative in the newly differentiated groupings?

There is some question whether church membership should be considered in the same category with other memberships. Church membership is really not functional

association membership. In fact, it is a reasonable hypothesis that any transition of *Gemeinschaftliche* to *Gesellschaftliche* organizations would be accompanied by declining church membership and increasing membership in emergent functional associations. Some student of participation should test the relevance of church membership to a participation index. There are other problems of categorization, too. For example, a cow testing association is quite unlike a lodge. A mere count of organizations may be less suitable than a socio-functional classification, could satisfactory categories be developed. Much remains to be done in developing techniques for the sociology of participation.

A long wished for event in participation research still has not occurred; each worker uses a new device in statistical expression. From Hawthorne, Burt and others through Chapin a score of studies to those of Anderson, the reader moves as a traveller must have moved in pre-war Europe where each community set up its own standards for sizes and shapes of plugs, outlets, tools, rails, etc. Of course, it would be unwise to standardize or fix the usage of any statistical index until all kinds of alternatives are tested. We are still in the stage of testing alternatives. It is to the credit of Anderson and Plambeck that they did draw somewhat upon the experience of other students, especially in their application of the Chapin participation index.

But nearly every rural sociological survey has recorded data about participation. There is a wealth of material for many kinds of communities in many parts of the Nation, but differences in statistical dialect will make it difficult if not impossible for some integrative mind to educe the generalizations that might lie in these facts were the terms of study comparable. This criticism must not be over labored, however, for the inferences from participation data in various studies do seem repetitive and consistent, and in studies like these of Anderson's they approach important levels of generalization.

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MANPOWER

In the report of *Manpower and agricultural resources in the Appalachian Region*,¹ Farm Management specialists, Land Economists and Rural Sociologists joined forces to examine the problem in an area which is generally believed to have a considerable reservoir of under-employed farm people. The 1940 census reported that 42 percent of the classified farms in the region had less than \$400 gross value of products in 1939. Opportunities for increasing the acreage of crops and pastures are very limited. But some increase in contribution to war needs can be made by shifting production from less essential to more essential crops. Farm population of the Appalachian Region (5 States) has contributed about 500,000 actual or potential workers to industry and the armed forces and, in addition, 350,000 persons who continue to live on farms have taken nonfarm jobs. In April, 1943 the total farm employment was only about 100,000 short of the number 3 years earlier, but its composition had changed. Despite the losses, it is estimated that there is considerable agricultural underemployment in the region this year. More than 400,000 workers are estimated as available for more productive war employment than they had at the time of the survey. It is concluded that the loss of production due to the withdrawal from operation of some of the smaller, less productive farms would be small and could be more than offset through improved practices on the remaining farms and through increased production on the more productive farms of the Nation, made possible by a contribution of manpower from the Appalachian Region.

*Manpower for war work in Eastern Kentucky*² is the result of a joint investigation

¹ U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. Agr. Econ. *Manpower and agricultural resources in the Appalachian Region*. 20 pp. Washington, D. C., June, 1943.

² Olaf F. Larson and James C. Downing, *Manpower for war work, Eastern Kentucky*, 82 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta., Washington, D. C., May, 1943.

by farm management men and rural sociologists, to provide data about the area in Southeastern Kentucky which presumably has a large volume of underemployed farm people who might be provided with more effective employment, either at their home locations or elsewhere. Although the population of the 33 counties studied had decreased by 19 percent between April 1940 and December 1942, the number of workers estimated to be still available for more productive work was greater than the number who had left. Barriers to changing jobs and work location or size of family, amount of land holdings, lack of experience with more complicated farm equipment and with large scale farming operations, and lack of formal education. The majority of the workers classified as available are young and many indicated a willingness to take a war job, preferably in industrial work. Four-fifths of the farms surveyed had less than 8 war units; only 8 percent had 12 or more war units. Opportunities for wide spread combination of farms, if workers should leave, are limited because of the nature and location of the better lands. Out-movement up to the time of the survey was largely one of individuals leaving singly and of young families. If the present age and sex distribution continues long, it is likely to be reflected in higher rates of social dependency, higher illness and death rates, and lower birth rates. Schools have already felt the reduction in the number of children.

FARM LABOR

To provide badly needed farm labor the cooperating agencies undertook a unique project to remove underemployed people from farm areas in southeast Kentucky to Ohio.³ The steps included relocating, transportation, instruction and placement of workers and families. The project began in November, 1942. This is practically a

³ A. R. Mangus, *War relocation of subsistence farmers to areas of farm labor needs in Ohio*. Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 161. 24 pp. In cooperation with Farm Security Admin. U. S. Dept. Agr. and U. S. Employment Service, Columbus, April, 1943.

progress report summarizing certain important and wide economic, social, and cultural differences of the farming areas between which the people were moved; also characteristics of the relocated people and their families. There is brief appraisal of factors determining the success or failure of the movement and the progress as a whole. The strain of uprooting and relocating such families is considerable. The success of such a project depends largely upon the attitudes with which they are received and aided to readjust themselves to types of economic and social life new to them.

*The farm manpower situation in North Carolina, 1943*⁴ was appraised on the basis of data from a 4.1 percent sample of the farms in 12 counties of the State, each representing a type-of-farming area. Tabulations were made from information obtained in the State-wide, farm-to-farm census of manpower made by the AAA early in 1943. The findings indicate that most North Carolina farmers anticipate an adequate labor supply to meet their 1943 production plans, though critical labor shortages will undoubtedly occur on some farms, especially on the larger commercial ones. For the entire State, labor available exceeds labor needed by 30 percent; farms qualifying for 32 or more war units actually have 4 percent less labor than they need and those qualifying for less than 12 units need less than 50 percent of their available labor. Thirty-six percent of the effective manpower is composed of males of draft age, 21 percent of females, 4 percent of children under 14 and 2 percent of persons 65 years of age and over. Redistribution of the available labor supply in the most effective manner is the key to maximum war production for the State.

POPULATION

The importance of the rural-farm population as a source of youthful urban work-

ers is emphasized in a study of the recent growth and changes in the rural population of Ohio.⁵ For purposes of analysis a new index of county level-of-living was prepared of material on the following items from the 1940 Census: percent of farms (1) having automobiles, (2) having telephones, (3) on hard-surfaced roads, (4) with dwellings lighted by electricity, (5) within one-fourth mile of an electric power line, and (6) having automobiles which were 1936 or later models, and per cent of rural-farm homes having (7) running water, (8) private bath, and (9) indoor toilet. Rural population changes with respect to age and sex composition, age group replacement, and net migration, together with data on vital statistics, are analyzed for each of four level-of-living areas and for the State as a whole. The study is concluded with a series of propositions based on and summarizing the materials presented in the body of the report and the appendix tables.

*Erin*⁶ and *Land, people and farming in a rural zone*⁷ provide a basis for analyzing recent developments in the delicate balance that most part-time farming communities maintain between agricultural and nonagricultural activities. Both bulletins are based on field studies made in 1940.

Erin is a rural New York State township characterized by a declining agriculture and an increasing dependence upon non-farm employment. Most of the residents were formerly full-time farmers who have gradually curtailed, and in some cases

⁴ A. R. Mangus and Robert L. McNamara, *Levels of living and population movements in rural areas of Ohio, 1930-1940*. Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 639, 62 pp., Wooster, March, 1943.

⁵ F. F. Hill, Hugh A. Johnson, and Donald R. Rush, *Erin—the economic characteristics of a rural town in southern New York*, 80 pp., N. Y. State College of Agr. and Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Ithaca, March, 1943.

⁷ William R. Gordon and Gilbert S. Mel-drum, *Land, people and farming in a rural zone*. E. I. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 285. 47 pp. In cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Kingston, Nov., 1942.

⁶ G. W. Forster and others. *Farm Manpower situation in North Carolina, 1943*. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 340, 29 pp., Raleigh, June, 1943.

abandoned, their farm businesses and now rely upon industrial employment for a large share of their meager incomes. They are not part of a back to the land movement. The authors of *Erin* separated the families into three groups; full-time farmers, part-time farmers, and rural residents and analyzed each group separately. Although written primarily as a farm management study, recognition is given to the importance of the social characteristics of Erin's population. A substantial section of the report is devoted to a series of well chosen case studies many of which make evident the pitfalls awaiting city families who hope to become part-time farmers.

Unlike Erin the two towns described in *Land, people and farming in a rural zone* contain families whose background is definitely urban. Exeter, a sparsely settled inland town, and Westerly, a more thickly populated coastal town, have many urban characteristics. Many families came to Exeter and Westerly as a result of a decline in the textile industry. Some were attracted by a flourishing recreation business. Over two-thirds of the families reported no cash income from farming. The bulletin, then, is a description of families whose urban interests are given expression in a rural setting.

A study based on Census data of *Population trends in New York State 1900 to 1940*⁸ shows a steadily increasing population in each decade of the thirty year span, though the 1930-40 rate of increase declined markedly, dropping from 21.2 percent in 1920-30 to 7.1 percent in 1930-40. Over the entire period, the population of New York increased at a faster rate than did that of the United States as a whole, but the 1930-40 rates are about the same (7.1 for New York State and 7.2 for the United States). The major portion of the population increase within the State took place about the large cities and predominantly in the metropolitan districts. Urban concentration has

continued, though at a slowing rate, while the rural-nonfarm population has increased, especially around the cities. After a number of decades of constant decline, the 1930-40 decade saw a small increase in the farm population, mainly in the suburbs of the metropolitan districts. Since December 1941, rural residents have flocked to major centers of war industries, somewhat depopulating the open country territory.

*Czech farmers in Oklahoma*⁹ is a study of the comparative stability of a group of Czech farmers and groups of native American farmers in Lincoln County, Oklahoma. A stable farm group is defined as one in which a high percentage of individual members are able to operate as going concerns, to continue operations in times of depression as well as prosperity, adapting farm practices, if necessary, to changing conditions. With similar physical and economic resources the differences in stability resulted from the human differences of the groups. The greater stability of the Czech farmers was due to group attitudes, techniques, ideas, and habits as well as to agricultural practices and social existence. Czechs cultivate more cotton and more feed crops per farm, raise more livestock, maintain their farms in better condition, and equip themselves more fully for home living on their farms than the native Americans in the groups studied. The social life of the Czechs is broader and their economic ties with the village are closer and stronger.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The fifth volume in the BAE series of rural life studies¹⁰ gives a cultural history of a prosperous corn belt community and a description of its present culture. The Irwin community was chosen to represent those midway between the extremes of stability

⁸ Russell Wilford Lynch, *Czech farmers in Oklahoma*. Okla. Agr. and Mech. College Bul. Vol. 39, No. 13, 119 pp. Stillwater, June, 1942.

¹⁰ Edward O. Moe and Carl C. Taylor, *Culture of a contemporary rural community Irwin, Iowa*. 93 pp. Rural Life Studies 5, Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., Dec., 1942.

⁹ W. A. Anderson, *Population trends in New York State 1900 to 1940*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 786. 71 pp. Ithaca, Nov., 1942.

or instability. The authors give the historical background of the community, the changes in the population composition, the land use patterns, the social organization of the community and its place in the larger world as the people see it. The development of commercialization and the effects of pressures from the outside world are described in terms of their influence on the social organization and the behavior patterns of the people. During its sixty years of history the composition of its population has changed, emphasis has shifted from cereal crops to livestock, commercialization has developed and farming has been mechanized. The channeling of these new elements through strong but flexible social institutions and the strong economic base cushioned the shock of their introduction. This is perhaps the basis of the solid progressive character of the corn belt agriculture.

*Civilian organization for total war, Calhoun County, Arkansas*¹¹ was studied in order to throw light on (1) extent to which specified war programs were known, (2) extent of participation in specified war programs, (3) principal sources of information on specified war programs, and (4) the chief sources from which farm families would expect to get additional information about these programs. The results of the study reveal: "(1) The most widely known war programs among farm people in Calhoun County are those dealing with salvage (with the exception of fats salvage), rationing, and food production. The less widely known are primarily educational in nature, such as nutrition, inflation and price control, and parity prices, but also include the U.S.O. and fats salvage programs. (2) Farm people participated most in the salvage programs (with the exception of fats salvage) and the food production program; they participated least in the U.S.O. fund drive, fats salvage, and relating to War

Bonds and Stamps drives. (3) The principal sources of information of farm people in Calhoun County concerning war programs are 1) the radio, 2) the newspaper, 3) the county and home agents, 4) the FSA supervisors, and 5) the AAA committeemen. (4) Farm families would try to get additional needed information on war programs principally from 1) the County Agricultural Extension Service Office, 2) the AAA office and 3) the FSA office. (5) Most of the wartime programs were activated by previously existing peacetime organizations. (6) Organizations which came into being directly as a result of the war are primarily concerned with coordinating existing agencies or with administering wartime controls over materials, equipment and manpower. (7) Experience has been a good teacher; in the process of adjustment all groups have become more unified and more concerned with the basic problem of: 'What can be done to help win the war?' (8) There is a growing recognition of the need for clearing all county-wide wartime programs through some small coordinating committee or council. It is possible that the Civilian Defense Council could perform the function effectively since it has no special action program of its own and includes both farmers and townspeople in its voluntary leadership."

Intensive studies of the effectiveness with which the nutrition committees organized to use the face-to-face method in handling the *Share-the-meat campaign*¹² were conducted in Missouri, South Carolina, and Rhode Island. These studies found that: (1) Families generally had a good understanding of the what and why of the campaign. Urban families were better informed

¹¹ T. G. Standing and T. Wilson Longmore, *Civilian organization for total war, Calhoun County, Arkansas*. 36 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. Little Rock, April, 1943.

¹² Ronald B. Almack and Ruth McCammon, *Report on the share the meat campaign in Missouri*. 15 pp. Olen Leonard and Myra Reagon, *The share the meat campaign in South Carolina*. 18 pp. Walter C. McKain, *The share the meat program in Rhode Island*. 37 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. and Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Milwaukee, Wis., Atlanta, Ga., and Upper Darby, Penn., March, 1943 respectively.

than were the rural families. (2) The majority of the families had heard of the Campaign from more than one source, but those who had been personally contacted stated that the explanations given them by block or neighborhood leaders together with the leave-at-homes were the most informative. These helped them to grasp the significance of the program and to see the part each person had to play, something other sources didn't do. (3) In general, the personal contacts in the urban areas were made by block leaders, salvage leaders and air raid wardens. In the cities where the block-leader plan of organization was well established the block leaders contacted as high as 80 percent of the families. Where salvage leaders and other contact methods were used coverage fell to as low as 10 percent. Many cities did not have their block leaders organized in time to conduct the campaign. (4) The Share-the-meat campaign was promoted in rural areas by several different methods. Personal visits were made by neighborhood leaders, community leaders, and by Home Demonstration Club leaders. In addition to personal contact of the leaders many rural areas were covered through group meetings. (5) There is a need for maximum flexibility in methods of organization in both rural and urban areas. (6) Most families were interested in attending food demonstrations. This interest was greatest among the families who had been contacted by block and neighborhood leaders. (7) Although coverage was far from complete the results indicate that the face-to-face method was of value in promoting the campaign.

LAND TENURE

The control of range lands for collective tenure or group action is not new. But in the Northern Great Plains it has developed most rapidly in recent years. Cooperative grazing districts, Soil Conservation Service districts and advisory boards in Taylor grazing districts and the national forests are the best known illustration. Two major types of collective devices can be distinguished. In one, the initiative for promotion, organization, and control rests in local

hands. In the other, local participation is largely of an advisory character and the final decision regarding policy rests in the hands of public agencies. A recent report, *Collective tenure in grazing land in Montana*¹³ describes some common forms of collective tenure and some of the problems facing the collective tenure movement as they relate to organization, stabilizing tenure, allocation of grazing privileges and finance.

LEVELS OF LIVING

*Rural family spending and saving in wartime*¹⁴ reports on a survey of expenditures and savings of rural families and single consumers at different income levels during 1941 and the first quarter of 1942. The Bureau of Labor Statistics made a parallel study of urban consumers. In many respects the data are comparable to those of the consumer purchasers study of 1935 and 1936. Although agricultural production was approaching all-time high levels and the ratio of prices received to prices paid by farmers was approaching parity, one-half of the farm families reported \$750 or less in net money income. Even if the value of goods produced and consumed at home is added the median income rises to only \$1280. The report describes briefly the scope of the study, the sampling procedure and the nature of the data obtained; 52 tables present the detailed findings.

MISCELLANEOUS

*Social heritage as a factor in college achievement*¹⁵ is the subject of a study of students at Washington State College. The rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban ele-

¹³ G. H. Craig and Charles W. Loomer, *Collective tenure on grazing land in Montana*, Mont. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 406, 59 pp. Bozeman, Feb., 1943.

¹⁴ U. S. Dept. Agr., *Rural family spending and saving in wartime*. 163 pp. Misc. Pub. 520, Washington, D. C. June, 1943.

¹⁵ Raymond W. Hatch and Paul H. Landis, *Social heritage as a factor in college achievement*. Research Studies of the State College of Washington. Vol. X No. 4, pp. 215-272, Pullman, Wash., Dec., 1942.

ments contribute about a normal ratio to the State College student population, but marked differences in ability and performance of these groups were observed. Both rural groups are more highly selected in terms of having attained a high rank in their high school graduating classes, but the urban students in spite of an average lower rank in their high school classes do much better on the college psychological test than the other groups, the farm group ranking lowest. In terms of actual college performance no significant differences are found in the total grade-point averages of rural and urban groups. When persistence is introduced as a measure of college success, the rural-farm students achieve significantly greater success than do urban students. Proportionately fewer rural-farm students drop out during the first college year, and a larger proportion persist to graduation. The effective intelligence of rural students, as measured by their ability to make satisfactory scholastic adjustments, is apparently as high as that of urban students. This would seem to be a more valid basis for drawing rural-urban comparisons than performance on a single psychological test. In the college situation the farm youth seems to have the advantage of somewhat earlier maturity. He less often participates in inter-collegiate athletics, is less often a member of a social fraternity or sorority, and has a lower social-participation score.

*Food rationing and morale*¹⁶ describes five standards that a rationing program must meet if it is to foster morale in wartime. These are: (1) limit the special advantages of certain groups arising from income, leisure time, or favored access to food production areas; (2) encourage adjustment of food consumption to needs by special ration allowances or supplementary feeding projects; (3) insure variety and choice in diets; (4) insure the cooperation of growers; (5) be explained to the public until ignorance and suspicion are elim-

inated. A rationing program which fails to meet the standards outlined may actively undermine morale. As demonstrated by the experience of England, "a well understood and successful policy of food rationing is unmistakable evidence of national concern for the security and welfare of all." The most serious lack in the American rationing system is the feebleness of its educational program, shown in the failure of the public to demand more rationing.

*Government payments to agriculture in Boone County, Nebraska*¹⁷ sought to determine the Government payments to farm families and the relationship between these payments and social and economic characteristics of the households. The study included all farm units and all farm operators in the county 1936-1939. Results were tabulated in terms of land classes as mapped by the planning committee and in relation to tenure status and size of farm unit. Ten different types of Government payments were included, and records of agencies supplied the data for the study. Records used did not include sufficient information about social and economic characteristics of the households to permit definite conclusions, but the findings strongly suggest the need for basic adjustments in educational, planning and agricultural agency programs to alleviate as far as possible the peculiar farming hazards of the transition area.

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¹⁶ C. Arnold Anderson, *Food rationing and morale*. 40 pp. Pamphlet No. 4 in the Wartime Farm and Food Policy Ser., Iowa State College Press, Ames, 1943.

¹⁷ Anton H. Anderson, *Government payments to agriculture in Boone County, Nebraska 1936-39*. 31 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with Boone County Land Use Planning Committee, Lincoln, Nebraska, Feb., 1943.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Howard W. Beers

The Holy Earth. By L. H. Bailey. New York: The Christian Rural Fellowship, 1943. Pp. 128, \$0.25. Reprinted in cooperation with the author.

This was the first of the Background Series of seven books which the author published in a little over a decade from 1915 to 1927. This series forms a statement of Dr. Bailey's mature philosophy of rural life, with thoughts on many other phases of modern life as byproducts. The whole series is too little known and should be reprinted entire in one volume. The one volume of verse, *Wind and Weather*, will be a surprise to some who have not known the author as a poet who voices the thoughts of the dirt farmer as well as those of the nature lover. Among the present flood of books and pamphlets on democracy there is nothing better than the fourth of this series, *What is Democracy?* published at the close of World War I, and the previous book, *Universal Service*, describes what he conceives to be the hope of democracy. Space does not permit further review of this remarkable series, but it is too little known by present students of rural life, as most of the volumes are out of print.

The Christian Rural Fellowship, through the enterprise of its executive secretary John H. Reisner, has, therefore, done a great service to the cause of country life by reprinting *The Holy Earth*, the first and best-known of this series, and at a price which will give it a wide reading. An edition of 10,000 copies is practically exhausted and another printing is probable, which is an interesting commentary on the fact that when the book was first published twenty-five years ago it had a small sale and the edition was not sold out. So the seed sown at that time is coming into harvest.

This is a spiritual book, even one of a certain mysticism, but a scientific mysticism. For, says the author, "Science but increases the mystery of the unknown and

enlarges the boundaries of the spiritual vision."

The thesis of the book can hardly be put better than in the author's own words from the last paragraph of his "Retrospect," which forms a preface to the new edition:

We did not make the earth. We have received it and its bounties. It is beyond us, so it is divine. We have inescapable responsibilities. It is our privilege so to comprehend the use of the earth as to develop a spiritual stature. When the epoch of mere exploitation of the earth shall have worn itself out, we shall realize the heritage that remains and enter new realms of satisfaction.

This is the main theme of the book. To make any critique of it would be an impertinence. It is the message of one who is not only a poet and a major prophet of modern agriculture, but who has a practical grasp of current problems of public policy and administration. This is evidenced by the section on "The Democratic Basis of Agriculture," in which he contrasts monopoly and bureaucracy and concludes that the latter is the more insidious and more dangerous. It expresses a philosophy which is fundamental to the whole modern conservation movement, both of soil, forest, animal, plant and human life. Also, here and there throughout the book are scattered observations on human behavior representing the ethics of what is involved in the doctrine of *The Holy Earth*. Thus he holds that a ten-course hotel dinner contributes nothing to human efficiency, but is a ceremony. "Such laborious uselessness is quite immoral."

This is a deeply religious book, and because it so combines religious perception with a practical philosophy of human behavior and procedure, it is a book which should be required reading for every rural pastor, and for every rural educator. The former will find that it has a message for him, whatever his theology; and the latter

will miss some of the deepest meanings of rural education if he does not grasp its principles. It should be a part of the training of every student of rural sociology, for it will ever be a classic in the literature of rural life. Libraries should stock up with sufficient copies while they are available.

DWIGHT SANDERSON.

Cornell University.

Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Durham: Duke University Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 246. \$3.50.

Stemming largely from his *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, this latest book by Professor Sorokin is concerned mainly with the basic referential principles of social science in general and of sociology in particular. Several of the author's recent publications have been intended as popularizations, but this work, as the rather formidable title suggests, is a technical treatise in methodology. For those social scientists who still labor under the misconception that levels of phenomena are essentially the same in all sciences, *Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time* is a vigorous and useful corrective. It contains an excessive amount of self-quotation, however, and those specialists who have followed Sorokin's recent works rather closely may regret his tendency toward parthenogenesis. Although his adherents may wish that he had applied his critical acumen and creativeness to new tasks, interested persons who have not already assimilated his ideas will be aided by this clarification and pointing up of an important perspective in contemporary sociology.

The opening chapter of the book is entitled a "Declaration of Independence of Sociology and the Social Sciences from the Natural Sciences," the three following chapters are an exposition of sociocultural causality, space, and time, and the final chapter sets forth the referential principles of integralist sociology. To liberate "sociology and the social sciences from voluntary servitude to the natural sciences," they "must have their own set of referential principles and their own peculiar methods

suited to the nature of the phenomena they deal with." Blind imitation of the physical sciences and crude quantitativism are ably and incisively criticized, and Sorokin's proposal for a revolt against the sterility of the positivistic "natural-science sociology" is outlined.

Lundberg, Dodd, and others of their school of thought are lambasted. Mistaken efforts on the part of social scientists to resort to pseudo-mathematics, and to reduce all inquiry to some form of measurement, even in the absence of so elementary a thing as a unit, are exposed. In utilizing his time-tried device of setting up his pins and then bowling them down, Sorokin scores a number of strikes against monistic interpretations of social causality and rigid conceptions of space and time. Diffuse theories of multiple causation are also eliminated. All of this is acceptable to many sociologists who will agree with the author that the "mechanical research of mediocre clerical manipulators" is to be deplored.

From this point on, his argument elicits less agreement. That a satisfactory plan for constructive revision is contained in Sorokin's own rather abstruse and mystic "integralist sociology" (an application of what in his *Dynamics* was termed the "logico-meaningful method") is very doubtful. Merely because we do not as yet (and may never) understand very precisely the role of creative imagination, few modern scientists would hold with him that we ought to treat it as "a supersensory, super-rational, metalogic act of 'intuition' or 'mystic experience,' representing a type of cognition 'sui generis,' profoundly different from sensory perception and the logical activity of reason."

Sorokin summarizes his positive conception as follows: "The integralist school of sociology embraces the valid parts of the purely empirical, singularistic and sense-perceptual conceptions; of the purely rational, logical conceptions emphasizing rationality, logic, orderliness, and uniformity; and, finally, of the purely intuitive, mystic, metalogical conceptions of reality as the transcendental 'City of God,' as

stressed by the 'sociologies' of the truth of faith. The integral sociocultural reality is obviously richer than any of these partial concepts." If the searchers for truth are to be really scientific, according to the canons of the integralist school, here is their credo!

LOGAN WILSON.

University of Kentucky.

Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture: Cooperative Group Farming—A Practical Program of Rural Rehabilitation. By Joseph W. Eaton. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. Pp. 255. \$2.75.

This is a valuable book. It comes to hand at a time when our agriculture is in a period of transition—at a time, in other words, when it is essential that it be not allowed simply to drift, but be reasonably directed, if the end results of the change are to be good. There is not a little in this volume that should be helpful in providing the direction needed.

The second title, "Cooperative Group Farming—A Practical Program of Rural Rehabilitation," much more pointedly indicates the content of the volume than does the first, namely, "Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture." The volume is divided into three major parts: the first, dealing with "The Theory of Cooperative Group Farming as a Method of Rural Rehabilitation"; the second, telling in detail the story of "The Cooperative Corporation Farms of the Farm Security Administration"; the third, describing "Other Cooperative Farm Groups."

Perhaps outstanding among the items giving attention in the first part are: ten criteria of rural rehabilitation; three surmountable obstacles to rural rehabilitation; a comparison of the large-scale and family-type pattern of farming. Regarding the last-mentioned item the author concludes: "When all is considered, we still do not have enough conclusive evidence to make a definite judgment as to the merits of the two types of farm organization. But we do know one fact. American farms are growing larger." He adds, regarding what he calls "the tide toward ever larger and more

commercialized types of farming in many regions": At present, while we are still in the middle of this trend, both large and small farms co-exist. Many well-trained and industrious family farmers are still making a fair living and may do so for a time, just as independent grocery or hardware stores are surviving despite the competition from chain stores. But for better or for worse, an agricultural industrialization may be in store for us."

In describing, in the second part of the volume, the twenty-seven cooperative corporation farms established by the Farm Security Administration between the years 1937 and 1942, special short chapters are devoted to the following topics among others: physical layout; objectives and philosophy; membership selection and turnover; legal organization; management; cost of establishment; rent and subsidization; business success. The weaknesses and strengths, the successes and the failures of these FSA units are all brought out into the open. Among the successes noted by the author are the following: the member's material well-being has been bettered; the asocial effects of mechanization have not operated on cooperative corporation farms; there has been efficient production; habits of rugged isolation, characteristic of American farmers, are being broken down. Among the signs of weakness noted by him are these: "There are noticeable administrative difficulties on many projects, especially friction between FSA officials and the renters. Many of the latter look upon their membership as a 'government job' and make little or no effort to transform their associations into genuine cooperatives. They often withdraw to take other farm-labor jobs which seem less promising, indicating that they do not understand the potential advantages of being members of a cooperative corporation. The layout and the farm plan of several projects is far from ideal. The cost of establishment has been high, and we have no proof that it was considerably lower than the cost of establishing family-type units. Many associations still require a subsidy and operate at a loss."

In the last section of the volume, dealing with non-governmental resettlement projects, the author describes three privately organized and administered cooperative ventures, a number of religio-utopian group-farms of the United States and several group-farms in other countries. Like the FSA units, these non-governmental projects have also proved themselves important laboratories for testing the relative advantages and disadvantages of large-scale versus small-scale, and cooperative versus non-cooperative operations.

There is an interesting statement in the foreword by M. L. Wilson. It reads: "We must recognize that cooperative group farming is entirely foreign to our custom and destined to fail unless there is some religious or ethical motive to draw people together." Very true. And the religion that forms the basis of each venture will have to be something genuinely substantial. A "do-as-you-please religion" based on sheer individualism will not permanently make of the individualist American farmer a being social enough for satisfactory cooperative farm-group life.

EDGAR SCHMIEDLER.

National Catholic Welfare Conference.

World Trade in Agricultural Products. By Henry C. Taylor and Anne Dewees Taylor. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. x + 286. \$3.50.

Well up on the agenda at the next peace conference will certainly appear the topic "World Trade in Agricultural Products." In a book bearing such a title Dr. and Mrs. Taylor have provided not only a background of extremely interesting and valuable facts, but have interpreted the meaning of these facts in terms of national and international policies. Within a comparatively few pages they have incorporated an adequate amount of very readable textual material and fortified it with a surprisingly large number of charts, maps and statistical tables.

The book (which is offered as "one contribution to the factual background needed for an appraisal of the problems that face the builders of a world social structure de-

signed to provide the conditions essential to the progress of civilization"), is indispensable to an understanding of the "essential characteristics of world trade"; the "underlying motives and far-reaching effects of national trade policies"; and the "relationships between standards of living and widespread controls that force agriculture, industry and commerce into uneconomic channels."

The authors are peculiarly qualified for a task of such magnitude and kind and in its accomplishment have drawn heavily not only upon a rich and varied experience but upon rare and ordinarily unavailable source materials.

After a concise but comprehensive Introduction there are chapters on Cotton, Wool, Silk, Rubber, Tobacco, Coffee, Tea, Sugar, Wheat, Rice, Feed Grains, Meat and Live Animals, Fats and Oils. For each of these commodities or groups of commodities and for the major exporting and importing countries, there are shown by the use of charts, maps, and statistical tables the essential facts with respect to net trade and to trends in the volume of world imports and exports. The way in which national policies, imperial preferences and international agreements have influenced the extent, character and direction of trade in each of these commodities and in the different countries is made very understandable in the accompanying text. A special chapter on Government Policies discusses the problem from the point of view of some of the leading nations and calls attention to the mistakes which have been made and the efforts put forth to prevent them. A concluding chapter is devoted to a summary and comments and suggests an essential relationship between world trade in agricultural products, the causes of war and the conditions of peace.

There is so much to commend the form, style and content of the volume that this reviewer finds it difficult either to pick out one section or feature more noteworthy than another or to find fault with a particular item. The amount of factual material contained in the book is almost unbelievable

and definitely fixes it as an indispensable reference. It provides also an admirable text in a field which has heretofore been sadly neglected and it offers to the policy-makers a thought-provoking treatise on one of the least understood and most abused of all economic policies.

As the authors state (p. 266) "World trade in agricultural products threads its way through the entanglements built up by national legislation in response to pressure groups." The results to date have not been any too favorable. As an alternative the authors suggest the creation of conditions under which each nation may develop along the lines of its own resources and abilities and unhampered by artificialities established for the benefit of special interests. They admit that this will take "time, patience and great skill" and will require "not only enlightened attitudes on the part of each nation but also a fundamental international understanding and genuine cooperative action on a world basis."

G. H. AULL.

Clemson College.

Balinese Character. A Photographic Analysis. By Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead. Special Publications of the New York Academy of Sciences, v. II, Dec. 7, 1942. Pp. xvi + 277. \$3.75.

Since the discussion of "ethos" in Sumner's monumental *Folkways*, social scientists have been hard on the trail of that evanescent and intangible concept. That the summation of the traits of a society or of an individual has a transcendent character which informs the aggregate with order, and which constrains the apparent diversity within the rigid confines of a master-plan, has been a common-place in social theory. It is perhaps only extreme atomistic behaviorists who would argue otherwise.

But it has not been an easy task to proceed from this vague realization to the formulation of such criteria as would lend themselves to comparable work among a large body of scientists. The vigor of the concept, however, is tantalizingly evident in the work of functional anthropologists,

Gestalt psychologists, and historians, such as—among many others—Spengler, Koffka, Wertheimer, Benedict, and Mead. With what success they have accounted themselves in this matter, the reader must judge for himself.

It is to this problem as it presents itself in their Balinese materials that Drs. Bateson and Mead direct their considerable talents. Cognisant of the widespread feeling that her work, while stimulating and suggestive, rings too impressionistically on cautious ears, that her effects seem to be created rather by a brisk journalistic commentary on the passing primitive parade than by sound evidence, Dr. Mead, with Dr. Bateson as co-author has set out to present the Balinese "ethos" in unassailable objective form so that all may see for themselves. The volume is at the same time a methodological illustration of how, in their judgment, the scientist must describe and analyze the culture-configuration as it exemplifies itself in the individual-*Gestalt*.

The techniques employed to achieve this worthy end are twofold. First, several hundred photographs, from among their files of tens of thousands, are presented with both analytic and synthetic commentary. These photographs represent instances of the types of concrete behavioral evidence upon which the authors base their judgments. Second, the authors contribute their unique stylistic modes separately and conjointly to the analysis. Dr. Mead's contribution is impressionistic, dramatic, and synthetic in view, much as in her earlier works on child development; that of Dr. Bateson analytic and concrete.

With this novel approach and presentation, it is concluded that the Balinese character is based upon fear, which constitutes both a value and a threat; that it is "cut off from inter-personal relations," in a state of "dreamy-relaxed disassociation" similar to what in our own society is clinically regarded as "schizoid"; that it is emotionally vulnerable; and that life for it is without climax. "Between the Death which is symbolized by the Witch's claw and the graveyard orgies, and the death which is sleep

into which one retires when frightened, life is a rhythmic, patterned unreality of pleasant, significant movement, centered in one's own body to which all emotion long ago withdrew." (p. 48)

It will be difficult for the ordinary reader to evaluate the conclusions of the study for two reasons. Much of the language is systematically vague and unnecessarily recondite; the volume would have gained much from simpler language. Secondly, in spite of the authors' belief in the adequacy of photographic evidence, much more evidence would seem to be required. If one chose to question certain basic assumptions of the study, such as that adult behavior is directly consequent upon, or a re-enactment of, infantile behavior—as many have done with respect to Freud's similar notion—it would be apparent that the present materials are not conclusive.

It is further clear that despite the methodological emphasis, no formal criteria have been explicitly set forth which would enable us to see the grounds for the ethological interpretations. The difficulty is not stylistic, as they seem to feel, it is the fundamental lack of operational criteria for the determination of configurational types. The present reviewer regrets to say that, whatever else may have been accomplished by this study, it has not filled this central need of all "pattern," "configurational," "*Gestalt*," or "ethological" theory. However profuse and excellent the field materials, the uneasy suspicion still remains that as regards "ethos" theory, we are still hardly further advanced than the simple statements that "the Japanese ethos is militaristic"; "the Chinese ethos is pacifistic"; "the European *kharma* is commercial"; "the Zuni is Apollonian."

While the very excellent photographs—which, incidentally, reach a new high in meaningful cultural photography—provide much visual evidence, they cannot be offered as proof. Photographs can illustrate and document an argument, but they cannot prove it. Perhaps continuous cinematography might do it, but still photographs can only say, in effect, "this is what I mean

when I say such-and-such." The value of photography either as illustration or proof depends solely on the inherent strength of the argument itself. Still photographs cannot be taken as the primary empirical data for verification of complex theoretical problems.

To say all this is not to belittle the genuine achievement of this enormously stimulating volume. The photography itself is inherently valuable. We learn much about the individual in Balinese culture, about the reciprocal inter-relations between culture and the person. The forthright effort to grapple with intricate problems in configurational analysis, while certainly not uniformly successful, yields a net precipitate of gain for all social scientists.

HERBERT PASSIN.

Evanston, Illinois.

Economics of Soil Conservation. By Arthur C. Bunce. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1943. Pp. xv + 227. \$3.00.

This book treats the subject of conservation in a somewhat restricted manner. It is confined, as the title suggests, chiefly, although not solely, to the economics of land conservation. The procedure is from definitions through an intricate economic analysis to the formulation of public policies and action programs. The chapter on definitions is concerned with the nature of conservation, exploitation of land, capital, net income, rent, and other concepts usually encountered in a discussion of conservation. The deck thus cleared for action, the author undertakes an economic analysis of production (chapters 2 to 5, inclusive), which he believes is essential to a correct understanding of the nature of conservation and the many problems associated with it. This analysis is followed by a discussion of problems of the individual and the maintenance of soil fertility (chapters 6 and 7). There are four chapters (8 to 11, inclusive) dealing with the role and interest of society in conservation both under conditions of peace and war. As a logical conclusion, in the final chapter (12), the author undertakes the difficult task of formulating pub-

lic policies and indicating the proper lines of action.

The treatment is theoretical and analytical. There are few if any facts presented with respect to the conservation of our land resources or their exploitation. Much of the discussion does not deal with conservation *per se* but with abstractions, such as the efficiency and capacity of land or other factors of production; the elasticity of production and intensity of land use; the relationship of elasticity of production and intensity of land use to rent; intensive and extensive margins; the relation of price changes (in the abstract) to conservation.

This type of treatment reflects the trend in modern economics, which is in fact an extension of the classical tradition, although this is often violently denied. True, the modern economist has abandoned, apparently, such fictions as perfect competition because he knows that it does not exist, and actually did not exist even in days of the classical economist. Yet, the modern economist tends to indulge in lines of reasoning, and to use methods of analysis which yield results of doubtful practical value. The fact is that in the conservation of our natural resources there are too many factors, the effects of which are not subject to accurate evaluation. In view of this, it would appear that the most fruitful approach to the problem of conservation lies not so much in a general or even a detailed abstract analysis as it does in studies of specific problems—problems that can be clearly described and which are not so complicated as to defy analysis. In this respect the *Economics of Soil Conservation* will not be of much help to those who are concerned with getting along with the conservation of our diminishing national resources.

The modern approach to conservation, as exemplified in this book, is conditioned also by the idea that national resources are not a common heritage of the race. What justification, for example, has any nation to say that the resources within its boundaries belong solely to it, to be used as it sees fit, and to bar all other nations from participating in their use? It is not important to the dis-

cussion whether or not this idea is correct. The point is that the modern approach to conservation lacks depth and is projected on too narrow a base. This is true of Bunce's book because of its emphasis on abstract economic analyses.

These defects of *Economics of Soil Conservation* become more obvious when the author attempts to formulate policies and action programs. This part of the book must be marked down as negative. It deals with the questions of the function of economic research and other equally innocuous although essential topics. This flows directly from the preceding treatment of the subject of conservation. Conservation is of sufficient importance to be dealt with in a broader and more realistic fashion, with an understanding of what has been done and what still remains to be accomplished not only on a national but an international scale. It is only in this fashion that the conservation and maximum use of our national resources can be assured.

It is a difficult task to evaluate properly this book. There is unquestionably a need for a book on this subject and to some extent Bunce's book supplies this need. But the sophisticated reader will not be satisfied with the treatment accorded the subject. It smacks too much of the classroom and modern volumes of abstraction. These unquestionably have their place but must be integrated with actual accomplishments if they are to be used most effectively. In spite of the defects in this book, students and workers in the field of conservation will find in it much that is useful and stimulating.

G. W. FORSTER.

North Carolina State College.

Redirecting Farm Policy. By Theodore W. Schultz. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. vii + 75. \$1.00.

Dr. Schultz made a fortunate choice in the title of his book as it stimulates thinking on the subject of agricultural policy. The book itself is quite largely a criticism of past policies and especially of parity prices. Inasmuch as parity prices were instituted as "goals" during the depression of

the thirties and not as "directives" for a war-time economy, probably a page or two would have convinced most readers that the parity concept is less well suited to the agricultural problems of the 1940's than to those of the 1930's, and that parity as applied has not been perfect at any time. Nearly half of the book, however, is devoted to these points.

The redirecting suggested by the author applies as much to social policy as to agricultural policy. He indicates that society has three fundamental stakes in agriculture: (1) a stake in production, the use of resources, (2) a stake in how farm people live, and (3) a stake in an equitable distribution of the food supply in such a way as to serve the general interest (pages 3-5).

Two suggestions are offered for redirecting farm (and social) policy: First, that the government enlarge its policy of guaranteeing prices to farmers, with the intent of obtaining the most advantageous use of farm resources. These "forward prices" would be announced sufficiently in advance of a production period to guide farmers in their production plans. Secondly, Schultz proposes that government aid be rendered to low income families on the basis of the size of the family. Benefits in kind rather than in cash are recommended. Details of administering a program designed to carry out these suggestions are not included.

The goal of efficient use of farm resources will meet with general support even though some may not agree with the proposal of how to gain that objective. Dr. Schultz admits on page 10 that prices are less effective as directives in periods of deflation and inflation than in periods of "no radical change in aggregate incomes." Ineffectiveness just at the time when directives are most sorely needed surely is an objection to the proposal. Sociologists may agree with the suggestion of aid to large families but at least some economists will disagree in spite of the premium which war is placing upon a high birth rate. Dr. Schultz fails to recognize that it is large production per capita which permits a high standard of living rather than large total

production without regard to the number of people among whom the product must be distributed.

In a period of rapid development in social planning Dr. Schultz wisely has limited his book to one segment of the subject, i.e. to prices, as goals and directives in the perspective of long-time objectives. Rural sociologists and economists who are interested in agricultural policy will find it worth reading.

DANA G. CARD.

University of Kentucky.

White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. Final Report. Children's Bureau Publication 272. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. 392. \$0.65.

Sociologists, many of whom are now engaged in post-war planning, will be especially interested in the recommendations (or goals for the future) of the White House Conference on Children in Democracy held in Washington, January 18 to 20, 1940. These recommendations were prepared by a committee, assisted by a technical research staff.

There are 13 groups of recommendations as follows: (1) that democracy may best be acquired in childhood if the relationship among members of the family is of a democratic quality, and that parent education should be extended as a useful means for helping to bring about this type of family life; (2) that every family have an opportunity to earn an adequate income. Objectives in the economic life of the nation listed were: (a) improved and fuller use of the nation's resources; (b) higher incomes for families of wage earners and low salaried clerical workers; (c) assured income to families of the unemployed; (d) higher incomes for farm families—by adequate measures for soil and forest conservation, measures to raise agricultural prices, movement of farm families from poor to good soil areas, extension of agricultural credit, agricultural and home economics education, expansion of cooperatives; (e) stronger and more extended community services to chil-

dren; (f) a fairer distribution of the costs of services. It was recommended further: (3) that social security laws be broadened as to coverage and liberalized as to benefits provided; (4) that the federal government continue and expand its slum clearance and new housing program through federal loans and grants to local housing agencies with special attention to rural areas and with encouragement of housing cooperatives; (5) that preventive and curative health service and medical care be made available to the entire population, with special attention to care of mothers and new born babies, and with acceptance of the principle that every mother and child should get hospital care and the advice of specialists, if required. With respect to education, it was recommended: (6) that the federal government increase its grants to the states in order to reduce the present inequalities in educational opportunities among the states; that schools help students develop their individual traits and abilities; that education be extended in both directions, to the 3 to 5 year group and the 18 to 20 year group; that federal grants to the states for general public education should be available for school libraries. For recreation, it was urged: (7) that the development of recreation and the constructive use of leisure be recognized as a public responsibility on a par with the responsibility for education and health; and that a non-governmental national commission be created to study leisure-time needs and the existing resources and to make recommendations for the development of recreation and informal education. It was recommended also: (8) that "religion be treated frankly, openly, and objectively as an important factor in personal and social behavior." A commission was suggested for studying our past experiences with religious education both in churches and the schools. From this it was thought that we might learn how religious training can best be related to the general educational program. The conference endorsed: (9) a minimum age of 16 years for all employment during school hours, or for work at any time in manufacturing or min-

ing industries, or with power machinery; 14 years for employment outside of school hours; a minimum age of 18 or higher for employment in hazardous or injurious occupations and a 40 hour week up to 18 years. The tenth recommendation is as follows: "The standards set for the protection and care of children in America should apply to all children. The denial of opportunity to any on the grounds of race, citizenship, color, or creed is undemocratic and inimical to the welfare of all children. The conference calls upon all citizens to work continuously for the elimination of racial discrimination and prejudice in all their forms. This effort must be made in home and school, in law-making bodies, and in local, state, and national organizations, public and private, which serve children directly or indirectly." Concluding recommendations were: (11) that social services be provided for children whose home conditions or individual difficulties require special attention; that the federal government enlarge its child welfare activities to make them more fully available in the states; that state welfare departments should provide leadership in developing state and local services for children and in improving standards of care; (12) that school and out-of-school youth be given better vocational preparation, guidance and counseling; that there be more experiments in part-time work and part-time schooling; (13) that the federal government accept the responsibility for development of an inclusive plan for care of migrant families.

The whole emphasis of the conference was thus on improving the situation of the underprivileged family. This was because improving the situation of the underprivileged family is the best way to improve the situation of underprivileged children who come almost altogether from such families. Being reared in such families gives little opportunity for enjoying and appreciating the advantages of a democracy.

Those who preach the doctrine of individual initiative may see in the recommendations of this conference too many calling for government action. The confer-

ence, however, was convinced that government action is a consequence of our developing civilization; that it promotes rather than retards democracy; that it is in conformity with the requirement of efficient operation and not necessarily a step toward bureaucracy. With this, most sociologists will agree.

DOROTHY DICKINS.

Mississippi State College.

The Standard of Living in 1860. By Edgar W. Martin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. 451. \$4.50.

The purpose of this book is to describe the level (not the standard as the title signifies) of living in the United States on the eve of the Civil War. Included in the discussion are food production and consumption, housing and household operation, clothing and personal care, medical care and public health, transportation and communication, education, leisure and recreation, and governmental and philanthropical contributions to the level of living. That the task attempted is a most difficult one should be readily apparent to all. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is the lack of dependable data concerning the more commonplace elements in the levels of living of the common people of that time. While the written impressions of travelers (especially from England) and writings about the conspicuous consumption of the rich and the dire poverty of the poor are readily available, relatively little can be found which deals directly with the levels of living of the urban laboring classes and typical farm families. By careful selection from a great body of indirectly and directly related primary and secondary source materials from many fields and by constructive use of imagination, Martin has partially overcome this difficulty. In fact he has given us a most convincing picture of the general level of living of our population in 1860.

That his treatment of rural levels of living, exclusive of plantation and frontier groups, is not as complete as that for urban groups will be a source of disappointment to rural sociologists. Despite the fact that

little is available on this phase of the subject in secondary sources, a thorough search for additional data in the form of letters, diaries, rural newspapers, and similar sources should provide much more knowledge concerning this phase of the subject. Likewise, those who are interested in the quantitative aspects of the subject are doomed to disappointment since the description is largely in nonquantitative terms. This is unavoidable, however, because quantitative budgetary data on the period covered is virtually nonexistent. Also, many critical readers will disagree with the value judgments that the author freely expresses such as: "The heavy indulgence in hard liquor, the thousands of saloons, indicate anything but a satisfying life" (p. 392); "One is sometimes tempted to believe that at the same time their standard of living was rising and the amount of their leisure increasing the Americans were becoming a less happy people" (p. 404). However, none will deny that he has expressed them openly without effort to disguise them as scientific truths. In fact, the book is written very honestly. Where the information is questionable the author says so and why. Furthermore, it is written in the free and interesting style common to historians and uncommon to other social scientists. Despite its admitted weaknesses this study is a significant contribution to economic history and should prove valuable to students of levels of living.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL.

Oklahoma A. and M. College.

Student Folkways and Spending at Indiana University, 1940-1941. By Mary M. Crawford. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. 271. \$3.50.

This study is an attempt to determine the patterns of student consumption at Indiana University, to see the variations among different groups on the campus, and to discover the social and economic factors responsible for such variations. It is based on data covering the academic year 1940-1941, collected from a sample of 1275 unmarried undergraduate students. The data were col-

lected from students of the various branches of the University in such a way as to insure representativeness and adequacy of the sample.

Professor Crawford, in making this study, has broken the ground in a new research universe. This study is of interest to the social research student from two standpoints. In the first place, the author combines an analysis of 94 statistical tables with her own interpretations to present some of the folkways which affect student spending. Secondly, it provides a basis for comparison with student spending and the social and economic factors involved at other state universities.

The analysis of student budgets offers a new sidelight to the field of consumer economics. With the student group of the nation spending at least half a billion dollars per year college expenditures are beginning to constitute a more significant part of the general problem of consumer spending.

The technique of using estimates of spending has the advantage of making it possible to obtain information from a greater number of students than the collection of detailed records would permit. In a check on the validity of the estimates the author found that the discrepancies between actual spending and estimates of expense were not so great as the discrepancies between actual spending and itemized accounts.

The median expenditure by 351 students from farms was 570 dollars for the regular two-semester year of 1940-41 at Indiana University. The median expenditure by 383 students from cities was 750 dollars for the same period of time. The examination of the total annual expenditures by all students shows a wide range and indicates that while some students have no financial problems, others are faced with hardships and poverty. The latter group consists of those students who are determined to continue in school regardless of their inability to eat regularly, to live in comfort, or to engage in social activities.

A characteristic which gives this study significance as a research product is its

very enlightening appendix. The first section is a carefully sifted description of the methods used in making the study. Statistical formulas as well as results from the application of the entire statistical method to the data are included in this section. The final section contains summary tables which include a great part of the numerical data collected from the replies to the questionnaires.

The author feels that student spending is conditioned by the usages and traditions generally accepted and adhered to by members of individual campus groups. These folkways plus the relative homogeneity of student expenditures for such items as university fees serve to differentiate the student budget from budgets in general and make student spending a special problem in consumption.

BARDIN NELSON.

Louisiana State University.

County Library Primer. By Mildred W. Sandoe. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1942. Pp. 222. \$2.25.

This book is indeed a primer for county librarians and for rural leaders who wish to extend library service to rural areas in a practical and efficient manner. It is based on actual study and experimentation in getting county libraries established in Ohio. In 1935 only seven counties in the state had county-wide service; in 1940 only 23 out of the 88 counties were without some form of county service. Four factors are cited as responsible for this development: state aid; state library leadership; local cooperation on the part of library staffs in the counties, library boards, county budget commissions, and friends of the library; and the WPA state-wide library project. This is a real achievement when viewed against the fact that 72 percent of the rural people were without publicly supported library service in the United States in 1940, a decrease from 88 percent in 1935.

The start toward an expansion of county library service in Ohio was made in 1935; first, by providing for that biennium \$100,000 of state-aid for library extension;

then the release for county library purposes of what is called the "intangibles tax," a tax on personal property—incomes from stocks, bonds, and bank deposits; and finally, by an interpretation of the law to mean that libraries could give county service by bookmobiles, branches, and other means, using some of the proceeds from this tax. Then a state-wide survey was made, county by county, and on the facts gathered recommendations were made as to the best ways of giving service to rural people, the recommendations differing from county to county. Based on these surveys, in which local people participated, a five-year program of county library organization was carried out.

From these five years of experience, the author has put together a practical guide for county library organization; but it is more than a guide, it is an interesting and valuable true story of how county libraries can be established. Included in the text are chapters on financing, in which it is forcefully stated that the one dollar minimum standard is utterly inadequate; and on public relations, in which the author points out that the very existence of public libraries depends on a good publicity program. The chapter on county boards, insisting that they must include trustees with county-wide interests, such as county school men, county agents and health authorities; and on county staffs, which emphasizes the need for a good, adequately paid administrator, who has intimate knowledge of rural as well as city people, one who is interested in rural living, and who has had training in rural sociology, is probably the best in the book. But the author goes further and gives information on bookmobiles, their advantages and disadvantages, the kinds to secure and how to supply, staff and use them to the best advantage; and on the set-up and administration of branches, stations and service by mail. Then a chapter is devoted to county federation of library services, using several counties as examples of the advantages of proper federation. The last chapter of the text is devoted to a discus-

sion of detailed methods including record keeping.

The section devoted to illustrative material should be very valuable to county library leaders, for details not given in the first section can be found here, including diagrams and pictures and lists of recommended books for a county library. The rural sociologist might think the number of books on rural life to be too limited in this list.

This is more than a librarian's book; it should be in the library of every rural agency, organization and leader having concern for the improvement of rural life.

D. E. LINDSTROM.

University of Illinois.

Social Research. By George A. Lundberg. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942. Pp. xx + 426. \$3.25.

This second edition of a well-known work published nearly fifteen years ago constitutes a rather thorough revision of the original text. Chapters on Questionnaires and Sociometric Methods have been added and much new material has been included under the old chapter headings. The author states that "at least three-fourths of the present edition is entirely new" and that "Most of the references are to studies that have appeared during the last five years." Primarily a text on practical problems of research, it is interestingly written, well organized and is to be recommended either for the class room or to those who are engaged in actual research work.

The book is scholarly throughout and skillfully brings together the best thinking on the subjects treated without being pedantic. The author shows a practical appreciation for the everyday problems of research, and thereby makes the book stimulating and useful as a research handbook. On the other hand, it is not lacking in appeal to the more theoretically minded who wish to probe further into the subjects discussed. For the aid of the latter type of reader each chapter has a section on "Suggestions for Further Study" and at the back the book contains a valuable list of bibliographies on research methods.

Books on research vary greatly in the emphasis given to the various aspects of the subject. In this one, the author is to be congratulated on having struck a rather satisfactory balance in not emphasizing one subject at the expense of others. No attempt is made to deal specifically with statistical techniques except those which are alluded to incidentally. The first four chapters dealing with the general theory of research furnish, it seems to this reviewer, an indispensable background for the research worker. It is too often erroneously assumed that this type of information, including theory of research, experimental techniques, objective observation, terminology, classification and general methods, is common knowledge to all research workers. Unfortunately, it is not; and much time, effort and money are wasted by those who know a few specific techniques but who are not properly grounded in basic research principles. Anyone who digests carefully the contents of this book should get not only a sound basis in fundamental research objectives but a good knowledge of techniques as well.

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER.

Regional Land Tenure Research Project.

The Latin American Republics: A History.
By Dana Gardner Munro. New York:
D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.,
1942. Pp. ix + 650. \$5.00.

North American books about Latin America fall into three classes; namely, accounts of hasty trips to some of the national capitals and perhaps a few popular resorts, the text books designed to acquaint college students with the elements of Latin America's history and geography, and works of genuine scholarship which treat in the necessary detail one country, one phase of life, or one outstanding problem. Unfortunately, books of the first two classes are much more numerous than those of the third. Indeed, were it for the fact that now and then there appears a book such as Simpson's *The Ejido* or McBride's *Chile: Land and People*, one would be tempted to long for the "good old days" when such men as Prescott, Bur-

ton, Southey, and Humbolt were living and writing.

This book falls into the second of the above classes. The impossible scope of the undertaking is evidenced by the publisher's paragraph which reads as follows: "After a general description of the pre-Columbian Indian civilizations and the Spanish conquest, the book considers different aspects of the Spanish colonial system, describes the war for independence, and examines the political problems which confronted Spanish America as a whole after independence. Having provided this background, the book then presents, in separate chapters, the history of each of the twenty Latin American nations since independence. The two concluding chapters consider the relations today between Latin America and the United States and Pan-Americanism and the present world war."

There would be little point to a detailing of all the valid criticisms that might be leveled against this and similar works. One criticism that must be raised pertains to the maps. For example, the one of Brazil is marred by the antiquated boundaries used to separate the states, the author's adherence to the outmoded spelling of Brazilian names, and the failure to keep up with changes in the names and locations of state capitals. In fact, judging by the map, one would be forced to conclude that two of Brazil's states and Acre Territory were without capitals.

Finally, the allocation of space in these books also deserves attention. This book contains some 600 pages of text. Of this 56 pages are devoted to Brazil. Now Brazil occupies approximately one-half of South America and contains about one-half of the population of that southern continent. Being a colony of Portugal, its social and cultural evolution were considerably different from those of its Spanish speaking neighbors. The economic ties between Brazil and the United States are among the closest. Undoubtedly our citizens need to be informed about our great neighbor. Yet the allocation of space and the subjects treated resulted in no mention of Brazil's cotton. Nor did

the presence of some 350,000 or 400,000 persons of Japanese birth and descent in the single state of São Paulo cause even one sentence to be devoted to this subject.

T. LYNN SMITH.

Louisiana State University.

leadership traits and tactics, environmental influences, and the various social processes in the political universe of a southern Congressional leader.

LELAND B. TATE.

Virginia Tech.

John Sharp Williams: Planter-Statesman of the Deep South. By George Coleman Osborn. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943. Pp. 501. \$4.00.

This book is by a native of Mississippi who is head of the Social Science Department at Berry College in Georgia. It is about the life and times of an interesting southern personality who was a leader in our national Congress from the presidential days of Cleveland to those of Wilson.

Osborn shows that John Sharp Williams, the planter-statesman from Mississippi, was very much influenced by his southern environment and his combination of classical and legal training at the University of Virginia. He also records the various leadership traits and tactics which Williams exhibited as Democratic minority leader in the House of Representatives, and as Administration leader in the Senate.

Relatively little is given about Williams, the planter; but much is given about Williams, the Congressional leader of keen intellect, flashing wit and unusual debating ability who applied Jeffersonian philosophy to most national issues of his lifetime. All but four of the book's nineteen chapters pertain to some phase of public life in which Williams played a part. The first two chapters deal with his ancestry and education; the last two with his family, friends and retirement. Following these is a critical essay on authorities.

The book, in the main, is well written and carefully documented, with references to a wide range of source materials. It is a self-styled critical biography, and as such deals with the life of Williams rather objectively, showing all sides of his varied behavior patterns from excellence in debate to participation in fistcuffs—on at least one occasion.

Perhaps the greatest value of this book for sociologists is the picture it gives of

Southern Harvest. By Clare Leighton. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. vii + 157. \$3.50.

It is a rare thing that an "outsider" much less a "furriner" can write tolerantly, understandingly, and yet objectively of Southern rural life. It has been done, of course, and is being done more frequently. This book by Clare Leighton, a well known and talented Englishwoman now living in the South, is by far the finest and most recent example of artistic writing about the Southern scene. Its artistry is amplified by the author's own many beautiful wood engravings. Anyone who has lived on a southern farm, in the mountains, or been a part of the Saturday afternoon crowds in rural towns will appreciate the authenticity of the illustrations as well as the human insight shown by the author in her portrayal of farm people and their agrarian culture.

Southern Harvest, of course, is not intended to be a comprehensive sampling of southern rural life. Its fourteen subjects, do however, range far and wide in space and plot. The titles are suggestive: cotton, tobacco, corn shucking, hog killing, flood, sorghum, Saturday in the court house square, and so on. It is not a muckraking book, nor does it belong in the school of sordid and cynical realism. The author has no axe to grind, no theory to defend. She is trying neither to romanticize nor to caricature. She is not even trying to make the reader think—but many will think if they read leisurely and if they have a background of rural experience and training in social science. The book is definitely stimulating.

Two other things impressed me about the book. It reveals the cultural kinship between English people and the people of America at a time when the two nations need more than ever to understand and

appreciate each other. Then, it is a convincing witness for the enduring values of *folk agrarianism* as it yet exists in southern and other American rural communities. I must quote:

"We ate peanut butter biscuits, and chinquapins, and grapes from the vines in the garden patch, and as I followed his gaze I began to feel that I knew something of what was so wrong with the world. It is that we haven't known how to cope with civilization, I decided. We've lost trace of the main pattern of living and have denied our instincts. And I looked around at my companion and saw that the content in his face was the result of self respect, and that this self respect came solely from the fact that he lived a normally creative life. Here was none of the thwarted, dulled look that we find upon the face of the assembly line worker. This uneducated mountain man had a live concern for growth and work and lived in harmony with his earth—We drank glass after glass of the newly made cider. . . . *Civilization was not able to give him anything that he needed.*"¹ (Pp. 111-112).

C. HORACE HAMILTON.

North Carolina State College.

Sociology: Principles and Problems. By Charles A. Ellwood. New York: American Book Co., 1943. Pp. 408. \$1.80.

In 1910 Professor Ellwood published a book called *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*. It was designed as an elementary text at the level of high school seniors and college freshmen, and was built around the notion that the student of sociology should begin with the concrete social facts with which he is already somewhat familiar and proceed from there. Following this notion, the book was built around the family as a typical social group and institution, and for supplementary purposes the student was urged to make factual studies of his family and neighborhood. This book was well received and widely used. It subsequently passed through several editions and must

have been profitable both to the author and those who studied it.

The volume under review represents the latest revision of the book described above. The title is changed, the physical makeup is improved, and the volume of the text is increased although the number of pages is approximately the same. Still, it is essentially the same book, brought up to date, of course. The general order of chapters is the same and thirteen of them have titles identical with those of the 1924 edition. The earlier chapter on immigration and the Negro problem are now treated under the broader titles: *The Intermingling of Peoples*, and *The Intermingling of Races*. A new chapter called *The Rural Problem* is added. Useful questions for discussion accompany each chapter.

In these days of fat introductory texts filled with illustrative materials for the introductory course in sociology, there may be something to be said for a compact, readable text shorn of entertainment features. Certainly Professor Ellwood's text has a distinguished record and while taken alone it scarcely provides sufficient material for a full semester course, it should continue to prove valuable for shorter courses and perhaps in longer courses when supplemented by additional materials. While specialists may find themselves in disagreement with particular statements involving their specialties, it is the reviewer's opinion that the general treatment is sound and, on the whole, ably presented.

C. E. LIVELY.

University of Missouri.

Education Between Two Worlds. By Alexander Meiklejohn. New York: Harper and Bros., 1942. Pp. x + 303. \$3.00.

This book is one of the most stimulating of the year not only in education but in philosophy, democracy, political and social theory and current events. For the rural sociologist, who deals with rural education as an institution, the book is especially challenging.

Must education be attached to some scheme of values so that intelligence and

¹ Italics by the reviewer.

intelligent human action can come into being and actually function? Is rural education still functioning within the framework of church dominated values, or is it also being transferred to the values of the small school board, the school district, the county school unit? Can and do these educational units have a frame of reference? If not, what is education accomplishing other than the transmission of skills? Why do people allow their children to be educated by the state and then turn around and criticize government as an instrument, and how is this all related to intelligent democracy in action?

Such are the questions raised and partially answered by Meiklejohn. It would appear that education is truly in a state of transition, "between two worlds." Is an intelligent educational program also "powerless to be born"?

The author traces the development from Comenius through Locke, Matthew Arnold, Rousseau to John Dewey. In this section there is more of political and social theory than educational theory, but possibly that is also expressive of the transition.

The problem of whether and how a teacher can serve two masters—the wish of the community and another higher or different cultural code—is very well presented and opens a field in which factual data and concrete illustrations are necessary.

The book also raises the question of what is a pragmatist and what is an idealist and absolutist. Many would classify Meiklejohn as the latter. A reading of the book casts considerable doubt upon describing him as such, for he has a penetrating way of getting at the practical issues involved.

In the narrow sense, the author can be accused of not finally presenting an educational theory of his own. But the issue is approached from a broad standpoint of the role of education in society—in fact a changing society. With that in view, Meiklejohn has succeeded in being concrete, in presenting an issue, and in giving direction to thought, research and action.

The following quotation is a fitting close to this review. "Education is, and must be,

an activity carried on by a social group. It is initiation, into an existing 'pattern of culture.' And, as such, it depends upon the support and the authority of the group to which both the pattern and the pupil belong. But that means that we cannot teach world reasonableness unless there is a reasonable world. . . . There is a curiously vital connection between teaching and the truth. If we practice justice and freedom we can teach them. If we do not practice them our words are like 'the crackling of thorns under a pot'."

CARL F. KRAENZEL.

Montana State College.

The Evolution of Social Classes. By John W. McConnell. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. xi + 228. \$3.50.

This study brings together the data pertinent to analysis of social classes from the comparison of two broad occupational groups in New Haven, the wage earners and the white collar workers. The data were obtained by the Unemployment Studies Division of the Yale Institute of Human Relations in its 1931 and 1933 survey of 2,008 families, a sample comprising every twentieth family in the active files of the New Haven Gas Light Company.

This study was made on the premise that a social class can be studied and well understood in terms of three factors for which objective data are abundant—its function in the self-maintenance activity of the society, its political relationship with other classes, and its culture.

A social class is defined as "a group of persons united by the present or past performance of a function essential to the self-maintenance of the society—providing, however, that the performance of the function gives to the group a set of life conditions, patterns of thought and action, a standard of living, and organizations common to the group" (p. 61). The occupational group is not a class until it has acquired a distinctive culture.

The first chapter surveys the social cleavage in a selected group of primitive tribes to trace the origins of social stratification from "individual achievement upon which the community placed exceptional value, the possession of socially beneficial skills or spiritual powers, conquest, blood relationship, the possession and display of wealth" (p. 9).

External influences in the formation of classes in historical civilizations include conquest as the major factor, with racial or cultural differences as supporting factors. Among the internal influences it is noted that "the dominant class monopolizes all the avenues to social position; but a new social need arises which the dominant class ignores. A less favored group seizes the opportunity, supplies the need, and eventually rivals, merges with, or ousts the original class from supremacy" (p. 51).

From the New Haven data the author concludes that as the foreign born and their children become more completely identified with the American life and class structure, wage earners will increasingly support collective economic action and develop a belief in government as a protector of class interests and a provider of services; while white collar workers will believe that government should seek to preserve opportunity for individual initiative but otherwise interfere as little as possible with human affairs.

"In view of the fact that the gathering of the data and its analysis were carried on before the excellent works of Lloyd Warner, John Dollard, Allison Davis, George Lundberg and others were published, the author has preferred to allow his conclusions to stand on their own merits as an addition to the exploratory work in this field rather than attempt any comparative analysis of the findings of these scholars with his own" (p. ix). Those primarily interested in rural society will want such comparative analysis to include equally valid data on the stratification of rural society as contrasted with kinship structure and factors of personal achievement in rural social organization.

MERTON D. OYLER.

Regional Land Tenure Research Project.

A Latin American Speaks. By Luis Quintanilla, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1943. Pp. 268. \$2.50.

Luis Quintanilla, a well known Mexican professor and diplomat, provides an interesting picture of the development of relations between the United States and the so-called Latin American countries throughout our history and presents his plan for future inter-American and world relationships. It is particularly good for us to see ourselves as the Latin-American sees us and to realize what such terms as Monroe Doctrine and Yankee Imperialism mean to him. Here Quintanilla does not pull his punches.

The author also presents a brief but scholarly treatment of the philosophies underlying the various forms of government found in the world today. The reviewer feels, however, that the governments of the Latin American countries are misrepresented by the inference that, because of their democratic constitutions they are democratic. A constitution is one thing, the functioning of a government under it may be quite another, and, as one writer says, "There are three kinds of poetry in Latin America: lyrical, epical and constitutional."

Another fault of the presentation is the apparent worship of Franklin D. Roosevelt who with Simón Bolívar holds the center of the stage throughout the book. Whether or not such exalted position is warranted remains for time to reveal.

NELLIE H. LOOMIS.

Arlington, Va.

Good Neighbours. By Walter Rose. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. viii + 138. \$2.75.

Walter Rose, a village carpenter, here describes his native English village as it was over fifty years ago. The sixteen chapters are really brief essays, delicately done, on phases of village life of interest to both the sociologist and the agricultural historian. Throughout the book one is conscious of social change, especially as it resulted from the Enclosure Act of 1830. The social stratification of the village from the crafts-

men down to the "rag, tag and bobtail" is also vividly set forth. Mr. Rose describes in detail the work of each of the village crafts.

One chapter deals with "gnawing it out," or the reluctance of the villagers to pay money for goods or services received. They preferred barter. A discussion of the significant role of the pig in village economy is likewise well done. Mr. Rose is such a keen observer of minute detail that he writes convincingly and authentically. The fact that the book is written in the first person and is subjective in parts impairs in no way the picture of the old English village community. Rather, it lends an added charm to the writing. The book is made even more attractive by etchings at the beginning and end of each chapter.

IRWIN T. SANDERS.

University of Kentucky.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- Social Security Yearbook: 1941.* Federal Security Agency. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. iv + 288. \$0.70.
- Social Institutions in An Era of World Upheaval.* By Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1942. Pp. xviii + 927. \$5.35.
- Jewish Population Studies.* Jewish Social Studies Publication No. 3. Edited by Sophia M. Robison with the Assistance of Joshua Starr. New York: Conference on Jewish Relations. 1943. Pp. xvi + 189. \$3.50.
- Story of Our Land and People.* (Revised Edition) By Glenn W. Moon. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1942. Pp. 586. \$1.92.
- A Surgeon's Fight to Rebuild Men.* The Autobiography of Dr. Fred H. Albee. Foreword by Lowell Thomas. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1943. Pp. 349. \$3.50.
- Rebels and Gentlemen.* Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin. By Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1942. Pp. xvii + 393. \$3.50.
- The Y.M.C.A. in Small Communities.* A Manual of Good Practice. By S. Ezra McCulloh, G. S. Patton, E. R. Tomb and J. V. Root. New York: Association Press. 1943. Pp. 74. \$0.60.
- The Single Woman.* By Ruth Reed. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xiv + 227. \$2.00.
- Myth and Society in Attic Drama.* By Alan M. G. Little. New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. vii + 95. \$1.50.
- Labor and the War.* Labor Fact Book No. 6. By Labor Research Association. New York: International Publishers. 1943. Pp. 208. \$2.00.
- Social Work Yearbook: 1943.* Russell H. Kurtz, Editor. Seventh Issue. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1943. Pp. 764. \$3.25.
- England's Roads to Social Security.* From the Statute of Laborers in 1349 to the Beveridge Report of 1942. By Karl de Schweinitz. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. Pp. x + 281. \$3.00.
- Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic.* Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution. 1943. Pp. xvi + 410. \$4.00.
- Man and Resources in the Middle Rio Grande Valley.* By Allan G. Harper, Andrew R. Cordova, Kalervo Oberg. Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico Press. 1943. Pp. viii + 156. \$2.25.
- Understanding Our Neighbors.* A Factual Study of America's Major Race Problem. Atlanta, Ga.: Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. 1943. Pp. 41. \$0.10.
- The Cooperative Movement in Latin America: Its Significance in Hemisphere Solidarity.* Inter-American Short Papers, III. By A. Fabras Ribas (tr. from the Spanish by Ann Light. Introduction by Richard F. Behrendt.) Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico Press. 1943. Pp. 62. \$0.65.
- A Place on Earth.* A Critical Appraisal of Subsistence Homesteads (processed). By Russell Lord and Paul H. Johnstone. Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Pp. viii + 202.

- Levels of Integration in Biological and Social Systems.* Biological Symposia, Vol. VIII. Robert Redfield, Editor. Lancaster, Penn.: The Jacques Cattell Press. 1942. Pp. v + 240. \$2.50.
- Family Situations: An Introduction to the Study of Child Behavior.* By James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. Pp. ix + 265. \$3.00.
- Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia 1830-1860.* By Luther Porter Jackson. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. Pp. xix + 270. \$3.75.
- Child Development and Guidance in Rural Schools.* By Ruth Strang and Latham Hatcher. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1943. Pp. xv + 218. \$2.50.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Robert A. Polson

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: Mississippi Valley Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society. On September 15th and 16th a meeting of the Rural Sociological Society was held at the Statler Hotel, St. Louis. The Farm Economic Association met at the same time and place. Section meetings were held on the following topics: Sociological Aspects of Rural Health, Extension Work in Rural Sociology, The Neighborhood as a Unit of Organization for the Promotion of State and Federal Programs, Rural Sociological Research in Wartime, and Rural Social Change in Wartime. In accordance with the results of the poll conducted last winter, the ballots collected in the fall of 1942 were opened and the officers elected at that time were installed. The names of these new officers will be announced in the next issue of this journal.

The Society has just completed arrangements with Louisiana State University Press to purchase all back copies of *Rural Sociology*. They are stored in care of C. Horace Hamilton at North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh, North Carolina. Anyone desiring back copies or volumes of the journal should write to the Managing Editor, C. Horace Hamilton.

ALLIANCE FOR THE GUIDANCE OF RURAL YOUTH: An institute on the post-war problems of youth migration was held in Washington, May 26 and 27, at the National Education Association headquarters. More than fifty federal and local agencies were represented. The Institute was held under the sponsorship of the Alliance for the Guidance of Rural Youth whose president, Dr. Latham Hatcher, served as chairman, and Dr. Howard A. Dawson, National Education Association director of rural service, as vice-chairman. At a pre-institute luncheon presided over by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a group of individuals interested in the problems of rural youth guidance

assembled the services of Washington agencies ministering to newcomers, particularly young women.

At its later sessions the Institute undertook (1) the gathering of information of immediate practical value for actual and prospective young war migrants; (2) devising ways of transmitting this information to youth who need it; (3) planning for the guidance and preparation of rural young people in their homes and communities for making decisions and preparations involving migration; (4) developing plans for more effective service in the City of Washington to those who migrate to it; (5) post-war probabilities and guidance needs.

A topical report of the material presented at the Institute is being compiled into a source book by Elaine Exton, formerly of the Office of War Information.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE CONFERENCES: Rural sociologists always participated in the annual conferences of the American Country Life Association. Many were disappointed that wartime restrictions prevented adult conferences in 1941 and 1942. Plans for carrying on the movement during the war so as to help in war efforts and to be ready for a renewal and expansion of country life activities after the war were consummated at a get-together at Louisville, Kentucky, on June 9-10 of delegates of twenty-three national agricultural organizations or agencies. The call came from the Reassessment and Continuation Committee, set up in the fall of 1942 by the Board of the American Country Life Association. Dr. Howard W. Beers of the University of Kentucky and Dr. Nat T. Frame of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare participated at the request of President Lively of the Rural Sociological Society. Unanimous agreement was reached to hold at Chicago in April, 1944, a comparable round-table conference of dele-

gates from country life organizations and agencies to discuss "Farm Life After the War." The officers elected at Louisville: President, Dr. David E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois; Vice-President, Carroll P. Streeter, *Farm Journal and Farmers Wife*; Secretary, O. F. Hall, Purdue University; Treasurer, C. M. Hanna, Louisville Theological Seminary. Mimeographed summaries of the statements, discussions and reports of the Louisville conference are available upon request to the Secretary.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY: After giving an intensive course in rural sociology to a group of Federal Security Agency and Extension Service employees during part of June, Professor Edmund deS. Brunner of Columbia spent the summer as assistant county agent in a Massachusetts county. His chief responsibilities were with the farm labor program and the neighborhood leaders.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY: Captain Joseph W. Geddes, former Extension assistant in the Department of Rural Sociology and son of Professor and Mrs. Joseph A. Geddes of Utah State Agricultural College, has been reported missing in action since May 21. Captain Geddes was pilot on a Liberator bomber assigned to the northern Australia sector.

Sgt. Max V. Ekner, former Rural Music Specialist in the Department, has recovered from injuries received in an accident on the African front. He has recently been assigned to an engineering headquarters unit in North Africa.

The New York State Agricultural Experiment Station has recently released Bulletin 786, *Population Trends in New York State, 1900 to 1940*, by W. A. Anderson. The *American Sociological Review* for August published an article by Professor Anderson on "The Family and Individual Participation."

The Rural Sociology Department at Cornell is conducting a research project on farm labor camps in New York State, their organization and management. Mr. Irving

Spaulding and Miss Margaret Wilson are doing the field studies.

Dr. M. E. John, Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at Pennsylvania State College, taught courses on Rural Sociology and The Family in the Cornell University Summer School. All sociology courses during the summer had larger than usual enrollments.

FOOD DISTRIBUTION ADMINISTRATION: Howard R. Cottam, on leave from Pennsylvania State College, is regional chief of Program Analysis and Appraisal Division of the Food Distribution Administration in New York City. Mr. Arnold W. Green and Miss Jane Woolley are employed in this division as assistant agricultural economists. They are both assisting with a cooperative study on the effectiveness of the campaigns to prevent food waste at the consumer level. This is a cooperative study with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Farm Population and Rural Welfare Division.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY: Dr. Irwin T. Sanders was on leave from the University during the summer of 1943 to work with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare on the preparation of a Handbook on Community Organization During War and Peace. Dr. Sanders has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Sociology at the University.

Dr. Logan Wilson, recently Head of Sociology at Tulane University, has accepted the Headship of Sociology of the University of Kentucky. With Dr. Wilson's arrival the University will expand its program of teaching and research in Sociology correlatively with the development of Rural Sociology in the College of Agriculture.

Miss Eugenia Johnson has been appointed Research Assistant in Rural Sociology.

Miss Catherine Heflin comes to the University from Franklin College, Indiana, as a Graduate Assistant in Rural Sociology.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY: Professor T. Lynn Smith, spent most of the year 1942 in Brazil where he was employed by the

U. S. State Department, returned to the University for the 1943 spring semester. He spent the past summer in Washington writing a report for the United States government.

Professor E. H. Lott served as head of the Department of Sociology in the absence of Professor Smith.

Dr. E. A. Schuler, who was with the Office of War Information during the spring semester, is now in Washington with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. He plans to return to his duties at the University for the fall quarter.

Professor Rudolf Heberle served as research consultant for a four-week period with the Institute for Training and Research in the Social Science at Vanderbilt University.

Vernon J. Parenton, formerly an instructor in this department, has been an Ensign in the United States Navy since the summer of 1942.

Dean Fred C. Frey will teach a course in introductory sociology during the fall quarter.

Dr. Roy E. Hyde has accepted a teaching and research position with the departments of sociology and rural sociology.

Mr. Bardin H. Nelson has been appointed research assistant in the department of rural sociology.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI: Two new research bulletins have just been published by the Department of Rural Sociology. They are Bulletin 365, *The Rural Health Facilities of Lewis County, Mo.*, by R. B. Almack, and Bulletin 369, *Family Health Practices in Dallas County, Mo.*, by Iola Meier and C. E. Lively.

Students of migration will be interested in a monograph by Noel Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, entitled, *Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation: A Study of Social Selection in Rural Missouri*. It is published in the *University of Missouri Studies* and sold at a price of \$1.50.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: The Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society held a session in Salem, Oregon,

April 16. Dr. John C. Evans, Superintendent, Oregon State Mental Hospital, was the host for the luncheon. More than 40 people, including Governor Earl Snell of Oregon, administrators of State Institutions, and other state officials, attended.

The theme for the luncheon meeting was "American Correctional Institutions in Wartime." Mr. David Lockwood, Director of the Washington State Department of Finance, Budget, and Business, acted as chairman. Mr. Richard A. McGee, Supervisor of Institutions in Mr. Lockwood's department, and President of the American Prison Association, spoke on "Washington Correctional Institutions in Wartime." Dr. Coral W. Topping, sociologist, University of British Columbia and author of *Canadian Penal Institutions*, presented a paper on "Recent Trends in Canadian Penal Institutions." (This paper will be published soon in the *Prison World* edited by Mr. McGee.)

President G. Herbert Smith of Willamette University was the host for the afternoon meeting held on the Willamette University campus. Dr. Norman S. Hayner of the University of Washington, vice-president of the Pacific Sociological Society in charge of the Northern Division, presided. Dr. Elon H. Moore of the University of Oregon presented a paper on "The Social Functions of War," which was discussed by Dr. William C. Smith of Linfield College. The second paper, "Morale in the Shipbuilding Industry," by Dr. Joseph Cohen of the University of Washington was criticized by Dr. Glenn A. Bakrum of Oregon State College. Both of these papers will be published in the 1942 *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*.

The program ended with an evening dinner at which the sociologists had an informal discussion with Mr. Lockwood and Mr. McGee.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA: John Useem is now a Lieutenant in the U.S.N.R. He was commissioned as an officer in Military Government and is now attached to the Columbia University School of Military Government in preparation for the task of administration in occupied countries.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY: Dr. Karl Brandt, economist and professor of agricultural economics in the Food Research Institute, Stanford University, was elected President of the Western Farm Economics Association for the year 1943-4 at their annual meeting.

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE: Staff members in military service are: Capt. W. W. Eure (Extension) and Capt. C. L. Folse (teaching). Eure is serving with the Q.M.C. at Camp Lee, Va., and Folse is an Infantry officer attached to the Air Corps at Bolling Field, D. C.

Leland B. Tate has completed a study of "Lebanon: A Virginia Community," which is available as Bulletin 352 of the Agricultural Experiment Station. He is beginning research on Virginia health conditions and medical care.

W. E. Garnett is completing summary projects dealing with rural youth and Virginia communities.

B. L. Hummel is in charge of the Extension Division's program for mobilizing Victory Farm Volunteers from among the young people's organizations of the state's towns and cities.

Allen D. Edwards, formerly of V.P.I., and now of Clemson College, has completed a manuscript on: "Virginia's Rural Manpower," a study of population pressure and potential sources of labor supply, which will be published soon as an Experiment Station Bulletin. The study was made in cooperation with the Virginia State Planning Board.

John Newton Baker has transferred to V.P.I.'s English Department to handle sections of a special class arranged for the soldiers stationed here.

Of the eight persons who have received M.S. degrees in Rural Sociology at V.P.I. during the past five years, two are in war service, two are doing rural organization work in China, one is a social science teacher, one is a special graduate student; and two are principals of rural high schools.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN: George Hill, research man in the Department of Rural Sociology, is on leave in Washington, D. C., with the War Food Production Administration. He is working on the importation of foreign agricultural workers.

John Barton was made director of short courses for the College of Agriculture last fall. In addition to the regular farm short course, several short training sessions were held in which farm boys from the northern part of the state were trained and made ready for farm jobs on the larger farms in the southern part of the state.

A. F. Wileden, extension specialist, is working practically full time with the neighborhood leader organization plan of the Extension Service.

Martin Andersen, extension specialist in discussion, is now a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy, stationed at the Illinois Technical Institute, Chicago.

Therel Black, research assistant, is now in the service with the 326th Glider Infantry, Army Air Base, Laramie, Wyo.

Glen Taggart, research assistant, is completing work for the Ph.D. degree. His thesis is on the culture of the Czechs in Wisconsin as compared with other nationality groups.

Douglas Marshall, research assistant, is completing work for the Ph.D. degree. His thesis is on the Greendale resettlement project near Milwaukee.

Miss Hsia Ti Yeh, Chinese student, is studying the Farm Security program and is conducting a special case study in Langlad County, Wisconsin.

LeRoy Day is working toward a degree with a thesis on the social trends of the Baptist churches in Wisconsin.

STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON: The proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, 1942, have just been published under the editorship of Carl F. Reuss as No. 1, Vol. XI, Research Studies of the State College of Washington. Abstracts and summaries of eleven papers prepared for the cancelled meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society last December are included in this volume.

U. S. DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE, OFFICE OF INFORMATION: T. Swann Handing, Senior Information Specialist, writes that the following two releases will be of interest and are available to rural sociologists for the asking: (1) Structure, Functions, and Origins of the Department of Agriculture and Its Constituent Agencies; and (2) Abridged Chronology of Agriculture's Part in the War.

Now is the time to send your news items for the December issue to

ROBERT A. POLSON

Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

SERVICE MEN

We would like to get the names and addresses of all rural sociologists who are now in the armed services. Send them to the secretary or to the managing editor *at once*.

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Rural Sociology As Applied Science*

By C. E. Lively†

ABSTRACT

Rural Sociology is examined from the viewpoint of its utility as applied science because (1) its origins suggested it, and (2) it is now one of the group of applied sciences composing the Land-Grant college of agriculture. It is held that rural sociological research has been spread too thin without an adequate frame of reference, and that a more limited, operational definition of the field in which certain strategic areas are recognized is needed. It is also held that a technology based upon research and folk practices of proved merit is needed for purposes of extension work in the rural communities; and that the subject must be more fully integrated within the group of agricultural sciences of which it is now a part.

RESUMEN

La sociología rural se examina desde el punto de vista de su utilidad como ciencia aplicada porque (1) su origen lo sugirió y (2) ahora pertenece al grupo de ciencias aplicadas que constituyen el "Land-Grant college" de agricultura. Se mantiene que la investigación sobre sociología rural se ha extendido demasiado sin delinarse bien y que se necesita una definición más limitada del campo en que se reconocen ciertos conceptos estratégicos. Se mantiene también que se necesita una tecnología basada sobre la investigación y sobre las costumbres rurales de mérito comprobado para las obras de extensión en las comunidades rurales; y que esta ciencia debe ser mejor integrada dentro del grupo de las ciencias agrícolas de que ahora forma parte.

During any great social crisis such as the present, numerous groups may be expected to re-examine their foundation principles, their objectives and their methods with a view to adjusting themselves to the requirements of the social order of the morrow. Recent sociological literature contains several examples of such critical appraisal of the outlook for sociology and sociologists in the post-war world.¹ In the past, rural sociologists have frequently subjected their situation and progress to critical examination, and at present there seems to be no good reason for discontinuing this practice. This paper represents another attempt to ap-

praise the subject, at least from one point of view.

A thorough appraisal of the promise of rural sociology for the future, particularly in the post-war world, would no doubt be helpful at this time, but this paper attempts no such ambitious task. Instead, the discussion is limited to the progress that has been made toward realizing an applied science of rural sociology. This is a particularly significant task for two reasons: (1) such an objec-

* A paper presented before the Rural Sociological Society, St. Louis, Missouri, September 16, 1943.

† University of Missouri.

¹ See for examples: McIver, R. M., "Some Reflections on Sociology During a Crisis," *American Sociological Review*, VI (Feb., 1941), 1-8; Queen, Stuart A., "Can Sociologists Face Reality," *Ibid.*, VII (Feb., 1942), 1-12; Taylor, C. C., et. al., "Participation of Sociologists in National Affairs," *Ibid.*, VII (April, 1942), 157-165; Odum, H. W., "Sociology in the Contemporary World of Today and Tomorrow," *Social Forces*, XXI (May, 1943), 390-396.

tive was in the minds of the early founders and promoters of the subject, and (2) the subject has been installed as a member of that group of applied sciences which function through the Land-Grant colleges of agriculture, and, by implication at least, is expected to become one of them.

Applied Science An Early Objective

It is crystal clear that rural sociology stemmed from an attempt to find rational solutions for various problems of rural social organization and rural living. The early academic promoters of the subject, men such as Henderson, Butterfield, Gillette, Vogt and Sims thought of it as the beginning of an applied science of human relations in the rural environment. They visualized the rise of a social technology that could be applied to improve the lot of the rural population. Nor was this view confined to a few academicians. After careful investigation, Sanderson² summarized the situation as follows: "It also seems significant that the interest in, and the demand for, rural sociology have come because of its general appreciation upon the part of those who are closest to the country folk. With one or two notable exceptions it has not originated with the colleges or universities, for most of them have but tardily introduced the subject into their curricula in answer to the interest in rural social problems

aroused by country-life conferences, farmers' institutes, granges, teachers' institutes, educational and religious conventions, farmers' clubs, agricultural extension schools, etc. The interest in the subject is genuine, for, though originally inspired by a few prophets of the rural awakening, it now engages the keenest interest, not only of all progressive leaders in country life, but of increasing numbers of the people on the land." Far sighted administrators introduced the subject into colleges of agriculture and into the Federal government and encouraged its development because they felt some responsibility for the social welfare of the rural population and because they hoped rural sociology would prove to have social utility. Said President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, speaking of the work of the Land-Grant colleges, "our business is ultimately a sociological business. What we are busied with here is trying to find out how to adjust this soil to the use of families."³ Said Liberty Hyde Bailey, "The entire effort of a college of agriculture is devoted to the elevation of country living."⁴

But although many agricultural leaders held a broad social point of view with respect to rural problems, it must not be supposed that this view was general. The Land-Grant colleges arose in a society dominated by classical education and took for their goal the development of an education based upon science. The movement

² Sanderson, Dwight L., "The Teaching of Rural Sociology: Particularly in the Land-Grant Colleges and Universities." *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XI (1916), p. 207-8.

³ Quoted by Sanderson, *loc. cit.*, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

stimulated research and led to the development of a vast agricultural technology which was to become widely disseminated and practiced upon the farms of the respective states. But although occasional pronouncements emphasized the essential sociological implications of their work, these colleges held steadfastly to the philosophy that a scientific agricultural technology widely disseminated will in the long run bring satisfactory social progress to rural society. Only recently has this point of view been seriously challenged by certain Land-Grant college leaders⁵ who see that, even in a scientific world, social progress is not inevitable but must be implemented.

Nevertheless, if the social sciences have not made a contribution to country life equal to that of the physical and biological sciences, it is not due entirely to the early preconceptions of the Land-Grant colleges which tended to overlook social and cultural factors and to stress the need for better use of physical and biological resources. It is in part a result of the slow development of the social subjects as applied science; and, in this respect, sociology has been no exception.⁶ Although rural

sociology may be said to have been functioning in at least some of these colleges for upwards of 30 years and to have been on a Federally recognized financial basis for more than 15 years, and although in certain respects it has made notable contribution to sociological knowledge, its progress toward the development of those applied aspects which should make it most useful to local rural people has not been highly promising. At present, although its status varies from place to place, in at least some Land-Grant institutions it has been fully admitted to the family of applied agricultural sciences, and the inference is that it, too, will become an applied science supporting a technology that may be offered with confidence to the rural population of the respective states for the purpose of assisting in the solution of their social problems. How nearly has the subject achieved this goal? What yet remains to be done, and how can it be accomplished to best advantage? These are indeed pertinent questions.

Much space might be devoted to a delineation of the triumphs and shortcomings of rural sociology during the last quarter of a century, but this paper is limited to a consideration of certain criticisms directed at the subject from the point of view of its utility as applied science. These criticisms may be stated as follows: (1) the research done has not provided an adequate base for the formulation of an applied science of society; (2) no practical technology such as characterizes an applied science has been formulated, and (3)

⁵ Day, Edmund, "Science and Social Progress." Proceedings of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, Chicago, 1941, p. 55; Mumford, F. B., "The Land-Grant Colleges and the National Welfare." *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

⁶ The confusion between pure and applied science in the Land-Grant colleges has not been limited to the social subjects. Apparently it was quite general during the early days of the movement. Cf., Ross, E. D., *Democracy's College*. Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1942, Ch. VII.

there is yet an insufficient integration of rural sociology into the community of applied agricultural sciences to make it an effective member.

Shortcomings of Research

The quantity of research done and the number of research reports produced by rural sociologists during the last quarter of a century have been commendable. Hundreds of bulletins and monographs have appeared and a survey of the textbooks published during the period shows the profound effect of this growing body of knowledge. Viewed from the point of view of quality, it must be conceded that much excellent work has been done, yet when the results are viewed as a possible basis for an applied science of rural society they must be judged inadequate in several respects which may be enumerated as follows: in the first place, effort in rural sociological research has been spread too thin to produce the necessary results. It has been spread over virtually the entire field of sociology including population in a universe as large and varied as the United States. The 161 research projects reported for 1941 were distributed throughout 40 states and were spread over 17 subject matter categories, from population through social organization and social pathology to social psychology. This example seems to be fairly typical of the spread of research projects during recent years, and illustrates the point in question. The field as conceived at present is simply too large to be worked intensively by any body of resources that may reason-

ably be expected. However commendable it may be from certain points of view to spread out in this manner, it is certainly not conducive to the development of that degree of authority and reliability so necessary in the results of applied science. In an attempt to promote the subject rapidly, rural sociologists have come dangerously close to superficiality. They have plowed furrows in many fields but have tilled no field sufficiently to obtain a good yield. Or, to change the figure slightly, many good sturdy plants have been produced here and there but the rows have been ragged and incompletely filled. Though the research personnel may have been painstakingly careful in the conduct of individual projects, the general method of research planning and project selection suggests "browsing" in an unlimited universe, without an adequate frame of reference for orientation.

Corrolary to the fact that rural sociologists have spread their research efforts over too wide a territory, is the fact that in virtually no area has research been done with sufficient completeness, thoroughness or comparability to make the results add up to the kind of authoritative body of knowledge necessary to form the basis of a scientific action program. The projects selected are often determined by the personal interest of the research worker and the local demand for information and guidance as well as a certain opportunism with respect to finance. Projects are set for short periods of time, often hurriedly conceived and rushed to com-

pletion while the information is "hot." After one or more publications, the worker passes on to some other timely project having perhaps little relation to the first. In this manner, a mass of material is produced but it tends to be exploratory and suggestive rather than exhaustive. Objectives vary, methods vary and sample areas vary from project to project tending to nullify reliable generalization. Important principles are not pursued until established. For example, in the controversy that has flourished about the question of selectivity in rural-urban migration, it is possible that both sides have been correct so far as the findings of their particular studies are concerned. It seems likely that selectivity in migration is to a considerable extent a function of both time and place, but no one has taken the trouble to test this hypothesis. Not until impressionism has given way to thoroughness can we expect to lay the foundation for an applied science.

Basic to any attempt to do thorough scientific work with limited resources is an operational definition of the field which limits it to something that can, within reason, be exploited. The individual worker, even a department, must narrow its efforts to one or more specialties. Regardless of any proper academic definition of rural sociology, for operational purposes, the field should be narrowed to the extent that the available supply of workers can attack a few strategic problems with fair

promise of obtaining thorough and reliable results.

In an area such as the United States, virtually any important sociological problem is complex because of its variations in time and space. Because these two factors are insufficiently considered, many of the conclusions of rural sociological research possess little general value. If rural sociology is to achieve the status of applied science, concerted effort spread over considerable time and space would appear to be necessary. For example, the data for approximately 25 studies devoted wholly or partially to the rural neighborhood have been drawn from a number of states. In this manner, some suggestive conclusions regarding the rural neighborhood in the United States have been produced. But is this sufficient for purposes of guiding an action program which reaches every county and community? It is doubtful whether any state has been given complete coverage, even on a reconnaissance basis for the purpose of determining the occurrence and nature of this form of rural social organization. The social coverage effected by neighborhoods, their leadership possibilities as compared to other forms of organization and the extent to which they lend themselves to social action are still unknown factors.

It must be recognized that the formulation of a state research program in rural sociology, or in any other experiment station subject, cannot be done with utter disregard for the local social milieu. This difficulty

must be surmounted, however, to the extent that concerted, cooperative effort can be brought to bear upon certain research problems. Otherwise the spotted appearance of the field will continue and thorough and reliable conclusions will not be forthcoming.

A second criticism that may be leveled at rural sociological research is that it is unable to qualify either at the theoretical or at the applied levels. It is neither sufficiently practical nor sufficiently theoretical to maximize its contribution. Although rural sociology abandoned general theory in order to undertake the empirical study of rural life and become a member of the community of applied agricultural sciences, it has received its orientation from sociology rather than from the agricultural sciences. From both sides, the results have been unsatisfactory. Geared to more intensive work, in a narrower field, operationally defined, research should become both more theoretical and more practical in order to lay the basis for an applied science.

A third criticism that may be made of rural sociological research is that it has probably not sufficiently exploited some of its most strategic areas viewed from the point of view of their value in developing an applied science. Five of these which appear especially significant to the writer may be mentioned:⁷ (1) *Social and cultural geography.* Rural

sociologists deal with such vast areas as states and regions. In most such areas great social and cultural variability are to be found. The sociologist is expected to be familiar with the phenomena with which he deals. Indeed such knowledge constitutes the first foundation stone of science, and, if the rural sociologist does not master this step, he can scarcely merit the respect of his scientific colleagues. He is in a position comparable to that of the botanist who must know the flora, or of the agronomist who must know the soils of his state. Putting it another way, the physical and biological scientists have their laboratories in their respective institutions; the plant scientists and the animal scientists have their experimental farms; but the rural sociologist has an entire state for a laboratory. He must go to it, explore it, and come to understand the geography of the social forms and the culture of these rural areas.

But if the rural sociologists are to achieve this encyclopedic knowledge, they must move further in this direction than most of them have. The techniques of culture area determination must be further perfected and applied. Most states will yield several such areas. Minimum knowledge of each will probably require a reconnaissance survey of the entire area together with some intensive sample study achieving both current and historical perspective.

The discipline and knowledge obtained from such sociological "natural history" should be very valuable. In the first place, it is necessary as a

⁷ These areas do not constitute a definition of the field, either theoretically or operationally conceived. They appear to be promising areas for applied work.

basis for a valid social technology which can be used by extension specialists and other leaders in agriculture and rural life. In the second place, it may profoundly influence the selection and conduct of research projects. Finally, its possession will enable the sociologist to discharge effectively one of his most important functions, namely, the accurate interpretation of local rural social organization and culture to the numerous state and national agencies which in our time are constantly impinging upon local areas with a view to integrating them more fully into the national whole.

(2) *Rural social changes and trends.* No less important than descriptive knowledge of local culture is the ability to measure and chart the changes and trends in these local areas. Increasingly, rural social change is accelerating. The traditional folk culture has largely disappeared and local areas feel constantly the pressures of action agencies and are themselves compelled to act. The rural sociologist has need to do special work in defining and redefining the local situation as change occurs for by doing so the basis of social action may be changed. To do this effectively, many additional measures of social change need to be invented.

(3) *Facilitation of the local effectiveness of state and national agencies.* Here is an important task that has scarcely been touched by rural sociologists. We are witnessing rapid strides in the integration of local rural areas and groups into the Great Society. Farmers' organizations and

State and Federal agencies are attempting to interpret local culture, local attitude and value systems, so that their programs may be successful. Much conflict and ineffectiveness occurs even where the programs are of unquestioned merit. Rural sociologists who understand local culture should be of great value in helping to facilitate these programs. Investigative work carried on in this connection should lead to the development of techniques such as form the basis of a technology of social action.

(4) *Rural health and medical service.* Here is a strategic area that has been almost completely by-passed by rural sociologists. Far from being solely a medical problem, it involves such sociological elements as folk lore, attitudes, institutions and inter-group relations. As one aspect of the general problem of improving the quality of the rural population, it affords an excellent opportunity to develop certain aspects of applied social science.

(5) *Adjustment of population to land and other physical and biological resources.* Although Gillette³ is of the opinion that this area represents the core of rural sociology, few rural sociologists seem to have admitted its importance. Adjustment to land involves cultural factors, possibly structural factors, no less certainly than that soil erosion involves types of soil, water run-off and ground cover. Until the sociologist makes clear to both the scientific and lay public how these sociological and psychological

³ Gillette, J. M., *Rural Sociology* (1936 Ed.), p. 65.

factors are involved and how they function, they will continue to regard soil conservation and land use as phenomena resulting solely from the operation of physical and biological factors, and will fail to take account of some of the most important aspects of the problem.

The same may be said for the various problems of obtaining adjustments which will result in a more intelligent use of such resources as forests, game and range. Modern forestry is only in part a matter of growing trees. Much of it involves handling people and dealing with the public; here are to be found problems the roots of which lead to the very foundations of sociology and psychology.

A Social Technology Needed

A technology based upon research and practices of proved merit represents the essence of applied science. By means of such technologies, the agricultural sciences have been able to gradually transform farming from a series of haphazard folk practices to an occupation of reliable arts. What is to be the contribution of rural sociology to this growing technology of rural improvement? It is well to consider this question seriously, for in the long run popular support for the sciences of agriculture germinates not only from effective class-room teaching but from the dissemination of useful technical information among the people who live in the rural communities. An agricultural science with no technology that is highly regarded is not likely to be

strongly supported at any time. During periods of adversity, it may be forgotten, leaving the personnel to locate themselves in more useful fields according to the salability of their individual qualifications.

The role of the rural social technologist, functioning as an applied scientist in rural sociology, has not yet been properly created. Indeed, the scientific basis for the support of his work has not yet been laid. At present, the role is imperfectly played by persons, who with some training in sociology and some practical experience in guiding social action, are attempting to guess their way along. Unless these persons, because of their training in sociology, can guess correctly more often than persons of equal ability trained in other subjects, then sociology has failed as applied science. Whether or not they are now succeeding to this degree it is impossible to say, though clear evidence of their superiority will no doubt require considerably more specialized equipment and training than they now possess. However, such training may be compelled to wait for a more thorough development of applied research.

For purposes of this discussion, the social technologist may be symbolized by the extension specialist in rural sociology. In 1941 some 50 such individuals were doing extension work in 26 states under the guise of rural sociology. However, the Extension Committee of the Rural Sociological Society reported that the activities of these specialists were frequently as much on the boundary of other fields

as within the field of rural sociology. It seems probable, therefore, that much of the effort thus expended is irrelevant to a rural social technology, creates misconceptions and does not further the interests of the subject. Fifteen years ago the view was current that the extension specialist in rural sociology should catch on wherever he could find an opportunity to be useful. This opportunistic view has doubtless outlived its usefulness and a more strictly sociological conception of the work is now indicated.⁹

The report of the National Conference on Rural Sociology in Extension assumes that the extension specialist in rural sociology is no longer to play the role of a capable, socially minded person trying to be helpful without much reference to any special technology born of the subject which he represents. Neither is he to be merely a general handy man or sociological trouble shooter with an encyclopedia of social information; nor is he to be a social philosopher and critic focusing upon extension objectives and procedures, nor yet a recreation specialist, or specialist in some other neglected area of rural social development. Rather he is to be armed with special knowledge and a special technology useful in implementing the achievement of social ends. Thus, he

is to be a specialist whose tasks will be two in number: (1) to assist in implementing the Extension program, and (2) to aid the rural population in implementing their own social organization to achieve the ends which they conceive to be desirable. In this role he will conduct administrative investigations to determine how the Extension agency can best fit into the local social milieu; he will assist in the training of local leaders both to carry on extension work and to solve their own organizational problems; and he will assist in the formulation of effective Extension approaches and methods and in the measurement of the results obtained through Extension effort.

Thus, the objective of extension work in rural sociology becomes that of assisting groups and organizations to achieve their ends, though this does not preclude helping such groups more clearly to define their own ends. Sociology may have much to contribute to social philosophy but as applied science it must deal with means—with the social mechanisms required to achieve stated objectives.¹⁰

According to this interpretation, the technologist, the extension specialist, in rural sociology is to be a specialist in social action. He will be concerned with social conditions only as a basis for social action, but will be expert in the methods and means of stimulating and guiding social action.

⁹ This is especially true since the Agricultural Extension Service has given administrative recognition to the work. The findings of the National Conference on Rural Sociology in Extension, 1943, should be regarded as only the beginnings of a definition of the role of the technologist in rural sociology.

¹⁰ There is no disposition here to set means against ends. Means may be ends and vice versa according to definition. Ends that may be redefined as means properly become the subject matter of science.

As a social philosopher and member of society he may use his influence and judgment to formulate social objectives, but as a scientist his contribution will be made in helping to attain those objectives.

Such an interpretation of the field of the social technologist provides him with a large and important field for service. More and more, social action is becoming the mode of the times. People everywhere are not only interested in improving their condition through social action; indeed they are finding social action necessary as a means of coordinating their situation with others who have gone into action. Although no doubt executive officers will continue to be the supreme guides of social action, there is ample opportunity for scientific work in implementing desirable policies at all of the various levels of action from local groups and communities to national agencies. However, sociology has concerned itself so thoroughly with the measurement of social conditions and with the description of broad social movements and relationships, that far too little attention has been given to the mechanisms of social action. If the subject is to be helpful in matters of social action, will it not be necessary to reorient research in that direction?

If the extension specialist is to be armed with something more than a point of view and a certain personal technique for getting along with people, he must be supplied with a kit of socially effective tools and techniques. These may be drawn from two sources: (1) social research and

(2) customary folk practices. Social research may be expected to contribute by describing how the various means and methods of initiating and guiding social action function in practice, what limitations govern them and what may be the consequences of their use. Such research will require much careful study of the mechanisms of social action used in social groups, particularly in small and intermediate groups, for relatively little has been done in this field. Not only are we relatively ignorant of the geography of local rural groups; we are also relatively unfamiliar with their structure, their action patterns and the social mechanisms used to attain their ends. Yet systematic knowledge of this sort constitutes the very basis of a social technology for the extension specialist in rural sociology.¹¹

Folk practices concerned with the initiation and guidance of social action, like customary methods of farming, are both abundant and old. Man has been practicing the arts of influencing, organizing and directing his fellows from the beginning of human society. Unquestionably the art exists and proficiency in it varies greatly from person to person and from area to area. The question is how much can this folk experience be rationalized and reduced to the scientific basis of probability. If such is not possible, then sociology as predictive science cannot deal directly with social action, and proficiency in

¹¹ Sanderson, Dwight, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1942), pp. 18-19.

managing the process of social action must be learned as art rather than as science. Under such circumstances, much that sociology has hoped to accomplish as predictive science would become descriptive art, and, in selecting the extension specialist in rural sociology, primary emphasis would need to be placed upon his personal experience and skill in the management of groups.

Although it is unnecessary to accept this discouraging outlook, it will doubtless be necessary to begin in a simple manner as other sciences have done before. Even an art can be systematically described and taught to others, and descriptive science is useful even though prediction fails. The methods of rural group leaders may be described and analyzed as the methods of farm operators have been described and analyzed. In the realm of technical agriculture, much of scientific achievement has taken the form of testing folk practices, explaining how they work and defining the limits within which success may be expected. May not sociologists, in like manner, project folk experience into the realm of science by studying those practices concerned with social action and determining their probable utility and the conditions under which they may be expected to succeed?

Frederic LePlay was fond of saying that in social organization there is nothing new under the sun. Does not a scientific social technology consist of first, a thorough knowledge of the forms and mechanisms that have been used to obtain and guide social

action together with their probable limitations and consequences, and (2) an equally thorough knowledge of the ends to be achieved and the social milieu in which action is to occur? With such information in his possession, the specialist can fit the means to the situation with a maximum probability of success. Without such advantage any group leader must resort to intuition and to trial and error. Unless through scientific analysis the probability of failure of the trained social technologist can be made significantly lower than that of the untrained folk leader of group action, it must be admitted that the problem does not yield to the methods of science.

Rural Sociology and Agricultural Science

With respect to the criticism that rural sociology is not yet sufficiently integrated into the community of agricultural sciences of which it is now a part, it may be said that here is a problem that in the past has been either ignored or left to informal conversation. Yet as regards the matter of obtaining professional recognition and status in the respective colleges of agriculture, several considerations, chiefly sociological and psychological, merit more formal discussion.

It would unduly lengthen this paper to enter upon a discussion of the considerations just mentioned. It may be stated, however, that at present rural sociology does not appear to be either intelligible or plausible to agricultural scientists. The rural sociologist must learn to speak the

language of these scientists and by so doing translate the significance and meaning of his subject into terms which they can understand and assimilate to their own concepts of agriculture and rural life. Unless this

can be done, rural sociology will remain an unintegrated element among the agricultural sciences. It will be in the college of agriculture but not fully a part of it.

Agricultural Underemployment*

By Conrad Taeuber†

ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that agricultural production during the last two years has reached record highs without increasing the number of farm workers, there is, at the present time, a considerable volume of agricultural underemployment. There are still farm operators not now producing a volume of agricultural commodities which represents a full year's productive effort. Many farm operators and year-round hired workers are seasonably unemployed. Further improvement in providing more nearly full employment for seasonal agricultural workers is possible. Age, color, under-nourishment, disease and physical defects, as well as social and psychological isolation limit the possibilities of full employment. Agricultural reorganization, transportation and training of workers, and some shifts to nonfarm occupations are elements of a program which need to be as varied as the groups which are underemployed.

RESUMEN

A pesar de que durante los últimos dos años la producción agrícola ha llegado a un nivel de altura sin precedente sin aumentar el número de obreros agrícolas, existe al presente un gran número de obreros agrícolas que no desempeñan un trabajo constante. Todavía hay agricultores que no producen una cantidad de productos agrícolas que pueda representar un año entero de esfuerzo productivo. Muchos agricultores y jornaleros se encuentran sin empleo entre un ciclo agrícola y el siguiente. Es posible proveer empleo mas constante para los obreros que trabajan únicamente durante los ciclos agrícolas. La edad, el color, la mala nutrición, las enfermedades, los defectos físicos, y el aislamiento social y psicológico, todas estas circunstancias limitan las posibilidades de empleo constante. La reorganización agrícola, el transporte y la enseñanza de obreros, y algunas desviaciones a empleos que no sean agrícolas son elementos de un programa que debe ser tan variado como el grupo de trabajadores con empleo inconstante.

To discuss underemployment in agriculture at this time may seem an anachronism. As the 1943 season

draws to a close, everyone can remember tight labor situations, crops which would have been lost if there had not been emergency action to secure labor when and where it was most needed. Manpower shortages are near the top of the list of favorite topics for discussion. Students of the

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labor force this year have had to revise their estimates of the minimum below which unemployment could not be expected to fall as up-to-date estimates of actual unemployment dropped below the level which previously had been accepted as the minimum.

Agricultural production reached a record high in 1942, using approximately the same number of workers as in 1941 and 5 percent fewer than the 1935-39 average. Present indications are that 1943 crop and livestock production together will exceed the 1942 record by about 3 percent, although the number of agricultural workers this year has been approximately 2 percent below last year's level. There were fewer experienced men available and more women, children, youth and older persons have had to do farm work. Greater efforts, longer hours, and more effective use of the farm labor force have been necessary in 1943.

Nevertheless, there is at the present time a considerable volume of agricultural underemployment, i.e., there are workers able to work who are productively engaged for less than full-time throughout the year or whose labor is so inefficiently applied that the product falls far short of any reasonable standard for agriculture. There is still a considerable number of farm operators who are not now producing the volume of agricultural commodities which represent a reasonable return for a full year's productive effort. Some of them have enterprises or combinations of enterprises which provide employ-

ment for only a fraction of the year. Others are on land too poor or on farms too small or too poorly equipped to yield an adequate return. And there are some who are using their own and their family labor so ineffectively that they must be considered underemployed. So long as there are farms which are not using the labor of the operator or the available labor force effectively, there is no general farm worker shortage. The problem of finding available workers and getting them into the needed jobs is often a very difficult one, but it is a different one from the problem of adjusting to an absolute shortage.

A detailed quantitative account of the numbers and distribution of the underemployed farm workers at the present time is not possible, for the most recent comprehensive data are those given by the 1940 Census. The indications which are available suggest that while there have been some changes in the number of farms, the basic pattern shown by the Census still persists. Those returns showed that the most productive third of the farms (those which reported a gross value of goods sold, traded, or used by operator's family of \$1,000 and over in 1939) produced 84 percent of the total marketed agricultural products that year; the next third (those with gross value of products of between \$400 and \$1,000), accounted for 13 percent of the marketed products; and the other third (those with gross value of products of less than \$400) accounted for only 3 percent of the marketed products.

These figures are not conclusive. They include operators who were not dependent on agriculture for their earnings and also operators of retirement units. Gross value of product is not an entirely satisfactory measure of productivity, for its relation to operating expenses varies considerably from one type-of-farming area to another. Moreover, the value figures given in the Census probably represent underestimates, for, despite safeguards introduced in the 1940 schedule, these figures are dependent on the farmer's ability to recall value of products for an entire year.

Recognizing these limitations, and also the differences in productivity among the several type-of-farming areas, a group of workers in the Department of Agriculture developed a fourfold classification of the 6 million farmers reported by the Census according to the degree to which they do or could provide full employment for their operators.

Group A, which includes 32 percent of all farms, represents the farms which provided full-time employment for at least one worker. Group B, 30 percent, represents the farms which in the main provided less than full-employment for one worker, but which could increase production through the addition of capital resources and/or improvement of management practices, thus making possible the more complete utilization of the labor of the operator and his family. Group C, 14 percent, differs from Group B primarily in that the land and other resources for increas-

ing production are considerably more limited and the need for improved farm management practices is still greater. Group D, the remaining 24 percent, represents those farms on which resources for production are so limited that it is unlikely that they can be developed to provide full employment for one worker.

Those farm operators with low value of products who are working full time or a large fraction of the working year off the farm cannot be classified as underemployed. Neither can farm operators who are 65 years old or over be so classified if their production is small. As a rough indication, these older farm operators and those who reported working off the farm for 100 days or more were excluded from consideration.¹ On that basis, the number of underemployed farm operators in 1939 was: Group B, 1,384,000; Group C, 558,000; Group D, 739,000; a total of approximately 2,681,000. These are farm operators under 65 years² old, reporting less than 100 days of work off the farm, and operating units deemed to provide less than full-time employment.³ Despite its limitations,

¹ No allowance has been made for the fact that some older farm operators also worked 100 days or more off the farm, nor for the fact that some younger farm operators are physically or mentally incapable of full employment.

² Approximately 36 percent of these operators were 55-64 years old.

³ Sharecroppers present special problems in any such classification. The 124,000 sharecroppers included in Group A were considered fully employed. But Groups B, C, and D include 417,000 sharecroppers, of whom 109,000 were in Group D. Sharecroppers on the whole are a group particularly subject to underemployment.

this type of classification does indicate the size of the groups who were then underemployed.

tribution of farm income in 1942 shows that one-half of the farm operator families received less than

TABLE I. FARMS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EXTENT TO WHICH THEY DO OR CAN PROVIDE FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR THE OPERATOR, 1940

Item	Total	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D
Total	6,097,000	1,954,000	1,824,000	858,000	1,461,000
Limited possibilities for expanding production	2,313,000	443,000	636,000	412,000	822,000
Operator 65 years old and over	828,000	195,000	235,000	130,000	268,000
Operator working 100 days or more off the farm	944,000	124,000	205,000	170,000	445,000
Sharecropper	541,000	124,000	196,000	112,000	109,000
All other farms in group	3,784,000	1,511,000	1,188,000	446,000	639,000

Since 1939 there have been numerous changes in the total farm production picture. Agricultural production in 1943 is expected to be 22 percent above that in 1939 and this has placed additional requirements on the working force. Nonfarm employment by farm operators and members of their families has increased—the number of farm residents working at nonfarm jobs has increased by approximately 1,400,000 between July 1940 and July 1943. Migration to centers of war industry, the location of some war industries in areas where agricultural underemployment was chronic, and the drain of manpower into other industries and the armed forces have obviously reduced the number of farm residents who are properly classified as underemployed. But the changes have not entirely eliminated the situation shown in 1940. A recent estimate of the dis-

\$1,320 net cash income from all sources, including net receipts from the operation of the farm, earnings from employment off the farm by all family members, rents, pensions, and other income. For income derived from farming, the median is \$980. The lower three-tenths had less than \$590 as net receipts from the operation of the farm.⁴

Recent survey data from a small number of areas show that underemployment persists there. Farm business records from a sample in southeastern Kentucky in December 1942 showed that four-fifths of the families had fewer than 8 war units. Two-fifths of the heads of families with fewer than 8 war units were judged to be available for other

⁴ Dorothy S. Brady and Margaret Jarman Hagood, "Income of Farm Families," *The Agricultural Situation*, XXVII (August, 1943), 9.

work. Following a survey in the 33 counties in southeastern Kentucky in December 1942, it was estimated that 63,000 workers on the farms of this area were available for more productive work. Availability was defined simply in terms of certain objective criteria; the equally important psychological aspects of availability could not be considered. These were persons between the ages of 15 and 59, not then having a war job, not productively engaged on their own farms, and not having any serious handicaps to prevent them from changing work. Included in the total were 28,000 men who were heads of families, 19,000 other men and 16,000 women who were neither wives nor heads of households. By including housewives without children under 10, and some young people who are normally in school part of the year, the estimate of workers available was increased to 98,000.⁵

Similarly, a study of 102 farms in Braxton County, West Virginia, early in 1943, found that one-third had farm operators who were less than 59 years old, had gross farm sales of less than \$1,000 in 1942 and had not earned as much as \$600 at nonfarm work that year. Judged by standards appropriate for that area, the operators of these farms were underemployed.

In a report on the farm manpower

situation in North Carolina in 1943, Forster and associates state that nearly three-fifths of the farms had less than 16 war units, approximately one-third had less than 8 war units per farm. From the data collected as part of the Agricultural Adjustment Agency sign-up last winter, they calculated the number of workers required and the number available for 1943 on each farm surveyed. Their report shows clearly that underemployment is not limited to farm operators, but that members of their families who are available for farm work also are often underemployed. In fact, many farms provide full employment for the farm operator but not for the other working members of his family. They found that on the farms with less than 8 war units, less than two-fifths of the available labor was needed. Even on the farms with 12 to 15.9 war units, only about three-fourths of the available labor was classified as needed. Labor available exceeded labor needed on the farms of 32 to 40 war units, but there was a deficit of labor for the farms of more than 44 war units.

Obviously, not every farm in the smaller size groups had an excess of labor, nor would it be possible in all cases to match the numbers of available persons with the seasonal labor requirements of the crops grown. Nonetheless, these findings suggest that at the beginning of the 1943 season there were a large number of farms in North Carolina which were not providing the operator full employment the year-round, and that in

⁵ Olaf F. Larson and James C. Downing. *Manpower for War Work—Eastern Kentucky*, USDA, BAE (Wash., D. C., May 1943). Although it is known that many of these persons were ready and willing to take other work, no estimate of their number was secured.

addition there was a much larger number which was not providing full-time employment for all of the labor now available there the year-round.⁶ This condition is not unique to this State. The data from the 1943 manpower inventory which are becoming available for other States reveal similar conditions there. For the Appalachian Region a recent summary of manpower and agricultural resources concludes that despite heavy losses of manpower since 1940, about 450,000 workers, including approximately 300,000 rural-farm males of working age could be made available for more productive work without endangering the accomplishment of 1943 production goals.⁷

The fact of underemployment in agriculture is not limited to the operators of smaller farms and members of their families. On many farms more complete utilization of available labor throughout the year would result in increased production. For example, a recent study in Ohio concludes that the need for stepping up the output per farm worker is widespread and is not limited to any one type-of-farming area or to farms of any one size.⁸

A large proportion of hired farm laborers do not have full employment

the year-round. The fact that it is customary to define a year-round farm laborer as one who is engaged for five months or more is indicative of the situation for one group, i.e. the group which on the whole has most nearly steady employment.

Seasonal workers ordinarily have a considerable amount of time during a season when they are not working. The significant gains in increased working time which have already been achieved through careful routing of seasonal farm workers have just begun to touch the situation of a group for whom underemployment has been chronic. For example, during June 1943, 8 percent of the adult workers in Farm Security Administration Farm Labor Supply Centers were totally unemployed, not counting those not seeking work. Employed adult workers reported an average of 40 hours per week in an industry in which 50-60 hours per week is considered more nearly full-time employment.⁹

No quantitative estimate of the volume and distribution of underemployment in agriculture can be made at this time, nor is it possible to indicate how much of that is inevitable, and how much could be corrected by more careful scheduling of work, improved practices, reorganization of the farm enterprise, and other known techniques. But the fact of agricultural underemployment in 1943 is not rare—there are many areas in which

⁶ G. W. Forster, C. Horace Hamilton, et al., *Farm Manpower Situation—North Carolina, 1943*, North Carolina AESB 340 (Raleigh, June 1943).

⁷ William T. Ham, et al., *Manpower and Agricultural Resources in the Appalachian Region*, USDA, BAE (Wash., D. C., June 1943), 41 pp.

⁸ F. L. Morison, *Size of Farm and Output per Farm Worker in Ohio*, Ohio State University, Mimeo. Bull. 160 (Columbus, April 1943), 17 pp.

⁹ *Monthly Report of F.S.A. Activities during May 1943*, Farm Security Administration, USDA, Cincinnati, Ohio, p. 28.

it is the rule rather than the exception.

The persistence of agricultural underemployment at a time when many alternative opportunities appear to call for the labor of all available persons cannot be explained by thinking of these persons simply as somehow defective and incapable of improving their own situation. There is no evidence for such a view; in fact the experience with rural rehabilitation and with the relocation of workers provide ample refutation of it. In areas where agricultural underemployment is chronic there has been a gradual accommodation to perennial poverty, coupled with geographical and psychological isolation. In many of these areas, tradition and family and kinship ties exert a dominant influence in the life of the individual. The lack of formal education or vocational training makes it difficult to fit into new jobs and new situations. Personal and direct face-to-face communication is relied on to a much greater extent than in less isolated areas. News of alternative opportunities become sufficiently real to be acted upon to the degree to which they become identified with a person of standing in the community.

Agricultural underemployment is not confined to the rural problem areas, but can also be found to some extent in the more productive areas. Social and psychological isolation are important factors in explaining the behavior of persons and groups whose economic status is below the average of the community. It has been demonstrated in numerous studies

that these persons participate less actively in the life of the community—school, church, formal and informal associations—than do persons with an assured economic status. This isolation in turn means that information about new methods, wartime farm programs, and alternative opportunities flows less rapidly and easily and is less readily acted upon than in groups without that handicap.

There is wide variation in group and individual interpretation of opportunity. Many persons value security and a degree of independence above economic gain. Security may be sought in ownership of a small inadequate tract of land which nonetheless appears to provide a type of insurance against a repetition of the experience of the early 1930's.

There are a number of individual characteristics which serve as barriers to ready shifting from areas offering little opportunity to those offering superior opportunities, in terms of contribution to the war. Age, health, nutritional status, color of skin and some other characteristics may interpose important barriers. The 1940 Census reported that approximately two-fifths of the farm operators who were 65 years old and over had gross farm incomes of less than \$400, and nearly three-fifths had gross farm incomes of less than \$600. Health and nutritional status are more difficult to relate to the known facts about farm income or size of enterprise. It is a matter of common observation that many of the low-income farm families have been so poorly nourished that their ability to

perform a day's work is impaired. Field observers of the project to secure year-round dairy workers for farmers in northeastern Ohio from among the low-income hill-farmers in eastern Kentucky have commented on the improvement in work performed after the workers had been properly "fed out." Numerous reports from Farm Security Administration supervisors have pointed out the improvement in the amount of work done by borrower families, after they had been provided with adequate nutrition. The relatively high rates of incidence of poor health and deficiency conditions are illustrated in the results of health examinations of FSA borrowers at the time they came into the program. Examinations of approximately 100 families selected for a special rehabilitation program in two Georgia counties found traces of rickets in one-fifth of the individuals examined, and defective teeth in three-fourths. In one of the counties a little more than one-fourth of the members of project families had hookworm.¹⁰

In a study of FSA borrowers in southeastern Missouri, a large percentage of the persons examined had such a low percent of hemoglobin that their physical ability for sustained effort was seriously impaired. Much of the anemia found had resulted from malnutrition.¹¹ The same group had a large number of defects and diseases which reduced their

ability to do hard physical work. Some of these could be attributed to malnutrition—others reflected inadequate medical care. Fifteen percent of the men examined had hernias. This is nearly four times as large as the proportion of the first 120,000 men examined under the Selective Service Act who were rejected for full military service because of hernia.¹²

These limited data illustrate the health situation of many low-income farm families. In some areas hookworm and malaria, as well as other diseases, add their contribution to lowered vitality and inability to meet the requirements of full employment. In many cases these conditions could be corrected by relatively simple steps. So long as they remain uncorrected, they serve as barriers to full and effective employment for the persons involved.

That color of skin and the numerous social characteristics closely related to it have an important bearing on employment opportunities is too well known to require discussion. Color, because of its association with low income and type-of-farming is also an important consideration in agricultural underemployment. Only 17 percent of the farms of Southern nonwhite operators were included in Group A, the group which was judged

¹⁰ C. E. Lively, *The Physical Status and Health of Farm Security Clients in Southeast Missouri*, Preliminary Report No. 1, Univ. of Missouri (Columbia, April 1942), 9 pp.

¹¹ C. E. Lively and Herbert F. Lionberger, *The Physical Status and Health of Farm Tenants and Farm Laborers in Southeast Missouri*, Preliminary Report No. 2, Univ. of Missouri (Columbia, July 1942), 21 pp.

¹² Rachel Rowe Swiger and Conrad Taeuber, *Ill Fed, Ill Clothed, Ill Housed—Five Hundred Families in Need of Help*, (Washington, D. C., April 1942), p. 16.

to provide full-time employment for at least one worker. Two-thirds of the farms of Southern nonwhite workers were classified in Groups B and C, i.e. providing less than full employment for one worker but offering some possibilities for increasing production to that level. The labor force on these farms customarily includes most of the family members. This group is an important part in the total volume of agricultural underemployment.

Providing fuller employment for those agricultural workers who are now underemployed calls for a program as varied as the groups who are underemployed and the reasons why they are not now making full contributions to wartime production. For some, it can be accomplished in agriculture, but for many others it requires a shift to other pursuits. The classification of farms outlined above suggested that for some groups the major opportunity lies in increasing production at their present location. This includes most of the farms in Groups B and C and also some farms in Group A which are not fully utilizing available family labor. This approach has been tried to some extent. The contributions to production made by Farm Security Administration borrowers during 1942 indicate that many low-income farm families could contribute materially to the increases which are needed. Improvements in management practices, the introduction of new enterprises, increases in capital equipment, and more effective use of available manpower are means for tapping one of the major man-

power reserves now available to agriculture.

For many farm operators the major opportunities lie in putting their skills or their labor to use on lands more productive than those that are presently available to them. Their relocation as operators on more productive farms offers some possibilities. In other instances they could effectively increase their production by becoming full or part-time farm laborers. The U. S. Department of Agriculture helped approximately 24,000 workers shift from low-income farms to more productive areas as farm laborers between September 1942 and August 1943. Five thousand of these were year-round workers, most of whom moved with their families. On the whole these workers have increased the extent of their own employment, increased their productiveness and their level of living, and have provided much needed labor to maintain and increase production in highly productive areas.

One of the major problems confronting many low-income farm operators grows out of the fact that the type of farming operations carried on provide employment for only a relatively short period of time during the year. But because of the labor demands at the seasonal peaks, the worker is essentially frozen to his present location. Programs to utilize effectively the labor of these persons during the periods of the year when they are not needed at their present locations can provide an effective means of "thawing out" such labor. Such programs serve the dual pur-

pose of providing a means of employing workers during time which would otherwise be unused, but they also reduce the necessity for recruitment of farm workers from nonfarm areas, or from foreign countries. However, the present legislative provisions impose a major restriction to organized transportation programs in the form of a requirement that no resident worker may be moved outside the county without the consent of the county agent or outside the State without the consent of the Director of the State Agricultural Extension Service. Recently the War Food Administration has arranged for the movement of more than 4,000 workers whose crops were laid by into areas needing workers. The success of that venture leads some of its officials to believe that the barrier to transportation programs is in large part a psychological one and that it tends to vanish as serious efforts are made to develop such a program.

Under the stress of reductions in the available supply of workers, it has become necessary to use more efficiently the workers who are available. In the case of migratory agricultural workers, there have been significant increases in the amount of working time during which each worker is employed. Foreign workers who are now being used in agricultural work are not moved into any area unless the employers will guarantee employment for at least three-fourths of the possible working days during the time they are to be there, and pledge themselves to pay a subsistence allowance for every day that

employment falls short of that goal through no fault of the individual worker. Similar provisions are being applied to the organized transportation of American agricultural workers across State lines, but they have not been made standard practice for the intra-State movement of agricultural workers.

For many agricultural workers, securing full employment means a shift from agriculture to other industries, as many have done since 1940. Matching the seasonal need for labor by industry and agriculture remains a long-run possibility which has not been fully tried where it is most needed. Some of the workers who shifted out of agriculture did not leave the farm, although relatively little of the industrial expansion which took place during 1940 occurred in the areas of agricultural population pressure. However, there has been an extensive migration from rural problem areas, and the more productive rural areas as well. A small part of this has been the result of carefully developed training programs, such as that in New Mexico, which prepared many Spanish-American rural workers for employment in West Coast airplane plants and other industries.¹³ The bulk of the migration has been the result of individual action, usually unguided, and without much reference to the requirements of careful matching of jobs and skills. Effective direct recruiting programs

¹³ Charles P. Loomis, "Wartime Migration from the Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, VII (Dec. 1942), 385-395.

in areas where agricultural underemployment persists are still on a very small scale in comparison to the potential manpower which might be secured through such efforts.

National and State programs to put to effective use the manpower available on all farms have been very slow to go into action and have met with a large amount of resistance. In part this stemmed from the belief that there was really very little agricultural underemployment, and that if there were any, the workers involved would be physically or psychologically incapable of making any effective response to the efforts that might be put forth. In part it stemmed from a belief that increases in production could come chiefly from the same groups which were already providing the bulk of the nation's agricultural products and from the mistaken assumption that increasing production meant increases for all agricultural products. In part it stemmed from an unwillingness to make the drastic changes in the status quo which are called for in converting to total war, or to develop a new set of competitors for markets if the current period of high demand should again be followed by one of "surpluses." Combining the work of rural rehabilitation with the need for production seemed to some an impossibility, or at best an unwise use of scarce equipment, fertilizers, seeds and managerial skill.

Techniques which have been effective in increasing productivity of workers in industry have only limited applicability in agriculture. Agricul-

ture does not offer the ready opportunities for dilution of skills and upgrading which have been so successfully applied in industry. It does not ordinarily offer the situation in which workers can be trained for a relatively simple, specific and repetitive job which is performed under close supervision. Insofar as training of workers in better or in new methods has been recognized as necessary, it was generally assumed that it could best be given on the job, but ordinarily the possession of the requisite skills was simply taken for granted. The experience of the FSA has clearly demonstrated how little in the way of knowledge, skills, and work habits can be taken for granted among a large portion of low-income farm families and how readily effective training can be provided in the many varied operations that make up farming, if appropriate methods are devised and appropriate motivations are tapped. Obviously, the seasonal fluctuations of agricultural work create difficulties to full-time employment.

These and similar considerations underlay the deep-seated conflicts over national policy; they have also underlain much of the discussion at the local levels. Development of the production facilities of the low-income farm families upsets established economic and social relationships. In many communities it may even appear to threaten the existence of what was in fact a surplus labor supply. It could conceivably alter the social position in the community for those individuals and groups whose po-

sition at the lower end of the social scale had been well established. At the same time it is clear that under wartime pressures many relationships which formerly had been well established have become fluid, and that therefore some of the local resistances may be overcome primarily as a result of the growing recognition that total war requires the full utilization of all of the manpower resources.

One resistance which publicly sponsored programs to move workers from one area to another have met is that of the community of recruitment, both on an official or unofficial basis. The migration of individuals responding to rather general appeals for workers is ordinarily taken for granted, but in many areas the organized recruitment of workers comes to be viewed as a threat which must be resisted. Areas which traditionally have had a surplus of labor have been less ready to make adjustments in their use of labor and their estimates of labor requirements than have those areas which have had longer experience with short supplies of labor. The reappearance of anti-recruiting laws and the enforcement of such laws in areas where they have long been conveniently forgotten is one of the forms which this resistance takes. On the whole, these developments have occurred most frequently in areas which still have large numbers of underemployed farm workers.

Efforts to move workers from one area to another to provide employment during a slack season in their

home communities have proven difficult, even before the requirements of present legislation were adopted. Employer farmers who have been accustomed to early assurance of an adequate labor supply at the peak of the season frequently have been unwilling to have that labor supply jeopardized by movement of workers who might not return. It is not a matter of indifference to employers that the movement of workers from areas where rates of pay are low to areas where rates of pay are higher, even on a temporary basis, may well have repercussions on the pay scales in the areas of recruitment.

Personal characteristics and attitudes of the workers involved offer some difficulties to the movement of workers from areas of agricultural underemployment. Not all of the persons who are physically capable of full-time employment would be willing or able to make the necessary adjustments. The survey in South-eastern Kentucky found that family and property ties would need to be dealt with if labor supply classified as available in that area is to be made available elsewhere.¹⁴ One-third of the married men would have to make arrangements for disposition of land which they own; over half had families of 5 or more persons; two-thirds had either land or large families or both. Lack of experience with more complicated farming equipment and with large scale farming operations is general, as is a lack of formal education. In a preliminary report on

¹⁴ Larson and Downing, *op. cit.*, p. ii.

the relocation of subsistence farmers to areas of farm labor needs in Ohio, Mangus points out that placement rates were lower among the men who had owned some land in the recruitment area and that placement rates were highest among those who had previously been farm laborers.¹⁵ He found also that placement rates were highest for single men and for married couples without children, and lowest for households of 7 persons or more. The lack of housing facilities is an important drawback in the corn belt and dairy areas, which might otherwise be receptive to receiving workers as members of family groups.

The programs for recruiting year-round hired workers from among underemployed farm operators have been in operation too short a period of time to render any final judgment on their success or failure on the extent to which workers and communities were able successfully to make the necessary adjustments. The extent to which the receiving communities integrate these workers will obviously have an important bearing on the success of the venture. The importance of belonging to a community and having one's role in that community clearly defined becomes obvious at the point where that role must be changed or where that role is challenged. If a new role can be quickly substituted and if the individual can find his place in a new

community without much difficulty, the transition is considerably simplified for him and many of the minor difficulties which arise can be kept within their proper perspective. Otherwise they may be magnified to the point where they threaten the success of the program.

The development of public programs to move workers from areas with high rates of underemployment raises some questions as to the present and future conditions in those areas. Beers describes what has already happened in one isolated neighborhood in Southeastern Kentucky. In December 1942, this neighborhood had 38 resident families, including 185 persons. A year earlier it had included 211 persons. All but two of the out-migrants during the year were between the ages of 15 and 45. In December 1942, half the population of that neighborhood was under 15 or over 64 years of age. Of the 38 heads of families, 20 were judged to be unemployable in any status other than the one occupied, 4 were widows, 10 were men 60 years old or over, and 6 were relatively incapacitated by health or unstable personal records. Nevertheless, at that time it was believed that 75 more workers might leave this neighborhood if they considered work opportunities elsewhere sufficiently attractive. If that were to happen, it would seriously effect the capacity of the remaining population to support itself. There would still be children to rear, there would still be aged persons to assist, but there would be a shortage of productive labor for maintaining homes

¹⁵ A. R. Mangus, *War Relocation of Subsistence Farmers to Areas of Farm Labor Needs in Ohio*, Ohio State Univ., Mimeo. Bull. No. 161 (Columbus, April 1943), 24 pp.

and growing food. An area with such an age composition would find it difficult to maintain health, religious and educational activities, communication, and other social and economic services of community life.¹⁶ This no doubt is an extreme case, but, if as part of meeting the nation's manpower needs, public agencies develop programs to attack the problem of agricultural underemployment they must also be willing to face the necessity of dealing with those groups that cannot respond to such programs.

Improved farming practices; increased emphasis on crops which yield a large volume of nutrients per unit of labor, access to adequate capital, land, and equipment; training and guidance; relocation on more productive farms; training, recruitment, and placement for agricultural or nonagricultural work—these are some of the major elements of a positive program to meet the challenge of underemployment. Not all of the farm workers who are now underemployed can or will respond readily to programs to provide effective outlets for their labor. The prob-

lems of reaching these groups can be expected to become increasingly difficult as those who respond more readily are reached.

The fact that approximately two-thirds of the farm operators in Groups B, C, and D are between 45 and 65 years old, suggests the limitations on wholesale shifts of these groups to industry and the armed forces. Abolition of current manpower controls as they apply to agricultural workers by itself would have a minor effect on agricultural underemployment, but on the whole it would probably intensify the manpower problem, for the present need is for a positive and selective approach to the needs of the diverse groups which are included in the 6,000,000 farms.

Agriculture, like industry, has a manpower problem which is more a matter of distribution and effective use of available workers than of total number of persons available. Agriculture has been given preference over the armed forces in respect to farm workers. In the current and prospective manpower situation that preference imposes a responsibility to take all measures needed in order to secure effective use of all workers in agriculture.

¹⁶ Howard W. Beers, *Farm Population Changes in Eastern Kentucky, 1940-42*, Univ. of Ky. (Lexington, March 1943), 18 pp.

Wartime Changes In Employer-Employee Relations In Agriculture*

By Edgar C. McVoy†

ABSTRACT

This paper describes the changes that are taking place during the war in employer-employee relationships in agriculture. There has been an improvement in the status and bargaining position of farm labor, but this has resulted from the supply-demand situation rather than from any fundamental change in control. Employer groups have prevented Congress and the Administration from establishing standards of employment in the Federal programs for shifting farm labor from one section of the country to another. Congress and the War Manpower Commission have also taken steps to "freeze" labor on the farms. Farm labor will not make permanent and significant gains until it is organized into a powerful collective-bargaining group. Sociology contributes to the understanding of agricultural employer-employee relationships its concepts of competition and conflict, its theories of social change, and its analyses of racial relations.

RESUMEN

Este artículo describe los cambios que se están efectuando en los Estados Unidos durante la guerra en las relaciones entre el patrón y el trabajador en la agricultura. Ha habido un mejoramiento en la posición de los trabajadores agrícolas para contratar, pero el mismo ha resultado de la relación entre la oferta y la demanda más bien que de un cambio fundamental en el control. Las asociaciones de patrones han evitado que el Congreso y la Administración establezcan normas de empleo en los programas federales para trasladar a los trabajadores agrícolas de una sección del país a otra. El Congreso y la *War Manpower Commission* han dado pasos para "congelar" a los trabajadores agrícolas. Los trabajadores agrícolas no obtendrán mejoras permanentes e importantes hasta tanto no se hayan organizado en un grupo poderoso para la contratación colectiva. La sociología contribuye a la comprensión de las relaciones entre el patrón y el trabajador agrícola con sus conceptos de la competencia y del conflicto, con sus teorías de cambios sociales, y con su análisis de las relaciones raciales.

In this paper, an attempt will be made to describe the changes in employer-employee relationships in agriculture during the present war and to predict what permanent carry-over there will be to the post-war period. Following a description of these changes, some sociological processes involved will be pointed out.

In agriculture it is difficult to draw a sharp distinction between employer and employee groups. For the majority of farmers, the main source of labor is the family. In this paper, an agricultural employer will be regarded as an individual who hires at least one other individual to do a substantial portion of the work on his farm. The word *hire* may be construed broadly enough to include a share-cropper, but not a renter. The employee is an individual who works on a farm for pay. No attempt will be

* This paper was prepared originally for presentation at the meetings of the Rural Sociological Society in December 1942. It has been revised since that time.

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made to define the terms quantitatively, though such definition could be made. A distinction should be made between the family farmer who hires part of his labor force and the operator who is an entrepreneur and who hires others to do practically all the labor. It is the latter individual who is an agricultural employer in strict distinction from the employee. The family farmer, to the extent that he does his own work, is a laborer and has an interest in the rate of return for such labor. It should be kept in mind, also, that the family farmer is a commercial farmer to the extent that he produces for the market rather than for home consumption. The family farmer tends to align himself with the interests of agricultural employers, usually overlooking the fact that he is also a laborer.

Nineteen thirty-nine will be taken as the "base" period for the consideration of changes, since it is the year before the war in Europe began to affect our national economy to a marked degree. In this year, the farm labor situation was not basically different from what it had been since the depression following the first World War.

There was still a great surplus rural population; farm labor supply greatly exceeded the demand, and there was considerable unemployment and under-employment. Wages had recovered but slightly from their low point of the depression. They had not recovered as fast as farm income.

Farmer and farm labor organiza-

tions had taken on a definite pattern. The Farm Bureau, once a dirt farmer organization espousing the cause of the family farmer in an industry-dominated economy, had become controlled by large-scale commercial growers and had lined up with business organizations in opposition to organized labor. The Grange, the Associated Farmers, and other powerful farm organizations supported the Farm Bureau in its political program. These groups were successful in preventing coverage of farm workers in social legislation and in preventing effective organization of farm workers. The Farmer's Union had been growing in strength as the major organization of small-scale farmers. Its principal strength had come from middle-western wheat farmers. It took a cooperative view toward organized labor and promoted a program in the interest of the small farmer and the farm laborer. There were not any very strong farm laborers' organizations. In the mid-thirties, there was considerable organizational activity on the West Coast and in Florida, but this activity had declined. The two major unions in the field were the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The former, affiliated with the C.I.O., had its major strength in processing plants rather than among field workers. The membership of field workers remained at a level of about 30,000 on the books, much of which was a shifting and inactive membership. The S.T.F.U. claimed a membership of

50,000, but a good part of this also was inactive. Neither union had enough strength to accomplish more than minor and local gains for farm workers.

The bargaining process between the farmer and his employee was a carry-over from the old individual bargaining relation of the family-farmer-hired-man system. It was similar to the industrial bargaining process of the early, small-scale stage of industry. In the South, of course, it had been colored by slave culture, in which the worker had no bargaining rights or position whatever.

In 1939, the farm operator took his year-round and seasonal hired hands very much for granted. They had been at his beck and call, except, as he had often complained, when working for the W.P.A. He considered as normal such a great oversupply of labor that he might hire a man in the neighborhood or in a nearby village for a day's work at any time and lay him off at will for as long a period as he wished. If he recognized farm wages as low, he dismissed the matter by saying that the farm cannot and never would be able to compete with industry in wages. When he gave the workers a job, he considered that he was doing him a personal favor.

Farm workers on the whole were a docile group, accepting their condition and doing little in an individual or organized way to improve them. The hired man of the past had been looking forward to the time when he could have a farm of his own. During the lean years, many

farm laborers or share-croppers had tried to improve their status by migration, such as that of the "Oakies" to the West and Mexicans to northern sugar beet fields. A few strikes had been attempted, mostly in California. In most cases, these had been broken by the growers and legal authorities, but they had had a small effect in improving working relationships. The strike of tenant farmers in southeast Missouri had a similar effect.

Commercial farm operators, at a disadvantage in the general economy, faced with vagaries of weather and market conditions, sought to prevent being squeezed out by maintaining a docile, low-paid labor force. Sugar companies and other large-scale farm labor users spent millions of dollars and employed large staffs to recruit labor and prevent its organizing and demanding improved conditions. Small farm operators generally have supported these moves, not realizing that in so doing they were insuring low returns for their own labor.

Public agencies had taken little constructive, positive action in the farm labor field. Farm workers were carefully exempt in practically all social legislation, both of states and of the Federal Government. The W.P.A. acted indirectly to raise wages slightly in rural areas, and the Farm Security Administration programs of labor camps and homes and medical programs indirectly raised wages also.

Farmers and farm workers were benefited by certain of the Social Se-

curity programs, such as Old Age Assistance and Child Welfare, but they were excluded from basic coverage in unemployment insurance and old age benefits.

Government officials had tossed off the farm labor problem like a hot rivet. In 1937, there was pressure from the A. F. of L. for a farm labor bureau in the Department of Labor. Labor passed the buck to Agriculture, which killed the issue with an exchange of memorandums and a couple of interdepartmental conferences. The Labor and Tenancy Section in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the B.A.E. did some basic research in farm labor problems, and a departmental committee had many discussion sessions, but the oblique F.S.A. programs were the only action taken. The F.S.A. Labor Division shifted its emphasis from Labor Relations on construction projects to programs for farm labor. All the programs of the depression years and after had a welfare orientation. Through the whole process, the department had only a minor interest in the farm laborer as such.

Congressional committees in the past five years have for the first time delved into farm labor conditions.¹ But the bills coming out of these committees have languished in other committees without getting an airing on the floors of the houses of Congress. The only measures taken have been such things as migratory camp pro-

grams, which have been palliative rather than remedial.

The Sugar Acts provided an enterprising wedge for public control of farm wages, providing subsidies conditional upon meeting minimum wages determined from public hearings; but sugar companies have virtual monopoly control of the markets, and the beet sugar lobby has been one of the most powerful in the country. It has utilized the minimum wage for its own ends, by making the minimum the actual wage and preventing any growers from exceeding it.

Having described the status of agricultural labor and relationships between employers and employees in agriculture, the writer will proceed to describe changes taking place in these phenomena as he sees them. There are certain trends which may be regarded as long-term trends, and which have been either accelerated or interrupted by the war. Further industrialization of agriculture will sharpen the cleavage between farm operators and farm laborers. The trend toward inclusion of farm workers under social security benefits will probably become marked within the next decade, though under a shadow because of the war. Recently there has been much discussion of extension of Old Age Benefits to farmers and farm workers, and the plans presented by the National Resources Planning Board and the Department of Labor for extension of security benefits include full coverage of farm workers. The F.S.A. migrant camps and health and welfare programs have made their mark, even though

¹ The LaFollette Committee investigating civil liberties (Senate), and the Tolson Committee investigating interstate migration (House).

Federal support of these programs may be discontinued or greatly curtailed. Medical societies have indorsed the F.S.A.-sponsored medical cooperatives. The U.S.H.A. rural housing program has had much local support in some sections of the South. Permanent gains have been made by the F.S.A. Rural Rehabilitation and Tenant Purchase programs in developing self-sustaining farm operators out of former laborers and share-croppers. Programs of the R.E.A. and T.V.A. are likely to be extended in the future to new areas.

In the field of wage regulation and mediation, there is no definite trend toward increased public control. The Sugar program is the only federally-operated system of wage-regulation. In California, Carey McWilliams' attempts to set up a system of voluntary wage and mediation boards met bitter opposition of the growers and became largely ineffective. In its Farm Labor Transportation program, the F.S.A. set up a system of boards to determine prevailing wages, which then became minimum wages of workers transported by the government, and also set up certain minimum housing and subsistence standards, but Congress in its recent action has specifically prohibited future maintenance of these standards.

Changes resulting from, or precipitated by the war are hard to evaluate, certainly at the present moment. Rapid changes certainly are taking place. The ultimate direction of these changes is very difficult to surmise. It could take two turns:

great social gains for farm workers or a type of rural economic oligarchy which has not been dreamed of heretofore. The prediction of the present writer is that the status of the farm worker will follow that of the industrial worker. There will be many cycles of change in the relationships, with the trend toward industrialized agriculture continuing rapidly, and the organization of farm workers following much more slowly. Only when farm workers have a strong organization and are in a position to do collective bargaining on a large scale will they be able to make permanent, marked gains in status.

The present Administration has a friendly attitude toward labor and low-income groups, but it has become virtually powerless to promote any new social objectives during the war in the face of a headstrong and reactionary Congress, whose farm policies are largely dictated by the Farm Bloc. Since farm laborers do not form a powerful pressure group, it is unlikely that they can make any substantial gains other than those precipitated by the supply-demand picture.

Consider the experience of the past year. Almost every Administration-sponsored farm labor program has been disrupted by the Farm Bloc. The Farm Labor Transportation program, initiated by the F.S.A., last summer and planned on a large scale for the present year, has been emasculated. A showdown occurred last fall when the Arizona long staple cotton farmers refused to meet the piece-work standards set by the F.S.A. for

use of Mexican workers in picking cotton. The issue was not level of wages, since the Department of Agriculture had subsidized the price of cotton sufficiently to enable farmers to pay the wage scale set and to make a reasonable profit. The issue was setting a precedent of a minimum hourly wage (30¢ per hour). Arizona farmers described the F.S.A. plan as "unworkable," and "full of social reforms." From then on, powerful farm employer groups, particularly in the Far West and the South, were out to "get" the F.S.A.

How well they succeeded is manifest in the action of the present Congress. Hearings in the House and Senate Agriculture Committees on the F.S.A. farm labor programs were loaded with negative testimony. Exaggerated rumors were stated in the hearing and on the floor of Congress as facts. For instance, one persistent rumor was that the F.S.A. maintained plush standards for feeding Mexican workers in California. The standards turned out to be suggested standards developed by a Western railroad in feeding Mexican workers, transmitted by the F.S.A. to a large grower corporation at the latter's request. Another rumor was that the F.S.A. required farm workers to join a union and growers to sign closed shop contracts. Nothing could be more ridiculous to anyone who knows the status of farm labor organizations, but this rumor was brought up seriously in the hearings. At the present writing, Congress has taken the following action on the \$65,000,000 appropriation for re-

cruiting, transporting, training, and housing farm labor sponsored by the Administration and to be carried out by the F.S.A.: taken control entirely out of the F.S.A.; reduced the sum of money to \$26,000,000, half to be spent by the War Food Administrator and half by the Extension Service on a state basis; required that the County Agent approve movement of any labor outside his county (and woe be unto the agent who admits that there is a surplus of labor in his county); and prohibited use of the funds to establish any standards of wages, housing, or hours of work for domestic programs.

In meeting the farm labor shortage situation, the Farm Bloc has sought to maintain the status quo of production methods and labor supply while making large gains in farm prices and income. The following measures have been advocated by the powerful farm organizations: (1) Blanket deferment of farmers and farm workers of draft age; (2) Furloughing of soldiers who have had farm labor experience; (3) Increased farm prices to compensate for increased labor costs; (4) Decrease in industrial wage rates, with abolition of overtime premium pay; (5) Reduction of the margin between prices paid the farmer and cost of food to the consumer. The first measure has been written into law. On the others, only partial success has been achieved.

The principal element entering into the bargaining relationship has been labor supply and demand. Farm workers have had opportunities to obtain industrial employment at con-

siderably higher wages than they were able to obtain on the farm. Some of the supposed gain has been illusory, since the worker who came from a fairly prosperous farm area and had full-time employment with perquisites may not have had a gain in real living standards by the move to a city. But at least the supply of workers available at traditional farm wages has become practically nil.

The farmer's reaction to the new conditions has been one of anger and bewilderment. His first wish has been to seek a return to the former situation, and to force workers back into their weak bargaining position. He has been forced to grant substantial wage increases, in order to maintain his workers. At the same time, he has put pressure on his Congressmen and other officials to stabilize farm labor conditions at something like their former point.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics made a series of studies which indicated the farmer's growing apprehension at the increasing independence of the farm worker and his reluctance to expand planting in the face of an uncertain labor supply. Meanwhile, the nation has become somewhat hysterical about the food supply prospect and Labor has demanded stabilization of prices. Defertment of farm workers is said to have caused a "back to the farm movement" so much so that industrial employers are worried about losing their labor supply. An order of War Manpower Commissioner McNutt is intended to prevent farm workers from leaving their jobs for those pay-

ing higher wages. Apparently, the farm operators have been successful in staving off substantial gains on the part of farm laborers and in slowing down the reorganization of farm operation in the direction of greater efficiency, greater 'productivity per worker, and correspondingly greater returns on that labor. These trends, however, are extremely persistent and are almost certain to be accelerated during and after the war.

In attempting to analyze the processes involved from a sociological viewpoint, the writer will of necessity have to use a great deal of "professional license," since it is very difficult to define and measure such sweeping and themselves chaotic phenomena. First, we might apply the well-known concepts of conflict, competition, accommodation, and assimilation to the farm labor situation. The traditional role of the hired man might be described as competition, sometimes progressing into assimilation. The hired man, in competition with other up-and-coming farmers, might expect to become assimilated into the tenant and finally the owner status and thereby become "one with" the other status-enjoying members of the community. In the South, the conflict following the Civil War became accommodated on a superordinate and subordinate basis. The hired-man-family-farmer relationship has been disturbed by the commercialization and industrialization of agriculture, and the caste system of the Southern plantation has been disrupted by the basic economic weaknesses of the system, by drought and depression, and

by economic opportunity in industry or in other farming areas. Programs of the Federal Government have also helped break down the feudal cotton culture of the South. Thus competition and conflict once more have entered the picture, and continued turmoil can be expected until agriculture is organized on a new basis. That basis, in the opinion of the author, will be on the lines of industry, with all the attendant collective bargaining processes and intervention of public agencies to bring about accommodation of the groups involved and to stabilize production of so important a product as food. These processes also could be analyzed in the tension concepts of Dodd, but there is not much to be gained in so doing until means of measuring the variables involved are devised. One "principle" which seems to be illustrated here is that competition and conflict occur only when there is something like equal strength between the adversaries. Thus we may not expect a "showdown" on the status of the farm worker until he is well-organized and can command powerful economic and political weapons.

Also illustrated here is the Chapin concept of cyclical social change. There is a breakdown of the traditional structure (hired-man-family-farmer or landlord-tenant) and a cor-

responding period of innovations; then there is a gradual acceptance of the new methods (industrial agriculture-wage worker) and a final stabilization so that the new ways then become conservative.

Very definitely involved are the sociological analyses of relations between various nationality and racial groups. It so happens that the groups of agricultural laborers having the lowest status and most exploited are such groups. Negroes form the greater portion of laborers in the South, and Mexicans constitute a substantial portion in the West, particularly the Southwest. We find the dominant "Anglo-Saxon" groups rationalizing the status and roles of these groups on the basis of racial characteristics. "Nobody but a nigger would do a job like that, but they like it." "Only a Mexican is capable of topping sugar beets." are examples of this type of rationalization. There is also a widespread belief that payment of high wages will make these groups become lazy and "no good."

There will be no attempt here to exhaust application of sociological analyses to employer-employee relations in agriculture. It is obvious that this field of study offers a fruitful field of analysis and research which rural sociologists have touched only superficially as yet.

The Generic Folk Culture of Mexico

By Norman D. Humphrey†

ABSTRACT

Mexico is predominantly Indian in ancestry and rural in habitat, factors which aid in the maintenance of a folk culture. Folk cultures possess elements which are the negatives of comparable urban features. A folk culture is relatively homogeneous, molded into its physical environment and socially integrated. The *hacienda* system in Mexico was conducive to the economic self-sufficiency requisite to the development of a folk culture, aspects of which are exemplified in housing and food production. The folk culture impresses itself on personality, implements, the continuance of supernaturalism, and retards the spread of formal education. The Mexican family and the roles consonant with it, tend to reflect the generic elements of Mexican folk culture.

RESUMEN

El hecho de que la mayoría de la gente de México es de descendencia india y vive en los distritos rurales, contribuye a conservar la cultura indígena, o lo que se llama *folk culture*. Las *folk cultures* manifiestan ciertos elementos que pueden considerarse opuestos a los elementos equivalentes de la cultura urbana. Una *folk culture* es más o menos homogénea, bien adaptada a su ambiente físico y socialmente integrada. Las haciendas mexicanas, cada una económicamente autónoma, fomentaban el desarrollo de la *folk culture* mexicana, estableciendo, por ejemplo, las formas típicas de las viviendas y la manera típica de producir comestibles. La *folk culture* se manifiesta en la personalidad, en las herramientas utilizadas, y en la continuación de la creencia en lo sobrenatural, e impide el desarrollo de la educación formal. La familia mexicana y el papel de cada miembro dentro de ella, reflejan los elementos genéricos de la *folk culture* mexicana.

Mexico is predominantly Indian or *mestizo* in racial composition, and it is rural rather than urban in its settlement. In 1930, 87% of its population of sixteen millions occupied villages or open country, and only 13% were urban dwellers. Over 90% of this number is racially Indian or *mestizo* (mixed).¹ Many persons are bilingual, for some fifty-two Indian dialects are spoken.

The peasant population possesses a characteristically folk culture. Folk cultures are not simply expressions of an agricultural economy; they are totalities involving relative isolation from the impact of world civilization

with its printed pages, its rapid communication, and its fashions. A folk culture brings its human carriers into immediate and intimate contact with the physical environment, from which the primary means of life are directly extracted. The folk people obtains its social satisfactions largely through interaction with its own members. The folk culture is, for

¹ In 1940, 11,000,000 of the population of 19,473,000 were Indians. M. Epstein (ed.), *The Statesman's Year-Book* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1943), pp. 1082-1084.

"The 1921 Census of Mexico classified its population as 9.8% white, 59.5% Mestizo, and 29.2% Indian. The great bulk of Mexican immigrants come from the Mestizo and Indian groups, particularly Mestizo in whom the Indian strain predominates." P. S. Taylor, "Mexicans North of the Rio Grande," Survey, LXVI (May 1, 1931), 200.

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most ends, self contained. All aspects of it are interwoven into a unified whole which, unlike that embodied by the world market, is restricted and limited in its contacts. A foremost student of folk cultures, Robert Redfield, emphasizes the antithesis between Mexican folk culture and cosmopolitan cultivation.

Mexico's characteristics arise not so much because her rural life is specifically Indian, as from the fact that her people are still "folk" . . . The characteristics we recognize in these folk cultures will be characteristics shared by all folk cultures, of whatever historical antecedents, and they will be the negatives of characters to be found in modern urban life.²

The strands of a folk culture are closely woven, making for considerable self-sufficiency in the means of sustenance and in protection from the elements. Just as the culture accords itself very intimately with the environment, so does the individual blend into the group. The group life stands unequivocally above the individual—the non-conformer can fit in no place. For almost all situations there are ready-made definitions; all that is known and desired of life finds expression within the group; all life is lived within the group, as defined by the group. The security of the group is of paramount importance, for upon it individual security rests. Since living occurs in the present, life

is carried on without great thought for the morrow, or yesterday.

Conducive to this isolation and self-sufficiency was the *hacienda* system, a feudal economy which allowed the individual to go through his life cycle without much knowledge of (or need for) the material and intellectual goods of the wider world. Around this *hacienda* much of the folk culture was built. The development of the *hacienda* system had its origins in the land grants and systems of land tenure. The Spaniards acquired title to land, and natives who had worked such land for generations came to have it registered in the names of Spanish overlords. The natives were then "employed" by these persons, but actually they were economically enslaved. Thus the paternalistic *hacienda* system was born. The *hacienda* became a great farm, a feudal domain, worked by persons who were for all intents and purposes serfs of the land owner. As such, they co-operated to make a little self-enclosed world. As farm laborers or herders, they worked the lands, produced their own food; as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, potters, and weavers, they created the buildings, kept them in repair, and fabricated practically all necessary tools and utensils. As servants, they kept the owner, the *hacendado*, and his family from ever doing useful work. As consumers, they were forced to purchase their salt and trinkets, their needed manufactured objects, at the "company" store, to which, by shrewd bookkeeping, they were kept safely in debt from generation to genera-

² Robert Redfield, "Folk Ways and City Ways," in Hubert Herring and Herbert Weinstock (eds.) *Renascent Mexico* (New York: Covici, Friede, 1935), p. 37.

tion. The *hacienda* system was extended by Diaz, pushing it, as it turned out, towards its doom. The system reached a peak in 1910, the year Diaz was overthrown.

Since, under the system, there was simply no opportunity for change in the laborers' status, the ethos of the culture tended to emphasize the notion of living for the present. Recreation took such forms as drinking *pulque* and celebrating *fiestas*, characteristic "release" behavior.

Justice for wrong-doing took the arbitrary form of judgment and punishment by the *haciendado*, for he was the law. The impersonal justice under law of the political state was largely unknown to the peasant on the *hacienda*.

The Mexican peasant ordinarily lived on a large estate, and the difficulties inherent in his economic development taught him to be grateful for whatever he received to satisfy his physical needs. When there were no longer beans and *tortillas* in the household, there still were friends; and friends in Mexico could always be counted on to share their last meal, though few had more than enough to satisfy immediate needs.

In the self-contained peasant village, manufacture is primarily for use with little left over to trade. What trade does take place is limited in geographic scope. Hence, there is "local uniformity but regional diversity" in the products of an area.³ The division of labor likewise is simple. Work in Mexico is punctuated

by periods of let-up, and it is paced at a tempo set largely by the will of the doer. In such a pre-industrial society there is a loose cooperation in which status roles among the workers are not crystallized. Manuel Gamio brings out this fact when he contrasts the "close cooperation, the specialization and the distribution of individual activity (in the United States) and the loose cooperation characteristic of Mexican labor, especially in the small town."⁴ Few specialists are needed in an agricultural economy.

With corn the staple food in the village menu, and beans, squash, eggs, chickens and wild game as accessories, the growing of corn became a major concern for all. During the harvest season, the carpenter leaves his bench, the merchant his counter, and the cornfields become the center of activity. The ripe ears are piled in great heaps in the houseyard, and a year's supply of food is stored in a circular corncrib. These ears of corn are ground into cornmeal by the women, and from the meal are made *tortillas* and *enchiladas*, which together with beans and peppers serve as major food items.

In so simple an economy, the cultural values with reference to material gain tend to be different from our own. This difference is exemplified by such occurrences as those in which Mexicans have worked only half time when their wages were doubled, or a woman sold mangoes at

³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴ *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 42.

a penny each, but demanded forty cents for thirty, since selling them all at once would deprive her of the pleasure of a market day. When fundamental necessities have been provided for, the peasant has no inclination to over-do the business of work.⁵ The "profit motive" is thus minimized in this folk culture. "The Indian left to his own devices," Kirk says, "is not acquisitive—money means little to him so long as he is not associating with the white man."⁶ Yet Gamio points out that in Mexico the laborer does not ordinarily earn enough to satisfy much beyond primary needs, so that obviously he could not save even if he were so inclined.⁷ What he does have, nature partially provides, without impressing upon him the conception of mate-

rial gain as the greatest of possible goals. The bountifulness of the Mexican environment is witnessed in this account of house building.

The Mexican peons in the *haciendas* and in the cities and villages live in "home-made" *jacales* (huts) which they build up out of rough materials such as tree branches for the frame, *jaras* or tall grass or straw for the roofs, and crude mud for the walls. This framework once erected becomes the living and sleeping room (inasmuch as the whole family may sleep in a single, usually large room). They build a portal adjacent to the main building, where they erect a hearth with slabs or any other available stone material. This is the kitchen. Several yards away they erect a compact corral with branches of trees or *jaras*. This is the lavatory. Jute or *jarica* cloth forms a curtain on the door. Nowadays there isn't much improvement there in the way of building family homes for the laborers, except that now they may use better materials, and in some cases they may have *sillar* (as in Nuevo Leon, where the natives get this sandstone from the mountains—and by the use of certain primitive tools, they may block these slabs uniformly) for the building of the walls. Some of these *caserones* (large rooms) when properly built, may last for centuries, except that the roof, supported with rough beams of wood, may have to be replaced occasionally.

When a young couple marries in a rural district, several neighbors voluntarily come to help the bridegroom build his *jacal*. Labor, then, is no problem. And the material is available within

⁵ C. G. Nordhoff, "The Human Side of Mexico," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXIV (October, 1919), 502-504.

⁶ William Kirk, "Cultural Conflict in Mexican Life," *Sociology and Social Research*, XV (March-April, 1931), 358.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156. Several writers have attempted to account for these aspects of the ethos in terms of climate and altitude. Thus, Thompson says, to paraphrase him: The warm humid climate tends to have an enervating influence on the inhabitants, and even in the northern parts of the country and in areas where it is cooler, the rarefied atmosphere tends to cause early death among the more nervous, leaving the lethargic alone as the typical Mexican of the plateau as well as the hot country. *The People of Mexico* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1921), pp. 103-4. Cushing calls the temperature of the Gulf plain area debilitating, and calls the people "an inert tropical people with little energy." Not culture but health is basic to their apathy. The "lack of power of concentration and of prompt action is one of the most marked characteristics of ill health and ill health is the bane of Mexico." "The Distribution of Population in Mexico," *Geographical Review*, XI (April, 1921), 231, 230. The present writer holds little brief for these particularistic explanations.

sight of the *rancheria*—wood, mud, stones, hemp. One thing they have to buy—namely, nails—but only when this modern article is available nearby. Usually, they manage to tie the slats and beams with hemp or similar material, *ixtle*, or wire, or even bristles! Wire and nails, hinges and locks are luxuries in the rural districts. For hinges they may use raw leather. Of course, there is a blacksmith in every village. An old horseshoe makes a fine lock, sometimes, if one knows how to strap it in the proper place. As for household furniture, they can make beds, tables, chairs, by the score, and in no time. Branches of willow trees, hemp, raw hides and a few primitive tools, plus the ability to make these durable pieces of furniture, are all that are necessary. And there is no bother about kitchen utensils and the dining table service, for there is a variety of clay almost everywhere. The natives have their own spinning wheels and a few other tools, and can produce pots, pans, cups, saucers, dinner plates, drinking vessels and what not. So, why should they worry about wages? They can raise chickens, and other farm animals. There is an abundance of corn, beans, sugar cane, potatoes, sweet potatoes, rice, and even wheat. All they have to buy is a bolt of cheap cloth once a year, and the women will take care of this chapter. Soap? Lard? Yeast? They know how to manufacture these things. Wheat flour is a luxury. But once in a while they bake their own bread. They build their *cocedores* (baking hearths) any time they want to. Hats? They can manufacture hats and the material is available

almost within the premises. . . . Shoes? They can make their own *huaraches*. So, who said what about depressions? Just give them a bolt of white cloth and a few woolen garments a year, and they have everything. . . . and Heaven too!⁸

The rural house-type varies somewhat with the climatic conditions and natural environment in the various regions of Mexico. In Central Mexico, from whence more migrants to the United States come, the *adobe* hut and thatched wooden house are common. The bulk of the Mexican population lives in either huts or one-story buildings.⁹ The following description, although applicable primarily to the Southern part of Mexico, contains elements representative for the whole rural country.

The house was typical of most of the houses on my place. . . . A small enclosure of bamboo, 14 x 12, the steep, pointed roof covered with rough, hand-made shingles of a sort that soon rots and leaks. The bamboo, being no

⁸ Letter from Ignacio Vásquez, San Antonio journalist, 1941.

⁹ The extent and kinds of housing can be seen from the following figures taken under the Calles regime in Mexico. The figures represent the total number of buildings reported in one half of the country. The distinction between a one-story dwelling and a hut, probably was at times rather arbitrary:

Huts	803,257
One-story permanent structures	833,035
Two-story buildings	13,362
Three-story buildings	1,069*
Four-story buildings	52**
Five-story buildings	5***

* 659 in Mexico City.

** 45 in Mexico City.

*** All in Mexico City.

The above is from Wallace Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-2.

more than a lattice, affords but slight protection. . . . the dirt floor . . . is damp everywhere and near the walls muddy. At one end is a *brasero*, a kind of box made of logs, raised from the ground on rough legs and filled with hard earth. A small fire of green wood smolders in the center of this, filling the room from time to time with blinding smoke, and around it were three or four jars of coarse pottery and a thin round platter of unglazed earthenware on which are baked *tortillas*. Nearby is a block stone with a slight concavity on its upper surface and a primitive rolling pin of the same substances resting on it. On the floor in the corner are some frayed *petates* — thin woven mats of palm or rushes. This is all, and this is home.¹⁰

It is clear from the foregoing material that there is little ventilation and sunlight in peasant homes, or for that matter, in the homes of most classes save the highest.¹¹ There is generally only one room in a house and this contains only the barest of necessities.¹² Beds are extremely rare, the *petate* serving in their stead. One author even recorded that he had had an honor bestowed upon him, when he spent a cold night with a peasant family, by being allowed to sleep next to the pig in order to keep warm.¹³

The major features of Mexican folk culture are found in a country setting, but Mexican folk culture is not strictly a rural phenomenon as is evidenced by Thompson. Thus:

Half an hour's walk from the Cathedral in Mexico City will bring one to a section of the capital where life follows the same regime as will be found in the typical Mexican villages in the wilds of Chiapas. In the little patio which is surrounded by fifty dirty rooms, in each of which a family of five to a dozen live, one will find women patting *tortillas*, grandmothers weaving blankets, children cutting their teeth on sugar cane, just as one will find them at Pichucalico a thousand miles to the South.¹⁴

The above selections begin to give a picture of a folk culture and its definite pattern of meanings. These meanings flow from the way in which the group sustains life. They impress themselves on succeeding generations of young Mexicans. The integration

¹⁰ Stuart Chase lists the following as constituting a unitary pattern, evident within the homes of the common people:

1. Single room
2. A metate for grinding corn
3. Huge water pot
4. Brightly painted wooden bowls
5. Square tin oil can
6. Pottery
7. Petates
8. Small shrine with tinsel and candles*
9. Fowl, dogs and children

From: *Mexico: A Study of Two Americas* (New York: Macmillan, 1931).

* House altars and shrines are found in the homes in Mitla, [E. C. Parsons, *Mitla, Town of Souls* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 224]: while in Tepoztlan most homes have a domestic shrine, often a painted wooden figure of Christ or the Virgin which is the center of worship and family ritual. [R. Redfield, *Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 38].

¹¹ A. C. Case relates of fowl flying across the dinner table, and of being prodded in the back while eating by the family goat. *Thirty Years with Mexicans: In Peace and Revolution* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1917).

¹² Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁰ C. M. Flandrau, *Viva Mexico* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1941), pp. 117-119.

¹¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

of meanings is partially reflected in traits of personality. In short, the common denominators of the Mexican personality are functions of Mexican culture, which itself is a product of several merged traditions. Emory Bogardus recognizes the impact of this system upon the Mexican immigrant's life organization.

Economically, the Mexican immigrant has represented chiefly the peon or serf in the hacienda. He has lived on the plantation or hacienda village and has been fashioned into a more or less docile and dependent creature rather than into a free, independent person. As a class, he has not come from the large Mexican city or from the many Indian villages, but from the benevolent paternalism of the *hacienda*, where he did not learn that his soul was his own and where he could not escape a servile relationship.¹⁵

Personality traits, such as those mentioned, are inculcated largely in the family. Apart from the family, the church served as the major means of indoctrination. Historically, the church as an institution was grafted upon the already existent community

¹⁵ *The Mexican in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934), p. 16.

Elsewhere he emphasizes the significance of this background as affecting personality, as:

"When the Mexican peon with his paternalistic and communal culture has come into contact with American individualism he has faltered. . . ." p. 48, and:

"In morals, the Mexican immigrant as a class is not well organized to meet everyday problems in the United States. His simple life organization is no match for complex social conditions in the United States." p. 61.

life. The growth of the church's role in this regard is well known. The church in Mexico simply superimposed its theology and belief, its structure and form, upon already extant foundations, much as it erected its cathedrals on those pyramids and native shrines which it did not destroy. Catholicism has not been in existence as long in Mexico as it has in other "Catholic" countries, and it has at times opposed, and at other times compromised, with strong native religions. The church has a definite and necessary place in Mexican culture, although its doctrines and activities need not be purely Christian and "Catholic." Speaking of the "old heathenism" and the "new Christianity," an observer of fifty years ago remarked of the Mexican peasant's dual religions:

The real essence of both religions is the same to them; they had gods to whom they built temples, maintained priests, and danced that their divinities might be favorable to them and give them good crops and success in their enterprises. This is pretty much what their Christianity consists of. As a moral influence, working on the character of the people, it seems scarcely to have had the slightest effect.¹⁶

If the moral influence has been negligible, the church has served emotional and utilitarian functions in the peasant's total way of life. The ceremonies and rituals of the church

¹⁶ Frederic A. Ober, *Travels in Mexico and Life Among the Mexicans* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1884), p. 296.

are related to the growth of crops, to the seasons of the year, and to the rites of spiritual passage in the life cycle of the person. The church aided in molding the individual into a passive, receptive being, concerned with the supernatural forces in the environment to whose presence he was forced to adjust.¹⁷ His ethical notions were knit together in his family and kin groupings to a greater extent than they were by the church. Observers who themselves regard religion as primarily ethical rather than supernatural in content, note with disfavor its lack of moral force. With reference to the ethical-supernatural nexus, a writer says:

The ethical side of religion is almost lightly regarded. . . . religion was a utilitarian measure accepted as having little to do with the relations of man to each other and hardly more with their relations to a deity.¹⁸

Mexican peasants are primarily interested in the forms of religion, the ceremonies inherent in it, and the functions centering in these aspects. Ceremonies attendant on birth, marriage, and death thus contain "religious" elements. An American who owned a coffee plantation and who

was frequently called upon to be *compadre* to one of his peon's children, remarks that the father is not exactly "religious," (apparently in the Western sense of fusing morality, ethics and supernaturalism) . . . "and yet . . . from a knowledge that his children had been baptized by the priest and confirmed by the bishop, he gets some sort of agreeable sensation."¹⁹

As a matter of fact, this maintenance of a "magical mentality" consistent as it is with folk culture, is characteristic of all peasant Mexico. One writer stated the case of a peon whom he observed ringing the church bells for rain, and of the celebration held in Guanajuato, after a heavy rain had filled the reservoir ending a dry season.²⁰

Religious healings in the past have not been discouraged by the church, any more than has the belief in miracles. In the Mexican village the ancient practice of medicine through the use of herbs persists. The most common explanation of sickness in Mexico is that the person has been attacked by *los aires* (the airs) which are evil spirits. *Los aires* are sometimes conceived of as very tiny people.²¹ Remedies for spirit-induced illnesses are various, including such practices as anointment with certain herbs and administration of internal doses, such as a tea made from a powdered woodpecker's head.²² These

¹⁷ Bogardus points this out when he says of the immigrant:

"The Mexican immigrant with religious training is submissive to authority. He has learned 'to follow, to obey, to imitate.' Patience and obedience have been ingrained in him by religious training." *op. cit.*, p. 65. See also, H. W. Walker, "Mexican Immigrants and American Citizenship," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIII (May, 1929), 465-7.

¹⁸ Wallace Thompson, *The Mexican Mind* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1922), p. 39.

¹⁹ Flandrau, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁰ By a resident, *Mexicans at Home in the Interior* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1884), p. 180.

²¹ Redfield, *Tepostlan, op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

cases of supernaturalism, whose number could be extended indefinitely, make it clear that the value core of the folk culture was large and that the symbolic (contractual) area was correspondingly small. They show, too, how all aspects of folk culture, as distinct from extraneous influences, are interwoven into a unified whole.

The "wholeness" of the culture is evident in the area of folk-education, which in Mexico had been in the hands of the church and the family, and for the peasant had been of a practical rather than a formal nature. Redfield writes of the Indian village Chan Kom that, "technical and moral instruction is transmitted within. . . (the small parental family); and there is no other institution, not even the school, that seriously competes with it in the discharge of these functions."²³

"In actual preparation for life, Tepoztlan's educational methods are superior to Middletown's," says Stuart Chase.²⁴ Yet with reference to formal education, the peasant family does not seem to exert a stimulating influence. Although, "increasingly Mexico runs to the little white school house,"²⁵ attendance is poor. In Indian Mitla only 29 of 300 children of school age were actually found in school.²⁶ In Teotihuacan, all day attendance was not possible because the

economic condition of the parents required them to keep their children home to work for them part of the day.²⁷

The degree of integration, it thus appears, between elements of culture is dependent on whether or not, to use Sumner's phrase, (used by him with reference to institutional growth) the elements are "crescive" or "enacted." Formal public education is "enacted" in this sense, while intra-family education is "crescive." Government also is composed of "crescive" and "enacted" elements, which fact affects the degree of integration possible in the total culture at a given time. For example, up to the time of Diaz' regime, the *hacienda* overseer constituted the law in the folk culture. With the coming of the revolutionary period following Diaz, the peasantry and more particularly the peasant leaders took sides politically, and subsequently a more active relationship between the peasant community and formal government has occurred. From this has issued the attempt of the government to function as an instrument for integration and improvement of the community by means of "enacted" measures. The federal government at present is concerned with improving family conditions. The Six-Year Plan provided for the development of household industries,²⁸ and minimum wage laws

²³ John Steinbeck's documentary film, "The Forgotten Village," illustrated such practices. See John Steinbeck, *The Forgotten Village* (New York: Viking, 1941).

²⁴ Redfield, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁵ Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²⁷ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

²⁸ Manuel Gamio, *Introduction, Synthesis and Conclusion of the Work, The Population of the Valley of Teotihuacan* (Mexico: Talleres Graficos de la Nacion, 1922), p. xxxii.

²⁹ Ramon Betela, "Some Economic Aspects of Mexico's Six Year Plan," in *Renasant Mexico*, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

regarded the worker as head of a family.²⁹ The federal government has also tried to encourage and enforce legal marriage, though it has met with little success. Chase notes, for example, the town of San Pablo Cuarto Venados, where only three per cent of the unions were civil marriages.³⁰

In the more intimate relationship between local government and the family, there are evidences of cooperation and integration. The president of Mitla, for example, may be called upon in cases of wife-beating and drunkenness,³¹ and an erring child in Chan Kom may be referred to the authorities for punishment.³² It is possible that these local roots for integration of parts of culture may eventually be transferred to the enacted measures introduced by the federal government, so as to render all parts of culture as closely interwoven as are at present only the folk elements. We can see this process occurring today in the growth of the *ejidos*, the government-sponsored cooperative farms.

Perhaps the most integrated aspect of the Mexican cultural background is that found among the elements of the Mexican family, which will now be discussed in some detail. Before considering the family in this context, however, let us state our theoretical notion of the character of the family.

The family, as a social structure, consists of culturally defined status

roles in such constant articulation with each other that expectations for conduct flow from the fact of position or occupancy of such roles. The extent to which this agency acts as an instrument for social control is largely dependent on the degree to which it is unchanging, and the degree to which a member is aware of his role relative to that of others. The conception of self which each member has in this group is related to the position he has in the hierarchy, and in the obligations and responsibilities which have come to be ascribed to it. Furthermore, roles operate on several levels of responsibility and obligation. This conduct-controlling aspect of the role ranges from the permissive to the compulsory, i.e., some things a role-occupant may do or not as he chooses, but some things he must do if he is to remain in the role.

With this conception of the family in mind, discussion can be turned to attributes of the family in Mexico. The Mexican peon family was a relatively stable unit.³³ The family ties of persons to the homeland were strong, and the conceptions of selves of occupants of status roles in the family were stable, thus making the whole interrelationship of roles integrated and unified.

It is expected that there be a responsible male head³⁴ in each family,

²⁹ Paul S. Taylor, *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community, Arandas in Jalisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933).

³⁰ Carleton, Beals, *Mexican Maize* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1931), p. 112.

³¹ R. Redfield, *Chan Kom A Maya Village* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1934), p. 97.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

³³ Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

³⁴ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³⁵ Redfield, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

although a formal rite of marriage is uncommon. High fees for church weddings prevent many from so sanctioning their unions.³⁵ Civil weddings are required by the state to assure the recognition of legal paternity, but there is a wide-spread reluctance among peasants even thus to sanction unions legally.

A marriage, in order to be recognized by Mexicans, as such, should occur in the church, and legal sanctions are considered not wholly necessary to conjugal welfare. Many Mexican males, after a first church marriage, take unto themselves subsequently "common-law" wives. In general, it would appear that regardless of the form of ritual sanctions, conjugal relations are amiable, and that although public demonstrations of affection are rare, within the home considerable companionship and sympathy obtains.³⁶

The conjugal family, consisting of parents and their children, is the core of family organization in peasant Mexico, although occasionally it assumes the three generational form.³⁷ When a tendency to the compounded or extended family occurs, it results ordinarily from a young married man bringing his bride to live at his parents' home temporarily, or in a spatial position adjacent to their

home, until a separate establishment can be obtained.³⁸

From an impressionistic view, the family in Mexico is large. Max Miller facetiously remarks that Mexico has more ten-year-old boys than any country in the world. A Protestant missionary states that families of eight, twelve and fifteen are usual.³⁹ Yet census figures for 1930 indicate that the average (mean) family possessed 4.9 persons.⁴⁰

In Arandas, Jalisco, an advancing age at marriage has been accompanied by a decreasing birth rate, a consequence of a constellation of factors involving male emigration from the region, and economic pressure resulting from the land being subdivided into smaller units, either voluntarily or through governmental pressure.⁴¹ Such factors as age at marriage, the form and size of the family, and the type of sanction invoked for it are important to an understanding of the family. Even more revealing is a consideration of the respective roles of its component members.

For purposes of analysis it is necessary to focus attention first on one

³⁵ Gamio, *Introduction* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

Redfield, *Tepoztlan*, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

³⁶ Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-14.

Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

³⁷ Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

Parsons, *Mila*, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Redfield, *Tepoztlan*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

³⁸ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Redfield, *Tepoztlan*, *op. cit.*, p. 139. This tendency has been observed in the Imperial Valley of California. See: P. S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928), p. 68.

³⁹ A. B. Case, *op. cit.*, p. 61. One man of his congregation had fathered thirty-one children, of whom twenty-two had died.

⁴⁰ *Quinto Censo de Poblacion, 15 de Mayo de 1930, Resumen General* (Mexico: Talleres Graficos de la Nacion, 1934), p. 140. For a discussion of the 1910 figures, see Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19.

⁴¹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

and then on another of these roles. The dominant status accorded to the husband and father in Mexico, in contrast with that tendered the wife and mother, has led observers to typify the Mexican family as strongly patriarchal. The father and family head is primarily a protector, which role involves the acceptance of responsibility for food provision, moral judgment, and training for his sons. Such sanctioned dominance also required the correlative subordination of women and children. If a woman does not remain submissive, the man may desert her. He is above paying much attention to infant children, rarely fondling or playing with them. By means of avoiding intimate immediacy, he inculcates respect toward himself. The father instructs his sons in the practical matters with which they will be concerned later, such as the making of *adobe* bricks and other necessary home crafts. Little boys may accompany their fathers on trips. They help gather firewood, and also do other heavy work.⁴² The male head's dominance extends to his sons, so that girls are taught absolute obedience, not only to their fathers, but to their brothers as well.⁴³ Older children are more strictly supervised than are younger, and girls more so than boys. Moreover, the authority of the parents continues as long as a son lives in the family household,

whether he is married or not.⁴⁴ As a consequence of the father's exercise of authority, no sense of easy camaraderie develops between father and sons, for such an occurrence would be contrary to the father's superordinate position.

For the Mexican peasant father, the totality of his role, and each of its aspects, constitutes a value, and until recently the value has remained inexorable. Given such a role, he tends accordingly to acquire a sense of dignity and superiority for himself, which feeling aids him in directing family affairs.

The wife's role in many respects is antithetical to that of her husband. From girlhood, the traits of docility, obedience and subservience are inculcated into the Mexican woman. She is taught by her mother the various household tasks and accommodates herself to the hours of gruelling home work. Her status as a wife is reflected in her ability to spend long hours at the *metate*. Her economic tasks are primary, and these, along with child-caring, consume most of her time. As Redfield says for Chan Kom, "To live with a man, to make his *tortillas*, and to wash his clothes is very nearly a definition of marriage."⁴⁵ Management of the family financial affairs may also be a part of the woman's role.⁴⁶

The employment of women outside

⁴² V. C. Millan, *Mexico Reborn* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), p. 158.

Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 468, 112.

Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 87.

Chase, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 190.

Gamio, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv, xxxviii.

⁴³ Millan, *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 66-67.

⁴⁵ Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

Redfield, *Tepostlan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 87.

Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Gamio, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

⁴⁶ Max Miller, *Mexico Around Me* (New York: Reynal, 1937), p. 73.

the home is considered a disgrace, however, and if this occurs, it reflects on the family's economic status.⁴⁷ To an American observer, peon women appear drudges to their husbands and sons; almost personal servants or valets.⁴⁸ But a woman must not render personal service to males other than those in her family. A clear definition of her role is stated by Rafael Ramirez, "Her place, without question, is in the home . . . her centers of activity the medieval three: the kitchen, the nursery, the church."⁴⁹

Women, with rare exception, accord their conduct to the cultural definitions established for them. This fact makes for stability in the family organization, and is reflected in the expressions of male praise for them. Julio Saesto, a Mexican author, says of Mexican women: "They are good daughters, good wives, good mothers; they are intelligent, sentimental, discreet, lovely, elegant, and prolific; they are virtuous on every side. . . . They are greatly respected by the men."⁵⁰

Caring for the children is primarily a concern of the women, and despite the father's seeming disregard for them, children are "exuberantly loved by their elders."⁵¹ The expression of this love takes a different form than it does in American culture. Men are above carrying their

children, the women doing this; nor do men hold them,⁵² although regional exceptions occur.⁵³ Formal punishment of children is rare,⁵⁴ yet children are taught to be respectful toward their elders and to serve them. Children are treated with a simple kindness, which results in quiet "well-behaved" conduct.⁵⁵ At Mitla, Mrs. Parsons never saw an obstreperous child, despite the fact that a young child comes and goes, eats and sleeps, in much the fashion that his desires dictate.⁵⁶

As children grow older, they are required to work, and supervision, particularly of the daughters, becomes more strict. As has been noted, this is a function not only of the parents but also of the older brothers.⁵⁷ Strong disapproval obtains for close contact between the sexes before marriage, so that no possibility for premarital sex relations on the part of girls can occur, and if such do occur, marriage or disownment ordinarily follow.⁵⁸ This separation of sexes in youth is correlated with such courtship practices as "playing the bear," where wooing occurs over long periods of time without actual

⁴⁷ H. V. O'Brien, *Notes for a Book About Mexico* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1937), p. 52.

⁴⁸ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁴⁹ Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁵⁰ E. Fergusson, *Fiesta in Mexico* (New York, Knopf and Company, 1934), p. 106.

⁵¹ Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁵² O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵³ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵⁴ R. M. Ingersoll, *In and Under Mexico* (New York: Century, 1924), p. 126.

⁵⁵ Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁵⁶ Beals, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁵⁷ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁵⁸ Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.

For an exception, Beals, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴⁷ Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁸ Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-28.

⁴⁹ *Renascent Mexico*, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁵⁰ From: *El Mexico de Porfirio Diaz*, cited in Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁵¹ Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

contact between the lovers;⁵⁹ and to various types of investigation of prospective spouses, property settlements and arranged marriages, which are often undertaken by the *casamentero*, or go-between and marriage negotiator.⁶⁰ The role of parents in the selection of a mate is thus an important one. A boy or girl in Indian Mexico tends to be ready for marriage soon after reaching puberty.⁶¹

At the age of twelve, a town-bred boy becomes an apprentice. At first he simply watches what the workers are doing. What small wages he receives he gives to his parents. As the boy becomes more experienced, he receives more money. As this occurs, he is gradually given more freedom by his parents. By the time he is eighteen or nineteen, he has a trade and is in a position to marry⁶² and to establish his own family. The family is not limited to parents and children.

The kin group is further extended by the recognition of fictional kinship, and the most crystallized form of this fact is that of the *compadre* or god-parent. The *compadre* comes into formal existence at the time of baptism, but he also has a defined role in

connection with first communion, weddings and burials. *Compadres* have duties and obligations almost as extensive as those of blood relatives. In some cases, kin ties are so strong as to forbid marriage into the families of *compadres* of baptism or of marriage.⁶³ Not only are *compadres* expected to cooperate in the already noted connections, but they are expected to care for a child in the event of his parents' death. The *compadres* hence function both to control behavior and to mediate the obligations of control and responsibility between the child and his natural parents.⁶⁴

Apart from disintegration consequent to death, families once formed are maintained indefinitely. In urban Mexico, while women now have the privilege of suing for divorce, such separation is generally disapproved of, not taken advantage of, and not easily obtained, even by the men.⁶⁵

Acts which in the United States are grounds for divorce, may have quite different meanings in Mexico. In Indian Mexico, adultery by a woman may result in her being beaten; or by a man, in his wife's deserting him, but it is not grounds for a divorce. Regional variations are evident, however, and no one pattern holds for all areas.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 162.

F. G. Carpenter, *Mexico* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926), pp. 77, 81.

Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

For an exception, Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶⁰ Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-3.

Redfield, *Tepoztlan*, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁶¹ Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 95.

Redfield, *Tepoztlan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 113.

Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁶² Frank Arce, a Detroit Mexican, 1939. At Mitla income is a family concern, a boy's father tending to receive his earnings.

Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁶³ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

Redfield, *Tepoztlan*, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁶⁵ Ramirez, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Millan, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-2.

⁶⁶ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

Redfield, *Chan Kom*, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 97-98.

Rural Survivals In American Urban Life*

By Adolph S. Tomars†

ABSTRACT

American society has changed rapidly from a rural to an urban civilization. In such change older folkways and mores persist as survivals along with the new ones. The rural survivals in American life are not isolated but permeate the daily behavior of urbanized living, including our habits of food, housing, dress, manners and our basic values of human personality. Analysis of many of our living arrangements, popular proverbs, and our ideals of manly character as revealed in the behavior expected of men in high office shows that the underlying values expressed conform more to the conditions of rural than urban life. A broad area of research is indicated for the study of rural survivals, leading to the conclusion that our urbanism is still a thin veneer over a deep-rooted ruralism. The American way of life is in many of its most basic manifestations still the rural American way.

RESUMEN

La sociedad americana ha cambiado rápidamente de una civilización rural a una urbana. En este cambio las antiguas costumbres y normas de conducta (mores) persisten junto con las nuevas. Las supervivencias rurales en la vida americana no están aisladas, sino que penetran la conducta diaria de la vida urbana, incluyendo nuestros hábitos de alimentación, vivienda, vestido, modales y nuestros valores básicos de la personalidad humana. Al analizar muchos de nuestras formas de vida, nuestros proverbios, y nuestros ideales de carácter varonil, según se revelan en la conducta que esperamos de hombres que ocupan puestos importantes, encontramos que los valores expresados se ajustan más bien a las condiciones de la vida rural que a las de la vida urbana. Existe un gran campo para la investigación en el estudio de las supervivencias rurales, conduciendo a la conclusión de que nuestro urbanismo es sólo una capa superficial sobre nuestro profundo ruralismo. La manera de vida americana aun es, en muchas de sus manifestaciones más básicas, la manera de vida rural americana.

It has become a sociological truism to point out that the salient fact about our society has been its rapid change from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society. Our American statistics show a shift from approximately 12.5% of the population living in communities of 2,500 and over in 1850 to 56.5% in 1940. Similarly, during the same period the proportion of people living in cities of 100,000 or over increased from 5.1% to 28.8%. The significance of the

change extends beyond the statistics when we consider the spread of urban influences to the rural portions of an urbanized society, so that we can speak of our society as predominantly urban.

Implicit in any process of cultural change is the retention of past cultural elements side by side with present culture. Since folkways and mores are essentially ways of adaptation to a given environment, it is axiomatic that there are rural folkways and mores and urban folkways and mores, each responsive to the conditions of a rural or urban environment.

It is here assumed that the rural-

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urban distinction is a scientifically valid one. Certainly there is a vast body of sociological analysis to attest to the reality of the rural as a type of society set off from the urban type, whether this be expressed in terms of primary group versus secondary group organization (Cooley, Brunner and Kolb), sentimental versus rational attitudes (Shaler and others), isolated-sacred versus accessible-secular structures (Wiese-Becker), communal versus associational groupings (MacIver), or in terms of a host of other sociological distinctions.

We may then define as rural or urban, practices and beliefs which tend to imply folkways and mores of the rural type or the urban type in some marked degree. Any society which has shifted so rapidly from rural to urban, as our American society has, must then be regarded as compounded of a mixture of rural and urban practices.

The retention of older practices and beliefs in a changing society is usually studied under the rubric of "survivals," and we should certainly expect to find rural survivals in our urban society. Survivals have been variously defined, but the central core of the concept seems clear. A survival may be roughly defined as any practice or belief which was fairly well adapted to formerly existing conditions but is retained under changed conditions to which it is no longer well adapted, and where other and more efficient adaptations are possible.

Survivals are not isolated practices and beliefs; they cover large areas of

social life. In any changing society, at any given time, a very large part of the culture, possibly the largest part, is made up of survivals. This fact is inherent in the nature of social change.

It seems almost over obvious, when a society such as ours has changed so swiftly from a rural to an urban one, that a very large part of our culture must be considered as composed of rural survivals.¹ The full implications of this have yet to be adequately drawn and elaborated in concrete research. Rural survivals have been taken into account only here and there when they are found involved in specific institutional problems or "cultural lags," as in the problems connected with the emancipation of women. Actually they are imbedded in the very texture of daily life, and, indeed, in daily urban life.

We may regard as a rural survival any practice or belief, even though existing in great cities, which exemplifies rural rather than urban folkways and mores, i.e., folkways and mores which are better adapted to the conditions of rural life than of urban living. The number of such survivals found even in the most urbanized portions of our urban society is surprisingly large, and this fact has not received the attention it deserves in the analysis of our culture. Rural sociologists have been concerned largely with the urbanization of the countryside. Urban soci-

¹ When the change is in the other direction, as in the early Dark Ages of Western Europe, the survivals would naturally be urban in character.

ologists have stressed the development of new urban mores rather than the rural mores which persist side by side with them. What has not been stressed, and needs to be, is research in the analysis of rural survivals as we find them here and now, existing as an important element of our urban world, in its great cities as well as in its countryside. The study of this important body of survivals ranging through our social fabric is essential to any realistic understanding of the ethos of our culture.

The remainder of this paper will attempt to indicate some of the various fields that seem to offer promise for research of this type, and will undertake a very brief preliminary analysis of some selected samples drawn from these fields. If we are looking for examples of rural survivals in daily urban behavior, our ways of eating, dressing, living and talking, certainly offer a host of illustrations. We may select a few practices and beliefs which are suggestive when analyzed from this point of view.

Rural survivals in housing and living arrangements are widespread and involve some deep-seated attitudes in American life. That living in a single family house is better than living in a multi-family dwelling seems to be a common belief in the United States. Its rural background in the farmhouse homestead is obvious. There is a close connection here with the related mores of home ownership, and here also the rural antecedents are clear. The self-respecting farmer of the past was the owner-farmer; liv-

ing in someone else's house carried the lower status of tenancy, or, lower still, dependency.

These mores display remarkable tenacity, even where congestion and high land values impose the multiple dwelling. Living in an apartment still carries the connotation of "living in someone else's house." The private house is the preferred way of living, and when owned, the ideal way. Young urban couples begin to save up for the "home of their own" which real estate interests advertise to them. Now, there are probably a number of sound reasons for wishing to purchase a "private" dwelling—desire for more space, privacy, quiet, air, economy, primary relationships, etc. Some of these reasons have been overrated, as many a home owner has found out. But however this may be, the strength of the rural mores of the family home and home ownership are undoubtedly powerful factors in the situation.

Sometimes they are the only apparent reason. This comes out most clearly when families move out of apartments to private homes in certain types of so-called suburban "developments"—really suburban slums, as Mumford has termed them—where the houses are as crowded together as apartments, the neighborhood just as congested, and the room space frequently smaller than in comparably priced apartments. The satisfaction must lie in the achievement of conformity to the mores of right living. This is the right way, the American way—actually a survival of the rural American way—to live in one's own

home, with one's own taxes to pay, one's own mortgage to lift, etc.

The city apartment itself, in its functioning and even in its physical structure, contains a large number of rural survivals. We may cite one, not of itself very important, but significant. Although we are beginning to get away from it, it is still the standard practice that a living room is not complete unless it contains a fireplace. For our rural ancestors, lacking central heating, the fireplace was the spot about which the family gathered to keep warm, and quite naturally all sorts of sentiments came to be attached to the family hearth. Our modern urban world has developed central heating, yet the ubiquitous fireplace remains. Not in its original utilitarian form, of course, but with slight modification. With heat provided from other sources, an ornamental imitation fireplace has become the usual practice. In old-fashioned apartments these were built in; in modern apartments they are additional equipment, usually installed by the tenant as part of the furnishings.

It may be argued that this imitation fireplace is purely decorative. This is entirely true. The question we must ask is: why should a decorative room furnishing take the form of a fireplace, especially in a period which boasts of a functional esthetic? The only answer is the persistence of a rural survival, and the human inertia that makes it easier to adapt old forms to new functions, however indifferently, than to devise new forms to fit new functions. Indeed, survivals of this type often reach the heights

of absurdity. Who has not seen the misplaced ingenuity of imitation fireplaces, replete with imitation logs, red electric lights and a revolving mechanism to make them flicker, so that a highly imaginative person could conceivably achieve a nostalgic identification with his rural forbears.

Rural survivals are interfused throughout the whole range of our daily practices and beliefs. The ways in which they pervade our ways of living and thinking can be studied in every field of social life. One of the most promising fields for the analysis of rural survivals in our society is found in the study of popular proverbs. We learn these proverbs in our youth, repeat them sententiously, and pass them on to our children. They represent our folk wisdom, and express some of our most widely accepted folkways and mores. When analyzed from this point of view, most of our popular proverbs betray their rural origin by their linguistic form. With respect to their meaning, many of them are equally applicable to rural and urban life, but a surprisingly large number seem to exemplify rural rather than urban folkways and mores. They are expressive of rural wisdom. Analysis of some of the best known examples can throw this into relief.

We have space here to consider only one proverb, a very homely one that almost everyone has been taught when young—"early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise." The meaning is quite literal and indubitably quite true for the farmer who must rise with the

dawn and necessarily retire early. A farmer who began his work at a late hour would hardly be conceivable. Urban conditions may be very different; it may be desirable for some to keep quite different hours, yet all indications point to the persistence of a widespread belief in the virtue of early rising.

Let anyone who does not think that this belief is still retained in a literal sense observe the large number of people who maintain that there are peculiar restorative values in the hours of sleep before dawn. If in writing a popular novel or scenario it is desired to portray a character as upright and honest, it will be necessary to depict him as an early riser. A character introduced still in bed at 10 o'clock in the morning is clearly a villain, a profligate or at least an idler. Persons in positions of public trust must be early risers, or at least have their constituents believe this. The public official who is at his desk bright and early at 8 in the morning is obviously a conscientious and trustworthy public servant.

When we consider how the man in high office must conform to accepted behavior patterns, many of which are rural survivals, this brings us to another field, perhaps the most significant for the study of rural survivals. This is the study of our ideal personality stereotypes, of the ideal behavior and characteristics deemed proper for a man. It is difficult to study in the abstract the characteristics that define the good and proper type of man in any society. It is best to consider some specific role which

is presumed to embody the ideal. Thus the study of the behavior and characteristics expected of the man in high office lends itself well to such analysis. We can profitably take for this purpose the highest office of the land, the presidency. The president, the man who fills this office, must be believed to conform to the nation's ideal of what a man should be, and to a high degree, otherwise he could not be elected. By bringing the ideal to a focus in the type expected to fill this high office, we may be in a better position to see how much of this ideal-type represents a rural type, and how many of its characteristics are rural survivals.

From this point of view we then ask: what must a man be and do in order to be elected president and to play the role well in the public eye? Naturally, we are not concerned with the legal and political aspects of this question. Nor do we mean such obvious unwritten social qualifications as those which demand that the president shall be male, white, Christian and Protestant. We are concerned with other specific social qualifications for the role, many of which may seem absurdly simple to note and even ludicrous, but are extremely revealing for our purposes. They are large in number and we can take notice here of only a few significant ones.

To begin with we may ask: where must a president be born? We find that he is expected to be born on a farm, or failing that, a small town will do if necessary. This is understandable when we remember that

until quite recently the average American was either himself a farmer, or lived in a city but was born on a farm. Most city people were transplanted country folk, at the most only one generation removed from the soil. A city man, city-bred for many generations was the rare exception. A "real honest-to-goodness man" was born and raised on a farm or in a small town, and this stereotype has remained, a rural survival stereotype to which a president, as the embodiment of a "real" American, must conform.

It is interesting to observe that even in the modern period of maximum urbanization all our recent presidents have managed to get themselves born on a farm or identified with rural life. Coolidge was a dirt-farmer, Hoover "the farm boy who made good," and Franklin D. Roosevelt is the country squire of Hyde Park who smilingly gives as his occupation—farmer.

The importance of such a qualification comes out clearly when we study the behavior of candidates for the presidency, or for the nomination. Much of this behavior would be incomprehensible unless understood in terms of the survival of rural mores. The last election of 1940 is instructive on this point. We may recall that a leading contender for the Republican nomination—Thomas E. Dewey of New York—made an ostentatious trip to the small town of Owosso, Michigan, ostensibly to visit his folks. The purpose of this was clearly to remove the stigma of the great city, to show that Mr. Dewey,

although District Attorney of New York City, was really a small town boy. When the nomination was won by Wendell Willkie of New York, almost the first action of the candidate was to repair to the small town of Elwood, Indiana. There the utilities magnate, now a homely small town citizen, initiated his campaign from his own front porch in the simple tradition of the past. His opponent, the president, was unfortunately detained much of the time in the White House on urgent matters, but at appropriate intervals he, too, conducted his campaign from the porch at Hyde Park, amid the simple surroundings of country life.

The amusements and relaxations of a president must be simple and "wholesome." He may, it is true, attend the theatre now and then, but his preferences and tastes should be for outdoor pastimes and for sports close to nature. These are the recreations of a "real" man, i.e., a rural man. Thus it has become a part of the presidential ritual that the president must go fishing, presumably whether he enjoys it or not.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that emphasis upon rural values carries with it corresponding scorn for many urban values. The presidential qualifications we are here listing may not be found in such works as Laski's study of the American Presidency. It is precisely such elements as these that make so much of American political behavior unintelligible to the foreign observer. The political scientist may regard these details too trivial for serious consideration. But

they cannot be regarded as trivial by the sociologist. They are the very stuff of social life, symbols of deep-seated values. And if the political scientist is sociologically minded, he will realize that the outcome of an election turns as much upon details such as these as upon the concrete political issues of a campaign.

Practical politicians are practitioners of applied sociology who have learned the importance of manipulating the symbols of social values down to the smallest detail. They do not need to be told of the importance of rural survivals; they know them intuitively and use them expertly.

One further illustration may suffice. There is the matter of the president's clothes. As first official of the land the president must be well dressed; he must even observe sartorial protocol in his various activities. But he must somehow convey the impression that he does not like to be dressed-up. A "real" man, i.e., a rural man, does not feel comfortable in elegant clothes; he is no dandy, but "just folks."

Sociologists have long recognized that our ideal of the good old fashioned woman—the womanly woman—is a rural type to which the modern woman, emancipated by urbanism, can no longer adequately conform. Yet, curiously, sociologists have been much less aware of the extent to which our American ideal of the manly man has remained a rural concept. The president is expected to embody to a high degree the stereotype of the manly man. If the necessities of his office dictate sartor-

ial elegance he must make it plain that he would much prefer to go about in baggy trousers and a comfortable old sweater if he only could. Obviously, most of the time he cannot be a "real" man, a regular fellow, in this matter of clothes, except in one respect, his hat. He can cling to an old well-worn hat on many occasions. This is all the more important because on certain formal occasions he must wear a particularly hateful symbol of urban aristocracy—the top hat—an object of long standing opprobrium and ridicule for all right-thinking Americans. On other occasions he can redeem his manhood by wearing an old and somewhat shabby head covering. Thus the president's hat becomes the sartorial symbol of the traditional rural virtues. The definitive sociological monograph on the hat as a social symbol has yet to be written; it would provide an important addition to our analysis of the mechanisms of social control.

The importance of such a significant detail as the symbolic value of the president's hat is again emphasized at election time. It is a detail which Franklin D. Roosevelt has mastered completely. In his three election campaigns an observer with an eye for such matters could discover the appearance each time of an almost incredibly battered and decrepit object which can only be described as a candidate's campaign hat. It was prominent at every public appearance during the campaign of 1940. Its vote-getting power defies estimate by our present techniques of measurement, but it must have been great

indeed. It will be observed that Mr. Willkie's managers astutely conceded that their candidate could never rival the Rooseveltian campaign hat, and devised a brilliant counterstroke. The Republican candidate campaigned entirely hatless and with unruly ruffled hair. Here was a manly man indeed. Although the president won the campaign, Mr. Willkie won a secure place in the hearts of Americans. Since the election it may be noted that the president's old hats are not quite so decrepit, Mr. Willkie permits himself to be photographed with a hat and seems to find no difficulty whatever in keeping his hair neatly groomed.

Again it should be remembered that stress upon rural characteristics and values always implies its obverse—the deprecation of urban traits and values. This comes into perfect focus if we take the figure of the president, once more, this time as seen by his detractors. We can study the significance of rural survivals by noting how urban characteristics are marked for derision. Here we may point to an excellent field for such analysis—the political cartoon. In the cartoon caricature certain features are deliberately selected for their symbolic social value, thus providing already highly selected samples for sociological analysis. This field has been curiously neglected by social investigation.

The caricature of the president has become the chief feature of the political cartoon in anti-New Deal newspapers. What are the characteristics singled out in the anti-Roosevelt car-

toon? Of course there are many, but we may confine ourselves to one detail which significantly indicates anti-urban bias in terms of the ideal concept of the real man.

This detail is the way in which the cartoon will depict the president as a smoker. In spite of certain religious groups, tobacco smoking has generally been recognized in the rural tradition as a manly attribute. But a real man smokes a pipe. The cigar is also manly. What the caricature emphasizes, in seeking to portray the president as a mawkish figure, is the form of smoking which bears the stamp of the effete urbanite—the dainty cigarette. But this is not all. There is something more damning—the cigarette holder—effeminate symbol of the urban intelligentsia and literati. No Roosevelt caricature fails to include the cigarette holder prominently displayed, and the more violently anti-New Deal the policy of the paper, the longer the holder becomes. Newspaper opposition to Roosevelt will undoubtedly become a subject for considerable study. Investigators will compare editorial policies. It may be suggested that if they will turn to the cartoons in which the president is lampooned, they will find in the length of that cigarette holder about as accurate an index of editorial opposition as any statistical technique could devise.

We have indicated in these samples how rural survivals reveal themselves in every aspect of our life. They pervade our ideals, our daily practices and beliefs, expressing themselves in countless details of

dress, deportment and opinion, which, when analyzed, reveal deep-seated attitudes and values governing our behavior and our basic conceptions of human personality. A very broad area of research is indicated for the study of rural survivals.

As research in modern rural survivals is developed, it is altogether likely that we will come to feel more and more that our modern urbanism, for all the transformation it has wrought, is nevertheless still a thin veneer over a deep-rooted ruralism. Ogburn's "cave-man in the modern city" may be an exaggeration, but "the rural man in an urban civilization" may give us important clues for understanding our behavior. We must grasp the extent of the rural element in our civilization if we are to understand the ethos of that civilization.

Finally, we can see also how this applies to our present concern with national morale in wartime. To deal with the problem of national morale, to control and direct that morale, we must comprehend more fully the ethos of our society, we must understand its contradictory as well as its unifying aspects, and we must be able to distinguish and assess its superficial elements from the elements which are deep-rooted in tradition. We must recognize that the American way of life, which we are defend-

ing, is in many of its most basic human manifestations still the rural American way.

The wide variety of things, from fan dancers to social workers, educational activities and race-relations research, which are denounced by congressmen as "frills and fads" have one thing in common—they are all urban products. Again and again we have seen rural prejudices and biases serve as stumbling-blocks for progressive measures, impeding the development of new collective social machinery and social reforms important in peace time and even more important in wartime. Here our rural survivals are a source of backwardness in facing the problem of war and war morale in an urban civilization.

But we should recognize another side to this picture. Some of our complex urban and intellectualized values must recede into the background in wartime and may even become sources of weakness in morale, while many of the simpler rural elements, especially the rugged values of our frontier heritage, will come to the fore and become sources of strength. Thus we may confront a crowning paradox of our urban world. It may well be that in the severe ordeal before us, it will be the rural element surviving in our culture that will play a major role in seeing us through the crisis.

Some Evidence On the Future Pattern Of Rural Settlement*

By Walter R. Goldschmidt†

ABSTRACT

The pattern of farm settlement in four irrigated and one nonirrigated areas were studied by means of aerial photographs. The public road was found to be as vital as any other factor in farmstead location. The farmer usually places his house within 20 rods of his nearest neighbor but avoids clusters of more than two or three houses. Road-corner communities were not found. The shape of holdings, determined largely by surveying practices, going back to the Surveying Laws of 1785, was found to have no advantage in itself. Square holdings have no particular value, but do seriously limit social cohesion, social participation, and economies in community living. An oblong rectangular farm layout is considered much better than the square layout pattern. These facts have made a significant contribution in the planning of the Columbia basin in the State of Washington, and should be kept in mind by persons helping to lay out farms in newly irrigated areas.

RESUMEN

La conformación de las comunidades agrícolas en cuatro áreas de riego y en una sin riego fué estudiada por medio de fotografías aéreas. El camino público demostró ser un factor tan vital como cualquier otro en la localización de las fincas. El agricultor generalmente construye su casa a una distancia de menos de 100 metros de la de su vecino más cercano pero evita grupos de más de dos o tres casas. No se encontraron comunidades en las encrucijadas de los caminos. La forma de las propiedades, determinada principalmente por los métodos de deslinde que tuvieron su origen en las Leyes de Deslinde de 1785, no presenta ninguna ventaja de por sí. Las propiedades cuadradas no tienen ningún valor especial, pero limitan seriamente la cohesión y la participación social, así como las economías de la vida de la comunidad. Una propiedad de forma oblonga rectangular se considera mucho más favorable que una cuadrada. Estos hechos contribuyeron notablemente al proyecto de la cuenca del Río Columbia en el Estado de Washington y deben tenerse presentes al trazar propiedades rurales en nuevas áreas de riego.

Introduction

The nature of the settlement of farmers on the land has in most areas of the United States been determined by the passage of the surveying laws in 1785. Prior to that time the village pattern of settlement was dominant in the agricultural regions of the United States — either the village based upon the English villages with

their hoary history dating from Tacitus, the Spanish hacienda, or the French line village dating from the Carolingians. But the surveying laws establishing square townships divided into square miles (sections) and redivided into 160- and 40-acre square tracts has been the basis for the establishment of the Western American farm landscape. Any other form is rightly regarded as an historic remnant or a cultural enclave. Around that dominant pattern has grown our network of roads, our isolated farmsteads, and the myriad of

* I am indebted to Miss Sara Miles for the tracings and original tabulations of the data included in this study.

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diseconomies that have resulted therefrom. It is a beautiful example of irrational effects of a highly rational act, and the blind perpetuation of all its ramifications amply demonstrates cultural inertia. Taxpayers must certainly have remonstrated against the needless roads that square farms require and sociologists have often disparaged the system as asocial, yet farm-management specialists have rationalized its values and traditionalists see in it the *ursprung* of American individualism.

The vilification of sociologists against the scattering of homes and of economists against the waste in roads and other diseconomies has been based upon comparisons with other systems or ideal situations. Little effort has been made to ascertain farmers' attitudes on the matter. In the following analysis are presented evidence of such attitudes. These attitudes are determined not by an elaborate questionnaire, but by a simple examination of the placing of farmsteads.

The specific questions which this study is designed to answer are: (1) Is the farmer willing or anxious to have his farmstead near the road? (2) What is the relative attraction of specific site advantage and the advantage of building on roads? (3) Are the farmers desirous of bringing their farmsteads together in small subneighborhoods of from 6 to 12 farms? If so, do they characteristically place such clusters at road corners? (4) How close to one another do farmers like to place their homes? (5) What is the farmer's

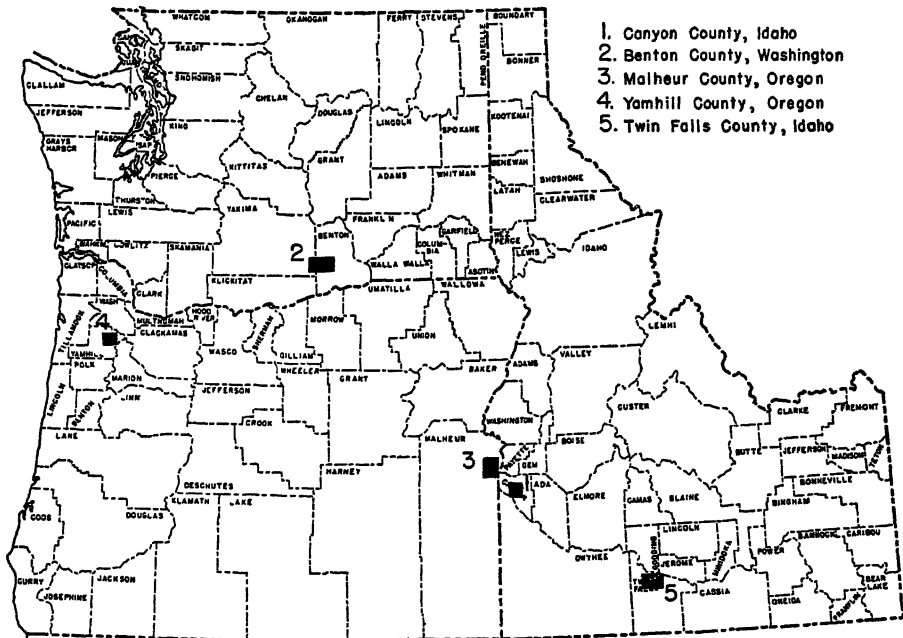
attitude toward the shape of his landholding?

Aerial photographs of five areas in as many counties of the three Northwestern States were examined. Four of these were irrigated tracts, the fifth was an old settled humid area. By careful examination with a strong magnifying glass, tracings of the roads, the homesteads, and the farm boundaries were made with a high degree of accuracy.¹ Irrigated areas in the Pacific Northwest were selected for purposes of greater comparability to that project. A description of each area follows. See Figure I.

1. The Canyon County, Idaho, area lies west and south of Caldwell. It is comprised of irrigated land and is part of the Boise Reclamation Project. The sample of about 34 sections of land is near the Deer Flat Reservoir which is part of the irrigation system of the Boise Project. The topography is rather gently sloping, probably more steeply so near the reservoir than at a distance from it. The area is irrigated entirely from canals by surface irrigation. It is a general farming area with fairly high emphasis on dairying. It was settled between 1908 and 1912. The land was all homesteaded.

2. The Benton County, Washington, area lies in the lower Yakima Valley

¹This method was suggested by Marion Clawson, Department of Agriculture representative on the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, as a means of securing necessary data for the determination of settlement patterns in the Columbia Basin, and the maps were obtained by him from the Western Regional Photographic Laboratory.



a few miles from Prosser. The 16-section area selected may fall partly in Yakima County. The river is on the south side of the valley against the hills. The valley is not very wide at this point; its floor is nearly level. General farming, aided by gravity irrigation, predominates. The area was settled around 1910 but there may have been some older settlement prior to the development of the Federal reclamation project. It was originally divided into small farms, many of only 5 or 10 acres and originally was largely in fruit, particularly apples. This type of farming was not successful, due partly to frost hazard, partly to severe pest infestation, and partly to other unsatisfactory natural conditions. The land was at one

time excessively overcapitalized. Combination of farms into larger units has proceeded for many years. There has been rather excessive turnover in farms in an attempt to build more satisfactory farm units.

3. The Malheur County, Oregon, sample of 36 square miles lies south of Nyssa. The area along the river is a nearly flat valley bottom and was settled many years ago, much of it before 1900. Above this lies another area somewhat more steeply sloping, but still with gentle slopes. This was developed at a later period, between 1910 and 1920. Still further up lies the Owyhee Reclamation Project, a Federal development which began in 1933 or later. This land is sharply rolling with many short and rather

steep slopes, and is broken by a number of small drainage channels. Settlement of this latter area was probably not complete when the aerial photographs were taken, and this is an important consideration in the use of the data from this area. General farming is practiced, with more emphasis on cash crops such as sugar beets on the older areas, and more interest in forage crops and livestock on the newer land.

4. The Yamhill County, Oregon, sample was chosen to represent the general farming areas of the Willamette Valley. The 36-square-mile area studied is east and somewhat south of McMinnville. The area covered is in the valley and has a slightly rolling topography which was originally covered with a dense forest growth. It is not irrigated. General farming, with considerable grain and livestock, is practiced. This Yamhill area was one of the earliest to be settled in the State, having been taken up around 1850. This is the only area where section lines were not adhered to in the establishment of roads and farm boundaries.

5. The Twin Falls County, Idaho, area is west of Twin Falls and covers 52 sections of land, including the little town of Filer. This area is underlain by a vast volcanic plateau of very gentle slope which has been cut into deep channels by the Snake River and other major streams and into minor channels by the very small tributaries that arose in this dry climate. The farming area is mostly of gentle slope with only a few minor drainage ways. This has also been an area of

general farming with considerable emphasis on such cash crops as beans and potatoes. The project is one of the largest and most successful ones developed under the Carey Act. The area was all homesteaded, primarily at the time irrigation water was provided, that is, between 1900 and 1910.

1. Relation Of Farmstead To Road

It is clear that the farmer in irrigated areas likes to have the farmstead at the roadside. It will be seen from Table I that of the 1,625 farmsteads recorded 86 percent are placed within 10 rods of the road and only a handful are at the center or beyond. As a matter of fact, fully half of all farmsteads are at the corner of their holdings. Furthermore, the distribution of holdings is virtually the same in the different areas, with a significant difference being shown by the Yamhill County sample only. There are two reasons for the Yamhill difference. First, it was settled very early and many house sites were selected before there was a comprehensive network of roads. Second, there are certain natural site advantages, which are discussed below.

It is clearly evident, therefore, that the farmers generally want their farmsteads at the roadside and that they consider the advantages far greater—at least on small to medium-size irrigated farms—than the advantages of central location.

Farmers in areas where holdings are large and towns are few and far between often place their dwellings so as to minimize the travel distance to town. No such relationship was apparent in the areas selected for study.

TABLE I. PLACEMENT OF FARMSTEAD ON LANDHOLDING

Area (County and State)	Total		PLACEMENT OF FARMSTEAD*					
			On road			Off road		
			At corner of holding	Not at corner	Total	Near road	Center or beyond	Total
Benton, Washington	No. 306 % 100.0		157 51.3	98 32.0	255 83.3	25 8.2	26 8.5	51 16.7
Canyon, Idaho	No. 486 % 100.0		277 57.0	153 31.5	430 88.5	31 6.4	25 5.1	56 11.5
Yamhill, Oregon	No. 184 % 100.0		77 41.8	61 33.2	138 75.0	28 15.2	18 9.8	46 25.0
Malheur, Oregon	No. 218 % 100.0		87 39.9	88 40.4	175 80.3	27 12.4	16 7.3	43 19.7
Twin Falls, Idaho	No. 431 % 100.0		231 53.6	171 39.7	402 93.3	19 4.4	10 2.3	29 6.7
Total	No. 1,625 % 100.0		829 51.1	571 35.1	1,400 86.2	130 8.0	95 5.8	225 13.8

* Certain arbitrary definitions had to be made: "On road" means not over 10 rods (1/10" on map) from road; the same distance applies to corners; "Center or beyond" means more than $\frac{3}{4}$ distance from road to center of holdings; "Near road" means more than 10 rods but less than two-thirds of the distance to center. All measurements are to nearest edge of farmyard.

Two reasons exist for this. First, the units are of such small size that location of farmstead is a relatively insignificant factor in travel. Second, the many towns in these irrigated areas compete for favor and make it still less important where the house lies. Even when individual farmers have preferences these would be difficult to establish by the methods used in this study.

2. Attraction of Site Advantage

The Yamhill Area in the Willamette Valley previously mentioned is one of exceptional beauty, with wooded rolling hills and many streams. These features make certain locations on farms particularly attractive and advantageous, and this fact is partly

responsible for the larger proportion of farms lying away from the road. In order to test the effect of such site advantage and to get some measure of the attraction such advantage has for the farmstead, a tabulation was made showing these facts.

Table II shows that of the 184 farms in the sample, 121 had some site which appeared to have a natural advantage, such as a wooded slope or a stream bank. Of the 54 which had no such advantage in evidence, 50 farms were on the road, a proportion comparable to those found in other samples.

If the behavior of those 121 who had sites at which they might place their farmstead are examined it is seen that 46 of them selected a loca-

TABLE II. SITE ADVANTAGE AS A FACTOR IN HOMESTEAD LOCATION:
YAMHILL COUNTY SAMPLE

Relation to road	Scenic site used	Scenic site not used	Scenic site not available	Total*
Farmsteads on road	46	35	50	138
Farmsteads not on road	35	5	4	46
Total	81	40	54	184

* Includes 9 farmsteads (7 on road and 2 not on road) for which existence of scenic site could not be determined.

tion that gave both scenic and transportation advantages and that only 5 rejected both of these. Those who made a choice between the two were divided equally, with 35 in each category. This shows that the natural advantages have an attraction to the farmer which tends to induce him to place his farmstead away from the road, but that this attractive force is no greater than the force of the road itself as a factor in farmstead location.

3. Corner Communities

The loneliness engendered by the isolated farm may be lessened by placing the homesteads in corners where they may be close together. There is a marked tendency toward placing farmsteads in the corner of the holding, which would make such hamlets possible. Yet the farm homes are not clustered together into small hamlets to any appreciable extent. Clustering of farm units on road corners which has been considered typical of much of America's rural countryside is virtually absent. Of the 1,441 farms in the four irrigated sample areas, only 194 were at the

road corners. Of these 194 farmsteads, 76 (40 percent) stood alone, and only 10 corners had as many as three farmsteads on them. There appears to be more of a tendency to cluster along a road than at intersections, and Table III shows the degree of clustering which is found to have taken place in the four irrigated areas studied. Even so, the tendency toward bunching or clustering is not marked. Only 12 percent of the farmsteads were placed in clusters of three or more units lying within an interval of not over 10 rods from one another. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that there are many farms which have close neighbors, as is shown in the next section.

These data show rather clearly that the little cross-road hamlet is not a characteristic feature of irrigated areas.

4. Proximity of Farmsteads

Though there is little tendency toward the development of small communities at road corners, nevertheless the modern farmer in irrigated areas seems to seek close neighbors, rather than the opposite. Let us ex-

TABLE III. CLUSTERING OF FARMSTEADS

Area* (County and State)	Total sample	NUMBER OF HOUSES CLUSTERED**					Pct. of total sample
		2 houses	3 houses	4 houses	5+ houses	Total	
Benton, Washington	306	70	12	8	11	101	33
Canyon, Idaho	486	92	42	16	31	181	37
Malheur, Oregon	218	44	6	4	0	54	25
Twin Falls, Idaho	431	116	33	8	5	162	37
Total	1,441	322	93	36	47	498	34

* Yamhill County, Oregon, area omitted because of irregular distribution.

** A cluster of houses was defined as two or more units whose farmsteads were within 10 rods (1/10" on maps) of each other. All measurements are to nearest edge of farmsteads.

amine the degree of proximity of the closest neighbors in two areas studied as presented in Table IV.

These two samples were selected

for this analysis because they represent a wide divergence in farm size.

In the Benton County area the farms average 28 acres, whereas in Twin

TABLE IV. NUMBER OF FARMSTEADS WITH NEAREST NEIGHBOR AT SPECIFIED DISTANCE INTERVALS

Distance Interval*		Benton County, Washington			Twin Falls County, Idaho		
Measurement on map	Approx. ground distance **	Number of farms	Percent of total	Cumulative percent	Number of farms	Percent of total	Cumulative percent
Contiguous		46	15.0	15.0	79	19.8	19.8
1/20" or less	5 rods	37	12.1	27.1	40	10.0	29.8
1/20" - 1/10"	10 rods	33	10.8	37.9	42	10.5	40.3
1/10" - 2/10"	20 rods	65	21.3	59.2	52	13.0	53.3
2/10" - 3/10"	30 rods	60	19.6	78.8	51	12.8	66.1
3/10" - 4/10"	40 rods	30	9.8	88.6	39	9.8	75.9
4/10" - 6/10"	80 rods	22	7.2	95.8	31	7.8	83.7
Over 6/10"	80 rods	13	4.2	100.0	65	16.3	100.0
Total		306	100.0	100.0	399	100.0	100.0

* All measurements to closest point on farmstead boundary; does not mean measurement to house.

** Scale of miles was approximately 3" = 1 mile.

Falls they average 78 acres in size. In the Benton County area it was relatively difficult to get more than 80 rods from the nearest neighbor, so it is not surprising that only 4 percent of the farms fall in that category; in the Twin Falls area 16 percent are at such a distance. Yet the majority of farmers have their closest neighbors within 20 rods. This applies to both samples, so that size of farm is hardly a factor in establishing this close proximity. Furthermore, the proportion of homes which are contiguous or which are within 10 rods is greater in the Twin Falls sample than in the Benton sample, suggesting that a conscious effort at proximity was made where farm sizes are so great that lack of planning for them would deprive a family of close neighbors.

These figures from Table IV show that there is no optimum distance

between farmsteads for they vary evenly from contiguous to 80 rods. They also show that farmers make a definite effort to place their farmsteads sufficiently close to neighbors to allow for intimate social contact.

5. Farm Shape

The influence of tradition on the shape of holdings is clear from the data presented. Table V shows the relation of shape to size of holding and the clear influence of surveying practices on both shape and size.

The italicized figures represent the size and shape which result from the normal splitting of sections into quarters and the subdivision of these quarter sections. It will be readily apparent that squareness is no virtue in itself, since but a third of the units are of that shape, whereas an even larger number are rectangular with a length twice or more times the

TABLE V. SIZE AND SHAPE OF FARM UNITS: THREE SAMPLE AREAS

Size interval	FARM SHAPES				Total
	Square	Farm length is twice farm width	Farm length is more than twice farm width	Other	
Less than 20 acres	49	16	23	102	190
20 acres	1	<i>199</i>	1	1	202
21-39 acres	0	1	2	63	66
40 acres	<i>305</i>	3	7	4	319
41-79 acres	1	2	0	71	74
80 acres	0	<i>207</i>	0	2	209
81-159 acres	0	0	3	31	34
160 acres	<i>59</i>	0	0	3	62
Over 160 acres	0	0	0	2	2
Uncertain	0	0	0	69	69
Total	416	428	36	348	1,227

Italicized figures, totaling 770 (63 percent) indicate units which are of a size and shape resulting from usual form of land subdivision. Study based on Benton County, Washington, and Canyon and Twin Falls Counties, Idaho.

width. Several units were encountered with a length four times the width, showing that such a plan is clearly feasible and must have been considered advantageous to some farm operators. Many farms were not rectangular — some were L-shaped, some followed natural contours. Eliminated from the tabulation were all the units in Yamhill County, and if further proof of the influence of surveying practices is needed, that county can furnish it. For the settlement there preceded surveying, and none of these shapes and sizes are found, nor do the roads follow any definite pattern such as is the case in the other four counties studied.

Implications of the Study

These data have been presented because they go far toward dispelling some of the myths about American farmers. They dispel the misconceptions of the would-be farm-management specialists who state that square farms are a major disideratum because they reduce on farm travel and of the would-be philosophers repeatedly asserting that isolation is the bulwark of America's farming tradition and therefore of America's economic freedom. For it is clear that the American farmer

makes a real effort to achieve close association with his neighbor wherever his agricultural production methods are sufficiently intensive to permit of them.

These evidences of farmer attitudes have clear implications for future social planning. The studies were instigated in order to gain insight into optimum settlement patterns for the Columbia Basin. From them and studies of relative economies it was concluded that the will of the farm people could more readily be met by abandoning the old surveyors' habit of breaking the land sections into quarters and sixteenths, and substituting in its stead a system of rectangular farms with houses on common service roads. If such farms are half a mile in length and from 40-80 rods in frontage, they will permit of many economies. Furthermore such a system of "line-villages" or "string towns" will fit into the established pattern of behavior of American farmers as shown by the present analysis of aerial photographs. Finally, the social advantages for rural life would be greater, as T. Lynn Smith has repeatedly pointed out. For such a pattern would enable farmers and their wives and children to have fuller access to social life.

Some Problems Of Status And Solidarity In A Rural Society*

By John W. Bennett†

ABSTRACT

A small community in a riverbottoms region is analyzed in terms of its types of solidarity and social organization. It is found that the "community" lacks most of the characteristic forms: trading center, church, kinship relations, communal gatherings, etc. It does, however, display a status system, an organized mutual-aid system, and attitudes indicative of solidarity. Problem: What type of socio-political organization does this represent, and what are the factors prohibiting further social complexity? Typologically, the community is intermediate between "folk" and "urban"—an identification which fixes the transitional character of the group and assists in identifying the dynamics of similar situations in rural society. Factors preventing further socialization are: High degree of spacial mobility, caused by floods and the exhausting farm tenancy system; and the tendency for people in the community to be derived from the ranks of the most disorganized personalities of the nearby regions, and thus to display little attachment to traditional forms of communal solidarity. With the persistence of the tenancy system, the "transitional" character of the community will remain without change.

RESUMEN

Se analiza una pequeña comunidad en un valle fluvial en términos de los tipos de solidaridad y de organización social que manifiesta. Se halla que la llamada "comunidad" carece de la mayor parte de los rasgos característicos: el mercado, la iglesia, los parentezcos, las reuniones comunales, etc. Muestra sin embargo, un sistema de estratificación social (status system), un sistema organizado de beneficio mutuo, y las actitudes indicativas de la solidaridad. El problema es: ¿que clase de organización socio-política representa esto, y cuáles son los factores que promueven una mayor complejidad social? En el sentido tipológico, se halla intermedia entre el tipo "folk" (aldeano) y el tipo "urbano"—una identificación que fija el carácter de transición del grupo y nos ayuda a identificar la dinámica de situaciones parecidas en la sociedad rural. Los factores que impiden una socialización mayor son: un alto grado de movilidad espacial, causado por las inundaciones y por el sistema empobreciente de inquilinato; y el hecho de que las gentes de la comunidad se derivan en gran parte de las clases más desorganizadas de las regiones cercanas, gentes que así demuestran poca adhesión a las formas tradicionales de solidaridad comunal. Con la persistencia del sistema del inquilinato, el carácter de transición la comunidad permanecerá sin cambio.

Introduction

The history of American rural society is frequently viewed in terms

of change from a homogeneous, self-supporting type to a relatively heterogeneous, dependent variety. This change has been a consequence of the extension of urban values and socioeconomic processes into the rural way of life. It has been found appropriate to consider this general type of change as analogous to types of acculturation found in so-called primitive

* This paper is a partial analysis of some of the data secured while the author was a member of the Culture and Foodways Project of southern Illinois (1941), a study of subsistence economy and social structure, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and the University of Chicago.

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societies when these have been affected by contact with Western civilization.

This problem of progressive urbanization can be approached in three generalized ways: (1) Historical studies of socio-economic change, having as their primary goal a depiction of the process without regard to theoretical interpretation. (2) Close functional analyses of the contemporary societies which represent the end-products of the change; in these studies the historical background is assumed. (3) Systematic analysis from an ideal-type standpoint. In such studies the historical background and contemporary situation are analyzed processually, in an effort to arrive at causal explanations which may be utilized as tentative instruments of predictability for similar changes occurring in societies of similar types, within or without a chronological framework. Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*; Becker's sacred-secular; Redfield's folk-urban dichotomies are typical backgrounds for this type of research.

Using this third viewpoint, we shall study aspects of a small rural society, the history of which can be described as change from a "folk" type consisting of subsistence farms, and strong religious and kinship institutions, to a segmented, mobile, economically - dependent, urbanized community.

One of the major problems in the transition from "folk" to "urban" is the change in the context of personal and group status. In the folk, the individual is merged in a collectivity of

fixed-status positions: kinship, ritual, *et.al.* As the urban is approached, these groups become more diffuse, and the individual is assigned status by a multiplicity of shifting, alternative factors. In the folk society, status can be simply determined by a survey of the individual's kinship relations and his participation in sacred institutions.

A corollary of this difference in status types is the one concerning varieties of "solidarity"¹ present in these two ideal-typical social environments. Does, for example, the individual in the folk society feel he belongs to a separate cultural entity bounded by the village or tribal limits, and beyond which an unknown and hostile world exists? Conversely, does the urban individual regard himself as a single person in competition with his fellowmen, without a kin-group or total society upon which he relies and to which he can have a feeling of "belonging"? This contrast between solidarity and individualism is purely ideal, but the viewpoint can be used as a beginning.²

It follows that in the folk society fixed³ personal status might be correlated with intense group solidarity; that in the urban type variable and shifting status⁴ might be correlated

¹ "Solidarity" in this paper might be defined as a "feeling of togetherness." It is not necessarily the logical result of "homogeneity," which might be defined as "formal, institutional cohesiveness and consistency."

² Key concepts for this discussion can be found in R. Redfield's *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Anthropology Series (University of Chicago Press, 1941), particularly the final chapter.

³ *i.e.*, fixed within a system of institutions.

⁴ *i.e.*, not dependent upon a system of institutions.

with a lack of solidarity and an emphasis upon random, individualistic achievement. With this problem in mind, we shall consider the data at hand. Limitations of space prevent satisfactory validation; thus our conclusions are offered as tentative hypotheses.

The Region

The Ohio River follows a deep, meandering channel in the southern Illinois—northern Kentucky region. Along the inside loops of the meanders large stretches of low bottom-land have been formed. The particular area studied lay between the arms of one of these loops on the Illinois side of the river. It is locally known as "The Bottoms," and comprises equal portions of two counties. Residents of the Bottoms constitute a recognizable social and cultural unit in the total region, and are considered as such by residents of other sub-areas.⁵

These other sub-areas can be considered as relatively distinct subcultural groupings.⁶ To the northwest are two sizeable towns, constituting the urban element of the region.

In the Bottoms itself can be distinguished a number of divisions with

general cultural-physiographical correspondence. Starting with the southern margin, there is the *Riverbank*, the high sandy shore, inhabited by small families and individuals, fishing or working as agricultural laborers. These people are usually squatters on farmland, and have certain direct ties to another subgrouping, the *River*, which is inhabited by shanty-boat fishermen who drift along the river in a seasonal route.⁷ North of the Riverbank are the *Deep Bottoms*, an area with exceptionally fertile soil, in which live tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and some farm laborers. North of this are the *Back Bottoms*, a less fertile region, and which is generally uninhabited save for a few marginal tenants. Most of the land is rented to Hills farmers. Merging with the Back Bottoms is the *Marginal Bottoms*, which includes two Negro communities and a few white farmers.

Ecological variables are thus correlated with cultural groupings; soil-fertility, vegetation, and proximity of the river directly affect the type of economic adjustment, and thus indirectly the social organizations take on distinctive forms.⁸

⁵ These sub-areas include groups of farmers and villagers in the Hills to the north, northeast, and northwest. Vide J. W. Bennett, H. L. Smith, and H. Passin, "Food and Culture in Southern Illinois," *American Sociological Review*, VII (No. 5, 1941), 647-48 for a detailed description.

⁶ Population of the various areas can be summarized: Bottoms, about 50 families, of which 15 are tenants, the remainder non-farming groups. The total population is about 200; Stringtown and Pultight (the two nearby villages) about 200 each; the Hills in general about 1000. Negro communities have about 150 persons each.

⁷ The shantyboat-dwellers of the River will not be included in our definition of the Bottoms, since they are never fully participating members. Only occasionally will one remain moored to the bank long enough to establish relationships with Bottom-dwellers. The Riverbank people can be shantyboat-dwellers who have settled relatively permanently on the land, and as such preserve certain contacts with the fishermen.

⁸ See E. T. Hiller, "Houseboat and River-Bottoms People," *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, XXIV, No. 1 (Urbana, 1939), for a correlational-ecological study of over 600 family units in southern Illinois.

The People and the Social System

The people of the Riverbank are permissive occupants, "squatters," on the land farmed by tenants in the Bottoms, and owned by absentee landlords. These riverbank squatters are traditionally supposed to "guard" the land from the untrustworthy and thieving shantyboat people of the River. Actually the squatters form a permanent source of farm labor, on ready call for such periods of crisis as plowing, shucking, or hay-bailing. For these intermittent services the farmers pay off either in cash or farm products (usually the latter) such as fresh pork, milk and eggs, and dry beans for seed. The squatters are permitted to cultivate small strips of land along the bank, in order to produce vegetables for home canning. Most of them have a boat and fishing tackle, and secure a small cash supply by the sale of fish. In the event of illness, or other incapacitating misfortune, the farmers will support the squatter family until they are able to work—usually no cash return is asked or received, but the men of the family may work a few days extra for the tenant-patron. In addition to the major farmer-squatter relationship, the entire group of farmers consider the squatters as a collective responsibility. The author had occasion to witness an event illustrating this attitude: The common-law wife of a riverbank squatter suffered a paralytic stroke and was confined to bed. Since she helped her husband fish and work, the illness was a major misfortune. The tenant

farmer with which the squatter had a symbiotic relationship rallied to his aid, providing a doctor and such rarities as oranges and fresh milk. Other tenant farmers performed the ritual of formal visits and presented small gifts to the stricken woman. Although in interviews the squatter emphasized the aid of the tenants, empirical observation showed that actually the services performed by the other riverbank people were of greater magnitude. The squatter dismissed these as natural and to be expected; the tenants' help represented special favors and were symbolic of the special relationship between farmer and squatter.

This situation brings out an additional feature of the Riverbank social environment: the casual mutual-assistance pattern. Squatters living in one area, close to one another, tend to develop an attenuated band organization that can be observed in the constant wandering back and forth from family to family throughout the day, and in the immediate assistance given a family in distress. Food is frequently divided up equally among these families if the supply has been particularly meager for all. This organization is highly casual and mobile, however, and few real personal ties are made.

In the Bottoms just north of the riverbank live the tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and a few WPA workers. The large farms are owned by landlords living in nearby towns and are "rented" to the tenants on the basis of one-half, one-third, or two-thirds share. The one-third type is

the most common arrangement. The type depends upon the amount of farm tools, machinery, and labor the tenant will supply. These farms average about 300 acres and are primarily stock farms (hogs and a few beef cattle), raising their own feeds.

Sharecroppers represent a difference in degree, not in kind. Occasionally the tenant will sub-share some of his land on a one-sixth basis, in which case the "tenant" is called a sharecropper. He has to augment his income by farm labor (and rarely, fishing) since the corn crop is only remunerative enough to supply him with cash for store-bought staples.

Persons on WPA may also live in this general area, quite frequently combining a sharecropper status with the WPA job. In these cases the WPA money replaces the farm labor wages of the sharecropper. The pattern varies considerably however; almost every conceivable combination was present: WPA and riverbank squatting; WPA and farm labor, and so on.⁹ Those individuals living on the riverbank as fishermen and on WPA, however, remain outside the symbiotic socio-economic system, since they secure their cash and living from the outside. When they do perform farm labor, they take the job that offers the most advantages—there are usually no bonds to a particular tenant.

⁹ A combination not observed was riverbank squatter and sharecropper. No landlord would be willing to trust a riverbank person with acreage for 'cropping, unless, as in the case of one tenant farmer, he had lived in the region for many years and had demonstrated his knowledge of farming and his qualities as a "hard, honest worker."

Within the tenant group is found the most striking feature of the socio-economic organization of the area. This is the mutual-aid pattern, consisting of labor-exchange, lending and borrowing of farm tools, and routine use of large pieces of equipment, such as corn-planters, hay-binders, and the like. This system operates on two levels: (1) A partially-obligatory mutual-aid relationship between tenants of the same landlord. In this situation the tenants will stagger their corn-planting and shucking times, so they can work on each other's farms in turn, or they will share a single large piece of equipment and use it in turn, depending upon the importance of the job. (2) A non-obligatory relationship between any two tenants, usually those occupying adjoining farms. In this case the most frequent type of mutual-aid is labor-exchange, in which tenants will work upon each other's farms at various times during the year. At the end of the year the accounts will be checked, and the tenant with more labor-hours will be paid in cash. This second type of mutual aid also includes the more informal small-tool lending and borrowing. This may occur between any two tenants as a regular practice, or is generally spread over the entire area.

In contrast to the region as a whole, the social organization of the Bottoms has some striking divergences. Instead of the large, stable extended families of the various Hills sub-areas the Bottoms families are relatively small, and emphasize con-

jugal ties. Moreover, families and individuals are in no sense "native" to the area, since none have lived there longer than 15 years. Only two families can claim this length of residence—the others vary from 10 years to one year, and during the past decade, at least 5 families have moved in, stayed a year or two, and then departed.

In many ways the Bottoms represents a sub-area marginal to all others in the region, since most of the population has been derived from the others. Tenant farmers are predominantly from the Upper Hills, while sharecroppers and WPAers are from the Northeast Hills and the two villages. A few tenants were from the Northeast Hills and one had risen from a riverbank-squatter-farm laborer status. In general, the riverbank people are from Kentucky, and have a marginal hill-farm ("hillbilly") background. There have been no intermarriages between any families in the Bottoms, either upon or between socio-economic levels.

With only one exception, the tenant farmers in the Bottoms with Upper Hills family origin are divergent personalities than were regarded outside the Bottoms (in the Upper and Lower Hills) as "black sheep." These individuals had checkered labor careers in the towns, northern cities, and on government flood-control projects on the river, and had finally settled in the Bottoms. Landlords are interested in hard workers, not proper, sanctioned behavior.¹⁰

The Bottoms has no church, those few individuals who worship going

outside the area to churches in their former home areas. The single school has already been mentioned. Nothing analogous to a market or "community center" can be found. Trading takes place in the towns favored by individual families, usually those in the vicinity of their original homes.

Communal assemblages are virtually non-existent. Picnics, church supper and family gatherings are attended outside the area, with relatives in the original home area. The only exception to this rule is the annual birthday celebration of one of the tenant farmers. The majority of the other tenants (but no riverbank or WPA persons) can be found at this party, but even in this case the guests are predominantly outside relatives of the celebrating family.

From this sketchy presentation, it can be seen that the Bottoms represents an areal catchall for downward social mobility, with the population spacially mobile and derived from varying exterior sources. Secondly, contacts and ties to these outside places of origin are preserved by individual families (particularly on the tenant level) to the extent that no formal, overt manifestations of community integration can be found, save for the well-developed mutual-aid pattern.

In spite of this tenuous organization, however, a well-developed status system can be recognized. This sys-

¹⁰ The single exception to this selection of personality-type, moreover, was a respected Upper Hills family who were solicited by the University of Chicago to take over a Bottoms farm upon which a large archeological site is located.

tem functions in such a way as to divide the population horizontally into two primary levels: farmers and non-farmers. The farmer status is superordinate over the lower, non-farming group, and the non-farming population uniformly strives to reach the upper level.

In terms of economic advantage, and other criteria of status differentiation exterior to the local social evaluation, the system has these two levels: non-farmers and farmers. The sharecropper, although superficially closer to the tenant level, actually has as precarious a financial position as most river-bank people; on the basis of man-hours worked per dollar earned, they actually work longer and harder than the fisherman-farm laborer. Furthermore, they have no opportunity for securing a farm on tenancy, since all the farms have been rented, and landlords show preference to relatives of present tenants in the event of a change.¹¹

In addition, there is the tendency, already noted, for these individuals to shift from one economic status to another: one sharecropper had been at various times a tenant farmer, flood-control dam worker, riverboat crewman, and fisherman; another

had drifted from sharecropping to farm labor, to fishing, and finally went on WPA. It can be seen that the non-farm group, at least economically, form a recognizable unit, distinct from the tenant farm group, which is relatively stable.

The data, however, have a somewhat different internal stratification. Status evaluation is not "rational," but conforms to local cultural sanctions and values. Thus a river-bank squatter who is "ignorant and funny, and sorta queer" is considered "lower" than another squatter of equivalent labor record and occupational status; sharecroppers, since they can participate to a limited extent within the tenants' mutual-aid pattern, are considered of higher status than the ordinary farm-laborer or riverbank fisherman.

Another set of variables is the length of residence in the area and family background. People from Kentucky are generally "low," and with only one exception (a tenant) they fell within the river-bank group. Sons of Upper Hills families, even though distrusted at home, have a tendency to be superordinate over other tenants in the Bottoms, although this tendency is certainly not prominent.

The result is a rather clearly demarcated status heirarchy, in which it is possible to place each family through study of the following variables: (1) occupation, (2) interpersonal relations with other individuals, (3) position of the family within a small group (riverbank band or tenant mutual-aid pattern,

¹¹ Clear evidence of the power of these status drives to override purely rational economic considerations was obtained by the analysis of income level: a man working exclusively on WPA or as a farm laborer can make more money than if he sharecrops on a one-sixth basis. However, the two former occupations are considered "low" by Bottoms people, so individuals will strive to reach a sharecropper status, usually rationalizing the move as a means "to make a better and a decent farm livin'".

etc.), (4) origin. The materials indicate a four-level classification, with "queer" riverbank fishermen on the bottom, and Upper Hills-derived tenant farmers on the top.

The tenant level represents the ultimate goal of social aspiration in the area. Non-tenants constantly express their desire for land and a permanent status. As might be expected, these reactions are most clearly verbalized among sharecroppers, since they have reached a level superficially close to tenancy—"real farmin'"—and this fact they express by many rationalizations and anxieties.

Prestige values associated with status aspiration permeate the whole fabric of Bottoms life. Food in particular has been given prestige coloration: members of the lower statuses seek to "eat like real folks" (farmers), and those caught between the lower and upper levels (sharecroppers) will go to considerable lengths to prove to an investigator that they really eat like the tenant farmers, and not like riverbank people, even though their diet may be identical with this latter group.¹²

At this point it is important to further consider the quality of the social relations existing between these various groups.

On the tenant farmer level interpersonal relationships are almost entirely confined to the economic duties involved in the mutual-aid pattern. This is fundamentally a man's

affair, and certain mutual-aid functions, such as hay-baling or hog-vaccinating, actually serve as pleasant occasions for social intercourse. The women do not participate in this pattern, and according to the data, in no other. Careful records were made of inter-farm visits among the women, and conversational subjects recorded, and the results show the almost total lack of a women's social organization in the area.

Visiting for any reason is extremely rare. The only two tenant families who regularly exchanged visits were distantly related by marriage through their families in the Upper Hills. It was in these families that the highest degree of inter-communication on such matters as food recipes and agricultural techniques was noted; this suggests that the lack of kin ties in the whole area may be one of the factors prohibiting further social complexity.

The relations of sharecropper to tenant are less developed; sharecropper to sharecropper, even more tenuous. What relations exist are entirely in terms of mutual-aid, and thus have a purely economic basis.

The casual band organization of the riverbank has already been noted. Relations of riverbank people to tenants are almost completely that of worker to employer, with two exceptions: (1) In occasions where the protective duty of the tenant is called upon (as exemplified in the account of illness in the Baldwin family) the relationship is remarkably similar to that displayed by wealthy whites to Negro servants in the South. (2) The

¹² Vide J. W. Bennett, "Food and Social Status in a Rural Society," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (No. 5, 1943).

women members of riverbank families attain considerable intimacy with some of the tenant farm women. Several long gossip sessions were observed, and the reason for this intimacy seems to be the need of companionship on the part of the isolated tenant women.

The relationship between sharecropper and riverbank squatter is a particularly delicate one, since the former hesitates to admit he fraternizes with the subordinated "river rats." However, he is often forced to, since he must add to his cash supply by fishing. In any event, it is slight and impersonal.

The WPA worker is somewhat isolated as a result of his job, which keeps him away from the Bottoms. If he sharecrops, however, he will participate to a limited extent within the mutual-aid pattern.

These data suggest that in spite of the very tenuous and undeveloped community organization, and the lack of extra-economic factors of solidarity, a genuine status system is present—a system peculiar to the Bottoms in the region, since nothing equivalent in type or intensity has been found in the other sub-areas.¹³ The principal basis for cultural homogeneity is economic, and is institutionally expressed by the mutual-aid system.¹⁴

It is pertinent to inquire, therefore, to just what degree people in this area possess attitudes indicative of social solidarity.

Economic solidarity.—Since the Bottoms constitutes a geographical and physiographic unit, with a dis-

tinctive type of large-scale farming, certain economic problems are recognized by the people as basic to their success or failure in agriculture and stock raising. One of these problems is concerned with the necessity for assistance at times of important economic activity. The mutual-aid system meets this problem, and the tenant farmers realize that without this system, they could not perform the required labor.

Another problem concerned primarily with economic relations is the custom of Lower Hills farmers to turn their stock loose in the Bottoms during the winter, a custom which creates ill-feeling on the part of the

¹³ The causational aspect of this "status system" seems to be as follows: The culture displays powerful individualistic and competitive values. The economic system does not provide proper outlets for these attitudes, since the tenant level is closed. This produces intense frustration and aspiration toward some occupational status "close" to tenancy. Such occupations, however, are also scarce, and the population is always greater than the number of jobs connected with a "farmin' life." The interaction of these various factors (individualistic values, shortage of aspired-to occupations, and the existence of marginal people) produces attitudes of aspiration, evaluation and patterns of social participation which can be structuralized as a "status system."

¹⁴ Mutual aid rests upon positive values which contrast with the negative individualistic attitudes. Solidarity and "help-your-neighbor" attitudes serve to check the intense aspiration and aggression deriving from the frustration and conflict pattern in the status system. Mutual aid can thus be viewed as an institutionalized attempt to balance the disruptive forces in the society. The result is a kind of equilibrium in which competition and cooperation are counterbalanced. This process has been, in the wider view, a fairly successful attempt to harmonize the folk components and the urban alternatives which, through culture change, have produced conflict.

Bottoms farmers, since the stock break their fences and mix with their own animals.

Solidarity on the basis of common personality type.—A fairly clear (though more guardedly expressed) pattern of recognized homogeneity can be found in the fact that individuals in the Bottoms are almost entirely wayward members of Hills families, Kentucky hillbillies, or river people. Individuals will express this by referring to "us Bottoms type of feller—we're more free and easy down here," and similar remarks.

General areal solidarity.—In this category we might group a number of generalized expressions of homogeneity referring to the feeling of geographical and social unity of the Bottoms.

"The people that belongs in these Bottoms is the ones that has been down here workin' and livin' in the same place. You take any feller who belongs in these Bottoms and he'll give you anythin' you can use. We're civilized down here." (Shang Sayers).

"Yes, I call myself a Bottoms person. I been down around here a long time now and all our friends is here." (Mary Murray, tenant farm housewife).

Involved in these statements are clues for local social sanctions and values; the high importance given to mutual-aid is evident, for example. In the quotation from Mary Murray occurs the interesting paradox of solidarity vs. non-organization: she considers herself a "Bottoms person," with "all" her friends in the Bottoms, yet empirical check on her visits and so-

cial relationships showed she participated much more fully in the Northeast Hills society (her homeland) than in the Bottoms.

The place of the local school in attitudes of solidarity should be noted here. The following remark is typical of informant reactions:

"We really ain't in the district—it's fer M—— County. They pay the taxes over there. Our kids aren't supposed to. But that don't make no difference—that school was set up fer the Bottoms kids, and they all git to go to it. It's the Bottoms school."

Another factor of Bottoms solidarity that crosscuts these various categories discussed above is the general resentment of the landowners and the absentee ownership system in general. Expressions of dislike are particularly free on the non-tenant levels, but are more guarded and ambivalent among the tenants. Most of the latter do feel they are exploited, but in the same breath will admit "we do have a pret' good livin', and that's more than some have."

Thus in spite of the very evident lack of formal cohesion of an institutional nature in the Bottoms, several types of solidarity are present.

General Considerations

In a very abbreviated form we have presented some of the data bearing upon the problems selected for development in the Introduction.

The proposition: Status in the folk society is fixed by participation in well-organized institutions, and by birth, and is correlatable with social

solidarity, and can be contrasted with shifting personal status, unconnected with institutions, and lack of solidarity in the urban type.

The Bottoms case presents us with a ranked social order, in which position of the individual is fixed relative to occupational level and prestige, to some extent by origin and family background, and by such locally-sanctioned qualities as industry, likeableness, and honesty. This has been loosely termed a "status system" throughout this paper.

It is perhaps evident that this is not identical to "status" in a folk society, where the term refers to the complex system of attitudes and behavior traits which fix an individual within a definite role—not merely up-and-down, but in all directions, and relative to all other persons and institutions. The context of "fix" in the Bottoms, however, refers only to the very limited situation in which an individual is considered as belonging to a different occupational group—it does not determine detailed modes of behavior and attitudes toward all others. The very existence of upward mobility and the desire for mobility demonstrates the very imperfection of the status system as a device for placing the individual permanently and satisfactorily.

Despite this, it must be evident that within this group of families the position of any one family is relatively more fixed and understood as fixed by the others than in urban society. Although superficial, a rather well-worked-out system of common understandings does exist. The gen-

eral picture, therefore, might be called transitional—neither folk nor urban, but somewhere between these ideal types.

The institutional criteria seem to be similarly transitional. A school, and a well-developed mutual-aid system do exist, but religious and kinship ties are nearly absent. Status is fixed relative to economic interests, which are bound up in the mutual-aid pattern, but it is not fixed in relation to any other institutional feature.

Solidarity is present in the Bottoms, but it is of a very elementary sort. It has a quality that is folk, and non-urban, but it is by no means typically folk.

In general, the picture is transitional; it contains many elements of a homogeneous, fixed-status society that have been modified, attenuated, and recast by the impact of alternative values.¹⁵

We have seen how the tenant farmers are economically-superordinate within the symbiotic relationship with riverbank people. These latter are thus completely dependent upon the tenants. Sharecroppers, since they usually sub-share from tenants, are also dependent. The economic

¹⁵ This conclusion can be viewed both typologically (as it is above) and processually. In the first, we need not consider the historical perspective, since our points of comparison are derived deductively as ideal types. In the latter view, however, we must consider the local history, with our analysis taking on the character of a study of processes leading toward social differentiation. This ambitious project is too ample for a brief paper, however. But *vide* H. Passin, "Culture Change in Southern Illinois," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 7, Sept., 1942, for a brief account of the old folk culture of the region.

system operates so as to keep these various lower levels dependent upon the tenant group, but at the same time occupational interests and the status system tend to preserve a distinct configuration within each of the "lower levels." The dependency upon the tenants, plus the distinctness of each of these groups, keep solidarity of a permanent, group-interest sort from developing. Two processes are at work here: economic and spacial ties tending to organize economic-occupational levels in themselves, and secondly, economic - social dependencies tending to crosscut these ties and keep them diffuse.

Query: Why is there no permanent, developed solidarity on the tenant level, then, since all the others are dependent upon them, and since they have reached the top of the status pyramid? The answer to this question must include the feature of diverse origin of the various tenants—they are from various social levels and groups. Moreover, they have few kin ties—no common understandings save those of a general regional variety and the particular ones associated with the mutual-aid system. To a certain extent this is true of the lower groups, too, but here occupational insecurities tend to force them into less diffuse, more compact groups.

It would seem, therefore, that all the factors leading toward solidarity of a type we might call "culture" are one-sided: they are involved within purely economic interests. Bonds dealing with religion and social organization are lacking. This point is

particularly important, since seen from the point of view of the economist-sociologist making a broad statistical survey of the whole region, the Bottoms would merge with other sub-areas, where kinship and religious ties are strongly developed, and economic mutual-aid almost completely absent. This bears upon the problem of defining a "culture," and suggests that analysis of these relatively small sub-cultural groupings in any rural area might yield important results.

Some other problems arise at this point. We have shown how a definite feeling of solidarity (Bottoms vs. Outside) exists, and can be analyzed into various categories. We have also described the flourishing status system. If we have these two features more usually considered as typical of a society with considerable institutional complexity, how does it happen there are so few common gatherings, intermarriages, churches, and other criteria of a community? The reason can be found in the fact that a high rate of spacial mobility and much personal insecurity, tending to arrest institutional development, are counteracted by a special concatenation of economic interests—the mutual-aid and symbiosis patterns—the result being a stabilization of the culture in its internal and typological transitional character.¹⁶ The elements for a fully-developed society are present, but not completely expressed.

¹⁶ Vide H. Passin and J. W. Bennett, "Changing Agricultural Magic in Southern Illinois," *Social Forces*, Nov., 1943, for a similar analysis based upon more particularistic data.

The diagnosis of the Bottoms case as "transitional," does not imply that the culture is passing through a particular stage, or toward any inevitable destiny. There is every reason to believe that the particular situation will persist indefinitely. The key factors involved in this persistence are centered around the type of land-ownership, since absentee-ownership preserves the tenancy system by prohibiting small subsistence farms. If the land were divided among the present population, and others allowed to enter, the population would rise, tenancy would no longer be an economic goal or status aspiration, and further institutional developments would occur. The quality of transition is purely typological—it does not denote a necessary stage through which this, or any other,

culture must pass, but rather a classificatory device to describe a type situation produced by a particular set of processes.

This type of study is fruitful in that it allows us to observe, as in a laboratory, the history of the formation of societies. The Bottoms, stable as it might be in its transitional character, may nevertheless be considered as a typological specimen of what might occur, anywhere in rural American culture, if the special coalescing of socio-economic process observed here were to repeat. Such information as we possess upon contemporary rural societies suggests that similar developments have appeared. They are part of the basic subject-matter in modern rural sociology: the urbanizing of the country.

NOTES

Edited by Paul H. Landis

SOME REFLECTIONS ON WARTIME RESEARCH*

When war comes a large proportion of the people are forced to make radical shifts and readjustments in their ways of living and in their ways of thinking. After Pearl Harbor, even the rural sociologist came under the general compulsion to stop doing what he had been doing and to start doing something else which appeared more relevant to the times.

The apparent need for reorientation of studies in rural social life led to the appointment early this year of a subcommittee on wartime research. This was a subcommittee of the Committee on Research, of the Rural Sociological Society and was appointed by the President of the Society. The personnel of the subcommittee was composed of a chairman and seven other members located in Washington where access was had to the records of projects in Agricultural Experiment Stations throughout the country.

The purpose of the subcommittee was threefold—

1. To review the rural sociological projects underway in agricultural experiment stations in 1941 and in the Spring of 1943, that is, before and after the entry of America into the war.

2. To suggest fields of rural social research most urgently needed to meet wartime demands and to suggest ways in which vital findings might be utilized to best advantage.

3. To indicate methods of overcoming some of the wartime difficulties in collection of pertinent information such as difficulties resulting from wartime restrictions on travel.

A 10-page report was issued by the subcommittee on May 1, 1943, and was dis-

tributed by the Society President a short time thereafter. It may be assumed that most of us are already familiar with the contents of that report. Only a brief summary need be attempted here.

It was found that in 1941 rural sociological research in Experiment Stations constituted a sizable industry. There were 83 active federal grant projects for which there was federal financial support amounting to about \$137,000. Those 83 projects were distributed among 12 different fields of study. One-fourth were rural population studies and an additional one-fourth were classified as community studies or were put in a rather uncertain category referred to as "rural family" with a parenthesis indicating part-time farming as the focus of attention. Next in numerical importance were studies in "rural welfare," "standards of living," and "institutions." In addition there were scattered projects classified as "social psychology," "rural health," "rural-urban relations," "social groups," "regional studies," and "organizations."

In the Spring of 1943 the total number of active projects in agricultural experiment stations remained about the same as in 1941. The outstanding change noted in the interval from peace to war was an increased emphasis on social organization and on farm labor and farm tenure. In 1943, two-thirds of all projects were concerned with one or the other of two fields, 34 projects being classified as studies in social organization and 22 as population studies. Of the remaining projects, 11 were studies of farm labor and tenure, 7 were classified as social psychology. Others were classified in the fields of levels and standards of living (with only 3 projects) rural welfare, social ecology, social adjustment and trends.

The subcommittee did not present any

* Paper presented at Mississippi Valley Meeting, Rural Sociological Society, St. Louis, Missouri, September 16, 1943.

explanation of the basis for these classifications of projects, nor was there any discussion of the specific aspects of these general fields with which rural sociologists are concerning themselves.

In suggesting areas in which rural social research is needed in wartime, the subcommittee presented 6 fields presumably in the order of their assumed importance. These areas were:

1. Population and manpower.
2. Rural community organization and disorganization.
3. Levels and standards of living.
4. Nutrition, health and sanitation.
5. Rural attitudes.
6. Rural social trends.

In outlining these fields of research the subcommittee gave some attention to objectives but did not go so far as to state specific problems, hypotheses and procedures as has been done by the Social Science Research Council Subcommittee on Social Aspects of the War.

That part of the subcommittee's report dealing with methodological problems contingent upon wartime conditions occupies only a little more than a page. Use of secondary data collected by administrative agencies for administrative purposes is recommended if it can be obtained. Close ties between administrative and research programs are suggested as one means of collecting vital information useful for both research and administrative purposes. This implies that wherever possible the researcher should avail himself of any opportunity to serve on committees dealing with administrative programs and to make his research findings contribute immediate benefits to such programs.

So much for the content of the subcommittee's report. Now for some reflections upon it—the main purpose of this paper. The remarks to be made here are not to be taken as a criticism of the report which was not meant to be an exhaustive one and which is very good so far as it goes. A report of its nature does, however, raise several basic questions about which we as social researchers and as pro-

motors of a professional social science area need to give the most careful thought.

1. A major question raised by this report by the subcommittee concerns the basis of selection of research problems by rural sociologists. What are the criteria by which a given research problem is judged significant or not significant, relevant or not relevant? On what basis is it selected for investigation, or as worthy of investigation, by the sociologist or rejected as none of his concern?

The uncritical reader of the report is apt to get the impression that in wartime the main question to be asked concerning any research proposed for sociological study is, "Does it contribute to the war effort?" If the answer is "yes" it gets the green light. If the answer is "no" the red light is on. There is no doubt that social science research should by all means be such that its results are of immediate usefulness. But there are grave dangers to social research in an overemphasis on this criterion. There are dangers because research workers may become preoccupied overmuch with immediacies and because attention is apt to be distracted from critical larger problems which call for sociological investigation. Moreover, if "contribution to the war effort" is to be taken as the criterion of relevance for the selection or rejection of their problems, rural sociologists are apt to accept more or less uncritically the definitions of those problems as stated or as suggested by administrators of war programs. Such problems do require answers but do not always fall within a generally acceptable sociological frame of reference, nor do they always require the skills of the social science researcher. There are some who feel that much of our social research has been unduly trivialized or else diverted from the major long-time and short-time concerns of a developing social science of rural life. In other words, much of what is being done as sociology research may be off the reservation, or only on the periphery of the central concern of sociology.

If there is lack of clear cut criteria of relevance for the selection of research prob-

lems among rural sociologists we cannot be blamed too much for there is a similar lack in other areas of the social sciences. Earlier social researchers in training were told that any investigation was worthwhile if it provides an addition to knowledge in its general field. Now we know that mere quantity of knowledge has no special virtue or utility. There is much in the social studies area that we do not know and which we do not need to know, for information about it would make no difference to the ongoing affairs of the world. Robert Lynd has exploded forever the utility of the "addition to knowledge" basis for judging the worth of social science research in his well-known book titled *Knowledge for What?*

Another basis for judging the worth of a research problem has been stated in terms of its "contribution to social welfare." This criterion has a greater appeal than that of "addition to knowledge" but is not much more practical for there has been no consensus among researchers as to what it is that constitutes social welfare and no method of measuring the contribution that any research makes to social welfare. The latest criterion "contribution to the war effort" has a wide appeal for it seems down to earth, specific and highly practical. Such a statement should not be taken as the criterion, however, for reasons already indicated.

This is not to say that rural sociological research should not be concerned with the war effort. On the contrary, the very life of this type of research may depend upon contributions to war programs, and few rural sociologists would be satisfied if they were not in the fight. The point cannot be too strongly emphasized, however, that each project should be appraised not only in terms of its immediate contribution to a war program, but also in terms of the more inclusive short-term and long-term values to which it is relevant.

Neither in war nor in peace can rural sociologists or other social scientists afford to expend their energies gathering data and charting trends if such activities place them in the role of mere technicians obedient only

to the immediate demands of ongoing programs. "Programs for what?" is a question that is just as crucial as is "Knowledge for what?" In other words, social science should provide guidance and direction of current programs toward the final goals of living as well as to service those programs with operative information.

Social scientists have long tried to sidestep the question of social values. We know, however, that some theory of value is necessarily involved in the selection of a problem for investigation. There are basic social needs which human beings develop in common as a result of their group life, and which are satisfied or frustrated by the social environment in which they live. This offers a clue to the sociologist seeking a valid criterion of significance for the selection of research problems. He does not merely ask whether his investigation adds to knowledge or contributes to the war effort. It should do both of these but the more fundamental question is will this research aid in suggesting ways and means of initiating and guiding trends toward a culture which will better meet the deeper and universal needs of rural people? It is suggested that each of our problems must be seen in the context of this larger frame of reference if we are to work with maximum effectiveness.

2. As is indicated in the foregoing discussion, rural sociologists have been operating within a shaky theoretical structure. In fact, there has been a tendency for these workers to become a body of technicians whose energies have been scattered over many problem fields, some of which may be outside of or only marginal to the social science area called sociology. The problem of theory in rural sociology is becoming acute. The old working concepts are doomed by new points of view now emerging. Such terms of reference as "society," "individuals," "social relationships," "forms of association," "social aspects," etc., are passing as useful concepts because they represented false abstractions. In their place are coming terms such as "culture" and "personality" and "human values,"

loaded with new meaning and new significance for the future of the social sciences.

Contributions for a new frame of reference for rural sociology are coming not only from general sociology but also from such fields as social psychology, anthropology and from the newer viewpoints in psychiatry. The best works in all of these fields should be more widely known among rural sociologists.

These new dynamic concepts are important for the rural sociologist because they place the human being, the person, in the focus of attention. They direct concern to his motivations and frustrations. They direct attention to what appears to be the major problems of our times, namely, human suffering and human happiness, and how to minimize the one and to maximize the other.

In concluding this brief paper we may summarize by saying that recent study of

rural sociology research indicates two major needs:

1. A need for an explicit set of criteria for the selection of worthwhile research projects.

2. A need for a vital meaningful theoretical framework to orient research efforts and to serve as a basis for interpreting research findings.

It is proposed that the concepts personality, culture and human values, as these are being developed by social psychology, anthropology, and in psychiatry may come to serve as the basic working concepts for rural sociology. It is further proposed that the main objective of rural social research shall be to test and map out the possibilities of placing culture more actively in support of the basic needs or values of human personalities.

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EXTENSION SERVICE JUMPS BACK TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The Agricultural Extension Service in the United States has given inadequate consideration to organization on the community basis during its time of service since 1914 in spite of the fact that "the rural community is the best unit for the organization of rural society."¹ The primary emphasis has been to organize upon the county basis, with a wide variety of methods used in order to be of most service to the farmers. The most significant of these methods have been the individual service method, and the demonstration method, neither of which necessarily calls for organization on the community level.

The Federal Extension Service concept of rural community organization seems to be that it is concerned with activities: pageants and plays, community club houses, community singing, promotion of bands and

choruses, recreation, development of work centers, improvement of school and church grounds, conducting local fairs, social get-togethers, citizenship ceremonies, and discussion groups.² These are admirable and much-needed activities, especially in wartime, but they are not community organization as defined by rural sociologists: "A continuing process for obtaining the best integrated social interaction of individuals, groups, and institutions within a community so as to enable it to act collectively and advance the common welfare."³

Groups have been organized by extension agents on the community and neighborhood level, especially for home economics and 4-H club work. For those who participate

¹ Sanderson, Dwight, "Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization," (New York: John Wiley, 1942), p. 686.

² Wilson, M. L. and Brigham, Reuben, "Major Wartime Developments Affecting Extension Work," Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, 1941-42.

³ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 686-87.

and to an extent for the general welfare these have been very valuable; but they have not been community organizations as above defined; indeed, too often they have been selective.⁴ Local leaders have been selected and trained. These, however, have been primarily on the special interest basis: as crops, soils, gardens, livestock, poultry, dairy, foods, home management, etc., and the work of these local leaders has not always been effectively integrated. And membership and participation have been selective, again chiefly on the basis of interest. When leaders were developed by the newly created federal action agencies (AAA, SCS, FSA, REA, and others) the problem of integration⁵ on the county and community level led to the Mt. Weather Conference. It was out of this conference that the first jump to the neighborhood level was made on a widespread scale.

The first stage of setting up the Land Use Program which grew out of the Mt. Weather agreement was to organize county and community committees, as nearly representative of farm, home, agricultural agency, school, church and community interests as possible, extending the representation to the neighborhoods. In order to get such representation, efforts were made in some states to map neighborhoods, using various methods.⁶ This program has ceased on the national level, though in some states it has been retained as a part of the regular Extension program. These efforts laid the groundwork for the extension of the so-called neighborhood leader plan, which de-

veloped rapidly after the entry of the United States into the World War, in which the Agricultural Extension Services of the various states, impelled by a Federal directive to "reach the last farm family down the last road," made the real jump to the neighborhood as a basic functional area for carrying on Extension work.

A national conference to stimulate the organization of the neighborhood leader system was called in Washington early in 1942. By October of that same year 95 percent of the counties were reported to be organized with 648,100 neighborhood leaders appointed or elected in 260,000 neighborhoods.⁷ The manner of organization, the functions of the leaders and the effectiveness of the system in making contacts with all farm families differed from state to state. Polson has reported on the general effect of the program in the Northeast.⁸ Studies have been made of the effectiveness of the system in selected areas of several states.⁹ These showed that contacts were made and results were obtained primarily through personal visitation, and that emphasis was placed on scrap drives, ordering fertilizer early, using enriched flour and bread and edible soybeans, checking upon machinery repairs, and planting victory gardens. Quite significant results were obtained in some areas: in Orange County, North Carolina, 78 percent of 269 families responded by planting edible soybeans. In other areas the program was only passingly successful.

Plans of organization in the Midwest varied from state to state. The Iowa "block

⁴ As has been shown by several studies, notably Lindstrom and Dawson, "Selectivity of 4-H Club Work," University of Illinois, AES, Bulletin 426, and Duthie, "4-H Club Work in the Life of Rural Youth," National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work, Chicago.

⁵ See Eisenhower, Milton S. and Kimmel, Ray I., "Old and New in Agricultural Organization," 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture, page 1130.

⁶ Here the early work of Galpin, Kolb, Sanderson and others and the later work of Ensminger, Beers and others on delineating neighborhoods and communities bore rich fruit in these plans.

⁷ Brigham, Rueben, "Shoulders Together," Extension Service Circular 380, USDA.

⁸ Polson, Robert A., "The Impact of the War on Rural Community Life," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (June, 1943), 123-138.

⁹ In "Evaluation Study of the Neighborhood Leader System, Berkshire and Essex Counties, Massachusetts, May 1942"; "Influence of Neighborhood Leaders in Waldo, Maine," Extension Service Circular 389; "Orange and Lee Counties, North Carolina, Demonstrate How Neighborhood Leaders Can Help in Securing Participation of Rural Families in Agriculture's Wartime Program," Extension Service Circular 387.

plan" called for two leaders for each 16 families, the local one-room rural school district being used as the basic unit. These two "volunteer cooperators" were appointed by township war committees which were set up in turn by the county extension organization.¹⁰ The plan developed in Illinois was very similar: a county committee was appointed; they in turn appointed township chairmen, a man and a woman in each township; and they selected two school district leaders, a man and a woman, in each elementary school district in the county.¹¹ The Wisconsin plan called for township Volunteer War Service Committees and neighborhood leaders. The neighborhoods were mapped, using the method and indices developed by Kolb in his earlier studies in the state.¹² An effort was made in Kentucky to determine community and neighborhood boundaries; leaders for the plan of organization were then selected in each neighborhood; these made up the community committees, and they, in turn, were represented on the county committees.¹³

The means of contact in these states were primarily by neighborhood meetings;

these were often followed up by personal contact, so that all farm families in the district or neighborhood were reached. In Illinois county agents and committees were urged to arrange for at least three series of meetings in each district for the year. Special material in printed leaflet form was prepared by the College of Agriculture for distribution and discussion at these meetings. School district leaders were urged to deliver the pamphlets to families not attending these meetings so that every family will have been given the information. Materials were prepared on inflation control, harvesting and storage of soybeans, controlling farm fires, livestock marketing, controlling common colds, proper diets, and similar subjects related to wartime food production and conservation and the protection of personal health and vigor. County agents were asked to secure reports of attendance and of numbers of families visited by the school district leaders.

The above table, showing percentages of school districts holding meetings, families

¹⁰ See R. K. Bliss, "Two Leaders and 16 Farmers," Extension Service Review, May 1942.

¹¹ "A Wartime Educational Program for Agriculture in Illinois," Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics, University of Illinois, mimeo. pub.

¹² "Neighborhood Leader System Manual for Extension Workers," University of Wisconsin, Agricultural Extension Service, mimeo. publication.

¹³ Poundstone, Bruce, and Beers, Howard, "Rural Neighborhood and Community Mobilization for Home Defense," University of Kentucky, Farm Ec. LUP 53, March 1943.

PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN WHICH MEETINGS WERE HELD AND PERCENTAGE OF FARM FAMILIES ATTENDING AND VISITED PERSONALLY FOR THE SECOND SERIES OF 1942 WARTIME EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM MEETINGS IN 10 REPRESENTATIVE COUNTIES IN ILLINOIS*

County	Percent districts holding meetings	Percent of families attending meetings	Percent of families visited	Percent of families contacted
Macon	78	19	27	46
Macoupin	53	19	17	36
Peoria	88	19	28	47
Bureau	47	15	18	33
Fayette	26	12	10	22
White	40	13	18	31
Kane	89	45	21	66
Ogle	27	50	6	56
Ford	97	29	29	58
Adams	52	15	12	37

* Data compiled by Mary Lou Andrews in connection with a term paper for a special problems course in Rural Sociology.

attending meetings and visited personally by school district leaders in 10 counties distributed over the state reveals two significant things: (1) meetings were held in a large percentage of the districts in most counties, indicating that the leadership selected functioned in most of the neighborhoods and (2) only a minority of the people came to the meetings.¹⁴ Reports from the field indicated that the largest attendances were secured by cooperating with already established community or neighborhood clubs or organizations. Impressions given by reports from local leaders as to reasons why people did not attend was that the material presented was not interesting or presented in an interesting fashion, that the purpose for the meetings was not clear or made to appear important or significant, and that the leaders selected were not willing or capable of calling and holding meetings. These impressions make apparent the need for a careful study of the functioning and effectiveness of the neighborhood leader system.

The school district or neighborhood has become an important unit for making contacts with respect to a number of wartime programs. School teachers have been asked to help with rationing programs; school directors have been placed on bond sales committees for their districts; leaders have been selected in the school districts or neighborhoods as fire watchers, detectors for evidences of sabotage or the prevention of rural crime, and more recently to help determine farm labor needs and to help farmers in their neighborhoods to secure additional help. The neighborhood has again become the area for increased trade-work activity; and farm people are becoming re-acquainted with their neighbors as they have not been in many years. A leveling process is going on wherein the residents

of the neighborhood all come to meetings irrespective of economic, religious, political or even racial differences, to discuss problems of common interest relating to the war effort.

What significance has this jump to the neighborhood for those interested in community organization? Can it be that we now can recognize the neighborhood as a significant human contact unit in the rural community? Can we now proceed to develop methods of education and planning that, in a rural community, will make more effective use of the neighborhood unit in serving the common welfare? The groundwork of experience and experimentation is laid in almost every rural community in the United States. The Agricultural Extension Service has found an effective basic unit for making contacts with farm families, though in many cases some parts of the Extension Service are not using as effectively as they might the organization created by other parts. Too often specialists in subject matter fields have created their own special leaders and special groups, without regard to leaders and groups created by others. It now remains for the Extension Service to rediscover the rural community as a unit for the organization of Extension work. Rural sociologists have an important contribution to make in this discovery. Public school educators are already aware of the importance of the rural community as a basic unit for organization of education, including adult education. Will Extension Service leaders recognize the importance of community organization or will the adult education function of the Extension Service in the community be taken over or absorbed by the public schools? Or is it possible that a cooperative, integrated approach will be made by the Extension Service and the public schools in the development of a unified educational program, using the neighborhood and community as basic functional units for reaching all of the people in an effective democratic manner.

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¹⁴ Consideration must be given to the fact that not all school districts made reports; therefore, the actual number of meetings held and the total number in attendance was doubtless larger than that reported in every case. For school districts reporting, however, the percentage attending and visited personally approximated quite closely the actual situation.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Conrad Taeubert†

MANPOWER IN AGRICULTURE

- Forster, G. W., Hamilton, C. Horace, Greene, R. E. L., and Mayo, Selz C. *Farm manpower situation in North Carolina, 1943*. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 340. 29 pp. Raleigh, June 1943.
- McMillan, Robert T. *The manpower situation in Oklahoma agriculture for 1943 and 1944*. Okla. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Cir. 101-A. 14 pp. Stillwater, August 1943.
- Reuss, Carl F. *Effect of age and sex on productive capacity at farm work*. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Cir. 13. 4 pp. Pullman, July 1943.
- Reuss, Carl F. *Washington's seasonal farm labor problem*. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Cir. 12. 6 pp. Pullman, August 1943.
- Reuss, Carl F., Peterson, Arthur W., Buchanan, Mark T. *Labor requirements for selected farm enterprises in Washington*. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 432. 24 pp. Pullman, July 1943.
- Mayo, Selz C. and Hamilton, C. Horace. *Farm labor available in an urban center: Washington, North Carolina*. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Progress Report RS-1. 14 pp. Raleigh, July 1943.

A number of bulletins and circulars have appeared recently which utilize the farm manpower inventory data obtained in January and February of this year under the AAA sign-up for the 1943 Farm Plan Work Sheet. The schedule used for the farm manpower inventory represents a cross between a partial population schedule and a partial employment status schedule with the resulting data naturally presenting many complex problems of analysis and interpretation, particularly with regard to complete-

ness of coverage and comparability with related or similar series.

An example of a more careful job of analysis is the North Carolina study made by Forster, Hamilton, and associates. The analysis presented in this bulletin consists of a matching of labor requirements, derived in part from the farm organization data, with the labor expected to be available in 1943 in order to obtain a measure of the excess or deficiency of labor on farms of different sizes (measured in terms of war units) and on farms in the four major type-of-farming areas of the State. Analyses are also presented of the age-sex composition of "current farm employment," as are certain other classifications of the data.

In general, the tabular and graphic material presented in this study is more eloquent than the textual interpretations. Only one-seventh of the farms sampled showed a slight excess of labor needs over labor available, while six-sevenths of the farms had a surplus of available labor, with 45 percent of the farms having a minimum of almost twice as much labor as needed on this group of farms. The estimated ratios of labor needs to labor available probably contain an upward bias due to the fact that the data on available labor exclude by definition perhaps a major part of the seasonally hired workers, while the labor requirements are total requirements for all types of labor and all farm activities including maintenance.

The authors interpret the quantitative evidence of what appears to be extensive underemployment and ineffective utilization of labor as "... an apparent or technical surplus of labor, when as a matter of fact no usable surplus exists. That is, the farmer may have to use his labor on his own farm or not at all." This explanation is not very satisfactory and the elaboration given later does not clarify the meaning of "technical

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny, A. H. Anderson, Earl H. Bell, Eleanor Bernert, Douglas Ensminger, T. Wilson Longmore, and Roy Roberts.

surplus." A question may be raised as to why this so-called "technical surplus" is not an actual waste of manpower. Merely because labor is not usable on the individual farm reporting it does not mean that at least some part of it cannot be used at all. Some of the recommended "lines of action" suggested by the authors actually presuppose the possibility for obtaining fuller labor utilization and would be practicable only if the periods of inactivity or underemployment on individual farms constituted a manpower pool which could be tapped.

The authors do not explicitly recommend that some of the underemployed farmers making negligible contributions to agricultural production should not be "farming," but should be helped to find more productive work. Nevertheless, they suggest that a solution of the surplus labor problem might be made in some cases "by temporary consolidation of farming units." No explanation is given of what is meant by a temporary consolidation—or by what working arrangement such a consolidation might be brought about.

McMillan's study, "The Manpower Situation in Oklahoma Agriculture for 1943 and 1944," makes some use of the AAA manpower inventory data, although major reliance is placed on 1940 Census material and on current school census data for estimates of present farm population and of the available farm labor supply. Independently derived estimates of labor requirements are matched with the labor supply estimates, and little use seems to have been made of the AAA manpower inventory sample data on workers reported or expected to be available.

The conclusions reached in this study with respect to the inadequacy of the farm labor supply in the State for the attainment of planned production goals in 1944 rest upon very questionable assumptions made regarding changes since the Census date in the size of the rural-farm labor force, upon the identification of farm workers with the Census concept of rural-farm labor force and upon identification of changes in farm labor supply with changes

in farm employment. After arriving at an estimate of a 16.7 percent decrease in rural-farm population from 1940 to 1943 on the basis of school census data, the author assumes that the rural-farm labor force (which includes the unemployed and persons employed in agriculture and nonagricultural occupations) has decreased by the same proportion. Because of the identification of farm workers with the whole of the rural-farm labor force, the percentage decrease in the number of farm workers is assumed to be the same as the percentage decrease in population. Such an assumption is unjustified in view of the fact that persons not in the rural-farm labor force have served as a reservoir for replacements of persons who have left the rural-farm labor force. Furthermore, since unemployed are by Census definition a part of the labor force, reemployment can greatly increase the number of persons actually employed without having a corresponding change in the size of the total labor force. Thus for the Nation as a whole, despite a decrease in the civilian population, and in the civilian labor force, the number of persons at work in civilian occupations has risen from 45 million in April 1940 to slightly over 51 million in April 1943. In view of the number of persons in the rural-farm population of Oklahoma who were unemployed at the time of the Census (14 percent of the rural-farm labor force), it is thus at least theoretically possible for a reduction of 14 percent to occur in the labor force without any decrease in the number of persons employed, if the reduction occurs entirely in the unemployed part of the labor force.

The assumptions made are even less valid with respect to the estimates of number of available farm workers when derived from such "rural-farm labor force" extrapolations. The number of farm workers we shall have will be determined not so much by changes in the size of the total rural-farm labor force as by the number who shift into or out of agricultural work (both farm and nonfarm residents) and by the extent to which persons not in the labor force continue to replace farm workers who enter industry or the armed forces.

The possibilities for attaining agricultural production goals will be determined by the number and kind of persons at work on farms for the time required. Since the number of persons at work on farms has little relationship to changes in total farm population or to changes in the total labor force figures used by the author, his estimates of available supply of labor do not provide a valid basis for the conclusions he reaches about labor as a limiting factor to the attainment of 1944 production goals.

Carl F. Reuss has utilized some of the AAA manpower inventory data in two circulars of the State College of Washington, "Effect of Age and Sex on Productive Capacity at Farm Work" and "Washington's Seasonal Farm Labor Problem." Under present conditions when the composition of the farm working force has changed considerably from that of pre-war years, the data presented on differences in productive capacity of male and female farm workers in the several age groups is timely and interesting. Altogether too common has been the practice of assuming a certain man-equivalence for workers in the several age-sex groups. Reuss' analysis of data derived from the collective judgment of farmers with respect to differences in work capacity of various types of workers throws some light on this question. In general, the man-equivalent factors obtained show reasonable differences among males and females in the several age groups, although sampling variation and other factors may be responsible for the higher rating for girls 10-14 than for boys of the same age.

The circular dealing with Washington's seasonal labor is based upon an analysis of data from the item of the manpower inventory which is probably least meaningful, namely, the maximum number of workers hired on any one day during each of the four quarters of 1942. Because of the duplications of workers and variations in the occurrence of seasonal peaks on different farms, the numbers reported do not represent that many persons, as one worker

might be counted on a number of different farms. Although the author points out this limitation of the data, he nevertheless treats the numbers reported as if they were different workers who can be added together, and even expresses the pseudo-sum as a percentage of total or rural population. While the results may be of some use in providing a rough indication of the relative magnitude of the seasonal labor problem during the several quarters of the year or for the several counties, the absolute numbers are meaningless.

In addition to the above studies based on the AAA manpower inventory data, two of their authors have made studies related to the manpower question which utilize other sources of information. The bulletin by Reuss, Peterson, and Buchanan, "Labor Requirements for Selected Farm Enterprises in Washington" contains an interesting interpretation of the implications of typical farm management data on unit labor requirements on enterprises of varying sizes. The empirical evidence of the sharp decrease in unit labor requirements as the size of the enterprise is increased, up to a certain point, forms the nucleus of the authors' discussion of the conditions under which diversification versus specialization provides the most effective use of manpower resources. Under wartime conditions when effective use of labor is imperative, the long-debated argument takes on new importance. The authors' view is that in most cases maximum utilization of the available labor force and increased production per man-year would be obtained through specialization and increasing the size of enterprises to a level permitting effective use of labor.

The availability of urban labor for farm work is examined in "Farm Labor Available in an Urban Center: Washington, North Carolina" by Mayo and Hamilton. In this case the study is based on a 10 percent sample of Negro households. Age, sex, employment status and other characteristics are briefly examined for all respondents and

particularly for those who answered "yes" to the simple question, "Are you willing to do farm work now?" Such respondents were classed as "available for farm work" with the result that while 66 percent of all respondents were currently employed at paying jobs, 51 percent indicated that they were available for farm work. The large amount of overlap between the "available" and those already employed, together with other information presented, indicates that before a good many of the people who were classed as available could in fact become available the following conditions among many others would have to be met: over 40 percent of them would have to give up their nonagricultural jobs; a substantial proportion consisting of housewives would have to lay aside their homemaking activities, and a large proportion of these would have to make arrangements for the care of their children under 10 years of age; approximately 23 percent could become available for farm work only by giving up one farm job for another (since those currently employed on farms were also classed as available for farm work). Many other conditions would also have to be met, including wage and working conditions satisfactory to the potential worker and a considerable increase in the use of female workers (since two-thirds of the "available" are females). These and other conditions determining actual availability of potential farm workers are recognized by the authors when they state that "availability is a relative matter" depending on many conditions. The study illustrates the wide gap between potential and actual availability for farm work.

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POPULATION

Recent releases from the Bureau of the Census are carrying out the promises for more complete data from the 1940 Census than from earlier Censuses. A report on *Unincorporated communities*¹ gives the name, location and population of the 3,594 places with 500 or more inhabitants for

which separate figures could be compiled. A report on *Characteristics of rural-farm families*² is based on sample tabulations. It presents family and housing statistics separately for families of farm operators, families of farm laborers and families of non-farm workers who live as farmers, by regions and divisions. Among the topics included are tenure, value of dwelling; employment status; race; nativity; age; sex and marital status of head; migration status and 1935 residence; size of family; number of employed workers; persons per room; lighting equipment; and water supply.

A report³ on the personal and economic characteristics of the men and women in each industry, based on tabulation of the 5 percent sample, includes color, nativity and citizenship, age, employment status, class of worker, major occupation group, hours worked during the week of March 24-30, 1940, months worked in 1939, and duration of unemployment. Of special interest is the tabulation of persons reporting agriculture as their industry but not included under the ordinary headings of farm operators or farm laborers. *Vital statistics rates in the United States 1900-1940*⁴ summarizes the vital statistics data collected in this country since 1910. The materials for 1940 are given in considerable detail including births per 1,000 females 15-44 years old by counties and specific birth rates by age of mother for rural and urban areas by States. Annual population estimates for States by sex and race back to 1900 are included.

¹ U. S. Dept. Comm., Bur. of the Census, *Population—Unincorporated Communities*. 32 pp. 16th Census of the U. S. 1940. Washington, D. C. 1943.

² U. S. Dept. Comm., Bur. of the Census, *Families—Characteristics of rural-farm families*. 82 pp. 16th Census of the U. S. 1940. Washington, D. C. 1943.

³ U. S. Dept. Comm., Bur. of the Census, *Population—The labor force. Industrial characteristics*. 174 pp. 16th Census of the U. S. 1940. Washington, D. C. 1943.

⁴ U. S. Dept. Comm., Bur. of the Census, *Vital statistics rates in the U. S. 1900-1940*. 1,051 pp. Washington, D. C. 1943.

A survey in two Kentucky counties⁵ concludes that: as measured by a simple ratio of actual to possible moves or births, rural family mobility and rural family fertility in Robertson and Johnson Counties were similarly influenced by selected factors of age, occupation, income, and education. Of the possible number of changes of residence, assuming 1 change per year to be the most possible, 17.4 percent had occurred; and of the possible number of births, assuming 1 birth per year from marriage to age 49 of the wife to be the maximum possible, 17.8 percent had occurred. In one county low mobility was associated with high fertility in a setting characterized by a relatively self-sufficient agriculture and emphasis on family life. In the other county, where urbanization has progressed farther, high mobility was associated with low fertility.

A study of *recent population trends in Oklahoma*⁶ based on questionnaires sent to a large number of farmers in every county of the State and checked against 1940 Census data, annual vital statistics reports, school censuses, War Ration Book No. 1 and the annual population survey of the United States Department of Agriculture shows that Oklahoma is experiencing a three-fold change in its population. First, the total population is declining rapidly; second, the farm population is declining both absolutely and relatively; and third, the combined population of the larger towns and cities is increasing at about the same relative pace as the farm population is diminishing. Population of villages and hamlets has remained fairly constant proportionately to the total population of the State. Further inventory and descriptive analysis of the population characteristics (age, sex, race, marital status, natural increase, em-

ployment, educational attainment, etc.) of Oklahoma leads the author to conclude that "... 1930 marked the end of the economic and demographic youth of Oklahoma and it had begun by then to assume the characteristics of a maturing society."

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

A survey of Community Organization in Maryland County⁷ was undertaken: (1) To analyze neighborhoods and communities as a basis for local agricultural planning. (2) To assist local leaders in examining and appraising their neighborhoods, their communities, and their problems as a means to sound planning. (3) To study social change; first, in a rural community where there is a large munitions plant in operation, and second, in a community in which there is a suburban development. (4) To observe the value of the group method of determining the location and boundaries of neighborhoods and communities. The report shows that neighborhoods and communities do exist as functioning social units; schools, churches, kinship, geographic isolation, common tradition, are the predominant factors in neighborhood and community cohesion; the most active organizations are those sponsored by the churches and schools; the impingement of new industry on agriculture has led to mild but none-the-less noticeable forms of social differentiation.

*Farmers in Buffalo County, Nebraska, mobilize for war*⁸ represents an effort to outline briefly the structure and functioning of an effective county-wide organization of local leaders. The war service of neighborhood and community leaders in 1942 and 1943 is described. This includes the distribution of reliable information to farm fam-

⁵ Irving A. Spaulding and Howard W. Beers, *Mobility and fertility rates of rural families in Robertson and Johnson Counties, Kentucky, 1918-1941*. Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 451, 20 pp. Lexington, June 1943.

⁶ Otis Durant Duncan, *Recent population trends in Oklahoma*. Okla. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 8-269, 39 pp. In cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Stillwater, August 1943.

⁷ Linden S. Dodson and Jane Woolley, *Community organization in Charles County, Maryland*. Md. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. A 21, 271-324 pp. In cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. and Charles Co. Agr. Planning Com. College Park, January, 1943.

⁸ Anton H. Anderson, *Farmers in Buffalo County, Nebraska, mobilize for war*. 19 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Lincoln, Neb., August 1943.

ilies, gathering of factual information for professional agricultural workers, leadership in cooperative neighborhood action, and coordination of wartime activities of neighborhood and community organizations. Techniques used in developing the organization on a sound basis of natural neighborhoods and communities is outlined, with a statement regarding the situation in the county when the wartime organization was set up and the steps taken to activate the program. Tentative conclusions are presented regarding the wartime and postwar significance of such county-wide organizations of local leaders.

*The neighborhood leader in time of war*⁹ is a generalized statement regarding the experience of Extension Services in the seven northern States of the Great Plains, with the wartime Neighborhood Leader program. The war has altered the pattern of life for rural people. Many production problems can best be dealt with through neighborhood and community cooperation. The techniques of building such cooperation are logically included in the educational program of Extension. This summary takes stock of progress to date; it outlines desirable characteristics of leaders; it indicates the relation of this program to community plans and other Extension methods. Simple techniques are suggested for adjusting the organization to the natural neighborhood and community group pattern in the county.

In a Kentucky study¹⁰ "the organization of land-use planning and the participation of committee members are described, the socio-economic characteristics of committee members and of a sample of non-members are compared, selected opinions of members and non-members and the interrelationships

among the characteristics and opinions of both groups are set forth, and the implications of findings for rural social organization and change are discussed." The authors found that the "committeemen differed from their neighbors in a total pattern of personal characteristics and opinions which was broadly consistent among the three areas studied. Their families were in the middle stages of the life cycle, they had spent more years in school than their neighbors, they were on larger farms, and more of them had met with success in the accumulation of land. They were relatively active in leading other organizations. In nonfarm residence and in past occupational experience, they were more 'urbanized' than fellow farmers in the same communities." The patterns of behavior and belief of these leaders were common to the majority of the persons interviewed with the committeemen being more favorably disposed toward the issues raised. "The widespread acceptance and positive evaluation of several rather recent innovations in rural life was an indication of deep-seated social changes still in process." There was cumulative evidence of an association of social and economic characteristics of these farmers with the opinions analyzed. "There were also definite interrelations among opinions concerning various aspects of land-use planning, county-agent work, and programs of agricultural adjustment."

Another study¹¹ from Kentucky reports the characteristics of rural neighborhoods and communities in 13 counties in Kentucky. The neighborhoods in these counties are small and numerous with the school and church most frequently relating the neighbors. The communities usually had 11 neighborhoods. In 78 percent of the community centers there were fewer than 300 residents. "Instead of disappearing, the neighborhood continues to exist although modified

⁹ Anton H. Anderson, *The neighborhood leader in time of war*. 13 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr., Lincoln, Neb. August 1943.

¹⁰ Robin M. Williams and Howard W. Beers, *Farmers on local planning committees in three Kentucky counties 1939-1940*. Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 443. 35 pp. Lexington, May 1943.

¹¹ Frank Winchester, *Rural neighborhoods and communities in thirteen Kentucky counties, 1941—size, population, and social structure*. Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta.—Bul. 450, 20 pp. Lexington, June 1943.

as a result of new forces acting upon it. . . . Geographic propinquity is still an important factor in rural society."

The village-centered relation in Erin, New York,¹² a rural community which formerly included a majority of the families in the town, is disappearing. The organizations and institutions that once brought the people together are now weak and ineffective. Information was obtained by personal interviews with the heads of 234 families located in the village and on all operating farm units that had cropland lapping over into the township. Many families living on marginal or sub-marginal land find employment in Elmira. While Erin is far enough away from Elmira to allow full-time farming, it is not far enough away to be a self-centered rural community. Thus Erin is in a transitional zone between an urban center and a rural-farm community.

Lebanon,¹³ a county-seat town in southwest Virginia, is the center of a community based on the livestock economy typical of a number of counties in the area. Through the author's intimate association with the life of the community he pictures the characteristics of the people, their living conditions, activities, and organizations. Lebanon's long-time development has included (1) scattered neighborhoods; (2) a budding town and scattered neighborhoods; and (3) a combined town and neighborhood area fairly well integrated. Its life is a network of formal and informal activities which is in many ways county-wide. The author concludes that "small communities like Lebanon are highly significant places of human association with personal face-to-face contacts, a feeling of brotherhood, and a sense

of belonging, which are most important factors in development of vivid personalities, and a meaningful, satisfying society."

MISCELLANEOUS

A study¹⁴ of ethnic groups in rural Connecticut attempts to answer the questions: what adjustments are immigrants making to their new physical and social environment? Are they introducing new agricultural enterprises? What are the reactions of older settlers? What types of communities are emerging as a result of the presence of the various ethnic groups? But the main focus of attention is on the changes that the shifting population has brought about in all segments of local social, economic and political life.

The setting of the study is two rural communities in eastern Connecticut. Two ethnic groups, first French Canadians and later Finns, have settled in the communities, thus providing an opportunity to compare the results of different time intervals of settlement as well as different groups. The statistical information was obtained through a house-to-house survey of every family in the two communities, supplemented by information gained through the participant-observer technique.

The Southern Rural Life Conference considered the responsibilities of the rural school in the *changing pattern of country life*,¹⁵ particularly, in respect to (1) agriculture and industry, (2) health education and services, (3) religious life, and (4) education. This report sets forth the findings of four committees dealing with these subjects.

Howard A. Dawson sets the tone for the report in his opening chapter when he states: "The school must be more than an institution for training children in subject

¹² Dwight Sanderson and S. Earl Grigsby, *The social characteristics of Erin—A rural town in southern New York*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 10, 54 pp. In cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Ithaca, August 1943.

¹³ Leland B. Tate, *Lebanon—A Virginia community*. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 352, 55 pp. Blacksburg, May 1943.

¹⁴ Nathan L. Whetten and Arnold W. Green, *Ethnic group relations in a rural area of Connecticut*. 89 pp. Bul. 244, Univ. of Conn. Storrs, Jan. 1943.

¹⁵ The Southern Rural Life Conference, *The school and the changing pattern of country life*. 100 pp., George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn. 1943.

matter that will enable them to climb the educational ladder to higher academic levels. It must be an institution whose program is indigenous to the needs of the pupils and to the community it serves. The broad social and economic goals of education are important to be sure, but they can be made real only in terms of the situation and needs of the children affected." The South's deficiencies and potentialities are briefly reviewed. The report summarizes the South's achievements in securing a better balance between its various agricultural enterprises and increasing the productive capacity of its soils, the health work being done by a number of Southern States and the great uncertainty which beclouds the future of the rural church. Special mention is made, however, of the increased activity of the Catholic Church through its National Catholic Rural Life Conference and its program of social action. The report suggests that a reappraisal of the South's schools is in order, especially for those Northerners and Westerners who think of the South as living in another age, for 56 percent of the Nation's consolidated schools are found in the South. States are increasing financial aid to local districts, salaries are on the increase, average daily attendance at the elementary level is increasing, and programs of both whites and Negroes are becoming more functional.

*Still sits the schoolhouse by the road*¹⁶ describes the conditions and problems of rural education and suggests ways and means through which communities may provide a better program of education. The Committee on Rural Education, appointed in March 1939, has cooperated with other organizations in holding conferences and forums on educational questions, has encouraged radio and press discussions, and helped to sponsor several projects planned to demonstrate practical approaches to the problems of rural education.

Two studies of rural illness and medical

care in Lewis¹⁷ and Dallas¹⁸ Counties, Missouri, report certain of the results obtained through field interviews chiefly concerned with rural health facilities and the extent to which they are used by the families sampled for enumeration.

The first survey, conducted in Lewis County, Missouri, during the summer of 1939 covered the experience of 317 open-country households for the 12-month period immediately preceding August 1, 1939. As reflected in the reports of the household interviews, the curative functions of medical service received greater emphasis than the preventative. Income and distance from service facilities appeared to condition the use of available health agencies. For the 76 percent of the families reporting some illness during the year, the average cost of health measures per household was \$41.30. Of this average expenditure nearly 55 percent went for practitioners' fees, 15 percent each for dental care (mostly extractions) and hospitalization, 9 percent for drugs and medicines (chiefly home or patent remedies), less than 5 percent for optical services, and the remainder for miscellaneous purposes. In Dallas County, as in Lewis County, the prevailing health practices employed were curative rather than preventative. Seventy-two percent of the 258 open-country families interviewed used one to five doctors in the treatment of illness or disability during the 12-months previous to the survey, which was conducted during the summer of 1941. Most of the illness was cared for at home. A total of 71 different ailments were treated by means of 258 home remedies. About 65 percent of the families reported inadequate hospital and dental care.

¹⁷ Ronald B. Almack, *The rural health facilities of Lewis County, Missouri*. Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 365, 42 pp. Columbia, May 1943.

¹⁸ Iola Meier and C. E. Lively, *Family health practices in Dallas County, Missouri*. Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 369, 32 pp. Columbia, June 1943.

¹⁶ The Committee on Rural Education, *Still sits the schoolhouse by the road*. 54 pp., 5835 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, 1943.

*Some effects of the first years of war upon Nebraska farm families*¹⁹ as seen by farm youth is reported in a bulletin from the Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station. About half the families studied had no hired help either in 1941 or in 1942; about 19 percent had less in 1942 than in 1941, about 12 percent had more, while 21 percent had the same amount of hired help both years. In 1941 about one-fourth of the mothers helped with field work and a little more than half did outside chores. In 1942 more than one-third of the mothers helped with field work; nearly two-thirds did outside chores, with an increase of 50 percent in the average number of hours spent doing chores. Adolescent members feel that the effects upon the family of war conditions are more often "good" than "bad." They reported more good times in the home, less irritability and conflict in the family group, and less family recreation outside the home. However they reported that their parents showed more worry and nervousness than previously.

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¹⁹ Leland H. Stott, *Some effects of the first year of war upon Nebraska farm families*. Neb. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 348, 22 pp. Lincoln, July 1943.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Howard W. Beers

Population Problems. Third Edition. By Warren S. Thompson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942. Pp. xi + 471. \$4.00.

Population Problems. A Cultural Interpretation. By Paul H. Landis. New York: American Book Company, 1943. Pp. xii + 500. \$3.75.

The first of these two *Population Problems* appearing in print is the third edition of Warren S. Thompson's well-known work originally published in 1930 and revised in 1935. This new edition, which aims "to present a brief general view of the processes of population growth and of their significance," was necessitated by the rapid accumulation of information on population through study and research in the seven years elapsing since his preceding edition. It also permitted the embodiment in his work of the latest domestic and foreign census data available, although the collection and release of foreign data have been seriously hampered by the war.

The organizational framework previously used, for the most part, remains intact in

Thompson's third edition. However, several changes have been made. These include a slight rearrangement in the order of presentation, the addition of a few topics, the deletion of others, and finally a shift of emphasis in some of the materials retained. The chapter in the 1935 edition entitled "Famine and Disease as Factors in Population Growth" becomes "War, Famine, and Disease as Factors in Population Growth." Treatment of "Factors in the Decline of the Birth Rate" is broken down into two chapters and elaborated considerably. In a similar manner, the discussion of migration, formerly limited to one chapter, has been expanded and divided into two chapters. Three chapters have been added and five dropped in this revision. Included among those added are two devoted to "National Population Policies," and one entitled "Further Comments on the Economy of a Stationary or Declining Population." The chapters dropped are "Industrialization and Population in China," "The City: Economic Advantages and Disadvantages," "The City: Social and Cultural Advantages and

Disadvantages," "The Optimum Population," and "The Control of Population Growth." These changes in subject matter and emphasis, by and large, are in keeping with recent trends both in population fact and in population thought.

The other *Population Problems* under review is by Paul H. Landis, a newcomer to textbook writing in population but tried and tested in the performance of this chore for such other sub-fields of sociology as social control and rural sociology. In a large measure, he was moved to write his volume by what he considered the paradox of sociologists ordinarily serving as teachers of population courses while "much" of the literature remained essentially non-sociological in nature. Therefore, Landis' primary aim is to present a general survey of population in a sociological framework and in terms of social and cultural influences.

Five broad divisions of subject matter characterize Landis' work. In Part One attention is focused on population growth in the world and in the United States with brief consideration given to population theory. Part Two exhaustively treats the vital processes as influenced by social and cultural forces. "In Part Three the population is broken down into its biological structural elements—sex, age, and ethnic composition. The changing significance of these elements, as they affect fertility and social roles in a dynamic society, is considered." Part Four is devoted to a consideration of the distribution of population according to functional roles, rural-urban classification, and geographical location. In Part Five international and internal migrations are analyzed from the standpoints of extent, selectivity, and social significance. A final chapter set apart is concerned with "A Population Policy for the United States."

The two books under consideration differ to some extent in subjects treated. Thompson devotes considerable space to the discussion of population theory and historical population phenomena. That his first three chapters are in this vein is reflected in

their titles: "Population Control In Former Times," "The Population Doctrines of Malthus," and "Some Post-Malthusian Doctrines." Another such chapter is named "Population Growth and the Industrial Revolution." Moreover, throughout his work Thompson evinces a gripping interest in the broad relationship of population to the general economy. Chapters appear, for example, on "Population Growth and Agriculture" and "Industry and Commerce as Bases for the Support of Population." In contrast, Landis concerns himself hardly at all with theory, historical phenomena, or broad controversial issues. Perhaps as an explanation for this he states in the preface that "In this book an attempt is made to give the student and general reader a meaningful picture of population unencumbered by numerous historical speculations concerning population and population laws so-called, few of which contribute anything to an understanding of concrete population data or their interpretation." However, in one 15-page chapter entitled "Population Theories" he does quickly dispose of "Naturalistic Theories of Population Growth" and "Environmental-Economic Theories" and sets the stage for his "Sociocultural Approach."

Worthy of special mention is Thompson's continued show of interest in the role of population in international affairs. He courageously (whether right or wrong) re-expresses his long held view that population pressure is the forerunner of war. His position is set forth in the statement, "The author's thesis here is that the changing rates of population growth are an important factor in creating changing pressures of population on the resources available to different peoples and that these changing pressures if disregarded are almost certain to lead to violent attempts to effect new adjustments more favorable to the growing people." Landis very briefly has his say on the matter with a few such comments as "Density of population alone gives one no explanation for war, nor does population increase." These two statements are not necessarily in conflict though they probably

do reflect some difference of opinion. It is certain, however, that of the two writers only Thompson thinks the subject merits individual and detailed attention.

It naturally follows that the broader range of subjects considered by Thompson in a volume of about the same size as Landis' leaves him relatively less space to treat much of the material common to both books. He handles the subject of population make-up in one 32-page chapter entitled "The Composition of Population." If the chapter on "The Negro in the United States" is considered in the same general category, the two together make a total of 55 pages. Landis, on the other hand, devotes to the same subjects two entire parts of his book comprising 136 pages. In a similar manner Landis uses 200 pages discussing the vital processes as compared with Thompson's 109. Migration, too, receives more lengthy treatment from Landis. Both writers consider a population policy for the United States, Landis in a separate chapter and Thompson in a part of a more general chapter.

Each of the writers does an excellent job of what he sets out to do. Thompson, in a sense, presents a more general picture of population. As a result of electing the broader approach, he often has to depart from the relatively simple and better understood phenomena and grapple with complex and slippery relationships. He constantly reminds the reader when he forges beyond concrete data, always warning of uncertainties and prefacing personal opinions with such phrases as "I think." Landis, feeling a need for the de-emphasis of theory, historical materials, and controversial considerations, aims at the thorough analysis of a narrower range of subject-matter. This he does in a systematic and readable manner. The most eye-catching feature of Landis' book is its sub-title, "A Cultural Interpretation" which is well justified by the contents. However, it may be pointed out that Thompson's work is hardly less cultural in interpretation even if it does more largely lack the nomenclature of sociology.

Both books incorporate the latest data

and research results and both lean heavily on attractive and well-chosen graphical presentations. The individual chapters of the two volumes are followed by lists of selected readings and questions for discussion. A student of population must have both books, and his choice between them for textbook purposes depends primarily upon the chooser's conception of what a population course should include.

HOMER L. HITT.

Louisiana State University.

Security, Work, and Relief Policies. National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. xii + 640. \$2.25.

This monumental report analyzes past United States experience and makes recommendations for maintaining and increasing economic security in post-war years.

Its purpose and philosophy appear clearly in the introduction: "This report is concerned particularly with making adequate provision for those who have no means of livelihood or only inadequate means." It proposes four major points basic to a rounded and integrated program:

"First, that our economy must provide work for all who are able and willing to work. . . .

"Second, that for great numbers whose work is interrupted, the social insurances must carry much of the load of providing adequate income.

"Third, that where the insurances or work policies fail to take care of an interruption in income, adequate guarantees of minimum aid and assistance must be given both to individuals and families through a general public assistance system.

"Fourth, that where adequate services, essential to health, education, and welfare of the population are not available, public provision should be made for the development of such services."

The emphasis on problems of policy arising out of the simultaneous operation of a series of programs makes it necessary for the committee to review the conditions

which gave rise to the programs, the development of federal-state programs during the 1930's, and the number, distribution and characteristics of the recipients. The programs operating in 1940 were characterized by a combination of insurance and relief measures, which furnished public aid to 6½ million households and which, even with continuous full employment, will likely be called upon to assist no less than half that number.

Major limitations of the present programs are summarized as follows:

(1) "A considerable number of (needy) persons . . . could not meet eligibility requirements;" (2) "There are still some sections of the country . . . in which there is no provision for local public general relief . . .;" (3) ". . . the level of income which is made possible for recipients of publicly provided income cannot be regarded as unduly high. For the vast majority of recipients, it appears to be even lower than that which would be allowed by the 'emergency' budget. . . . Meanwhile, it is important to note that. . . there exist today differences between groups of public aid recipients. . . . so marked as to constitute a potential threat to the essential social unity of the American Nation;" (4) "Social insurance is a legal right from which large groups of employables . . . are excluded;" (5) "It cannot be pretended that measures directed toward the reduction of unemployment have as yet been adequately developed;" (6) ". . . as yet even the minimum requirement of proper financing—namely, that orderly and continuous provision be made for adequate appropriations—has not been met." (7) The influence of public-aid programs on labor mobility has been negative in character. During a period of unemployment, public policy has failed to place labor in a position to know and take advantage of job opportunities when business demand again appears. (8) "In spite of progress, the outstanding fact which would impress an impartial observer of the existing administrative arrangements is the apparently confusing number of agencies operating related programs and serving re-

lated clienteles at all levels of government. . . ."

The statement of the major limitations of public-aid programs makes it clear that the report is constructive rather than revolutionary. Nearly 100 recommendations are made for remedying various difficulties. Recognizing that the experience of the past 10 years is insufficient to provide specific solutions to all problems, some of the recommendations are presented as principles. The following selected recommendations illustrate the thinking of the committee.

Regarding finance: "The financing of public aid should be provided for as a normal and continuing function of government in a revised and reorganized fiscal system. . . . Reliance on consumption and earmarked taxes should in general be avoided. . . . A distribution of financed responsibility for total public-aid costs between the various units of government is advisable and should reflect differences in need and in economic and fiscal capacity."

Regarding administration: "The Federal Security Agency should be given the status of an executive department, and the Administrator should be given the status of a member of the Cabinet. . . . The merit system should be extended upward, downward, and outward for all personnel in the field of public aid."

"In every community there should be a central information office responsible for informing applicants of the availability of community resources, both public and private, and putting them in touch with the administrators of measures appropriate to their needs. . . . The administration of public-assistance programs operating within a locality should be the responsibility of a single agency, which would be the channel of access to all programs where eligibility is based upon need. . . . Access to all programs offering employment or training should be through the public employment offices. . . ."

Regarding public assistance: "There should be a Federal grant-in-aid for general public assistance, which should be available on a basis reflecting differences in need and

economic and fiscal capacity as between the states. . . . The costs of public assistance to persons with less than one year's residence in a State should be a wholly Federal charge. . . ."

Regarding other specific services: "A Federal work agency charged with responsibility for developing and operating work programs should be established on a permanent basis. . . ."

Throughout this report three major trends are significant.

1. *The trend from local to state and national responsibility* for funds and supervision. The committee does its best to emphasize the need for local and even lay participation but the continuing trend is noted especially in their recommendation for federal assistance amounting to control of general relief which is the last major stronghold of local autonomy. Federal control is also increased by the proposed extension of the work of the Employment Service to include all welfare work for employables.

2. *The trend toward more general and more adequate coverage* which will guarantee minimum security to all workers and all needy persons. Here it is that the committee has to choose between the dilemma of continued inadequate state and local programs on the one hand and increased federal assistance and control on the other. Clearly, the Committee and the NRPB believe that only by the latter development can freedom from want be achieved.

3. *From relief on the basis of need to insurance benefits on the basis of right.* The recommended extension of insurance and compensation is in line with this trend. The categories would remain much as they are but would be more closely coordinated. The works program would be much more closely related to the employment service and through that agency be much more closely coordinated with private employment.

A major problem of human relationships arises here which the Committee made little attempt to solve. The difference between "right" and "need" emphasizes a distinction which becomes an easy basis for the def-

inition and maintenance of social class differences. Welfare workers are among the first to deplore this distinction but their insistence on a "need" basis helps to maintain it. It seems probable that future developments will push further toward freedom from want as a basic human right. Groups of the aged and war veterans have been pushing strongly in this direction and others probably will follow.

The Committee says nothing about the relationships between the Employment Office and the Welfare Office. At present there is no very good definition of an employable and no standard procedure by which employables can be referred to the employment office by the Welfare Office or vice versa. Welfare and Employment offices must work much more closely together in the future if persons in want are to be properly cared for. Some profess to foresee the day when the two offices might be combined.

Little is said about the influence of the war on welfare except that war is popularizing "freedom from want" as a major slogan and that it will likely be followed by a depression. It also is expanding our conception of need to include those not in financial need. This is characteristic of much of the work of the Red Cross and of those other welfare people who, in civilian defense, are attempting to provide care for the children of war workers.

For sociologists this report documents an outstanding example of rapid institutionalization in our society. It also furnishes a good example of federalization. Students of social class structure will note the means by which assistance programs for the underprivileged are becoming respectable.

The real value of the report will be indicated by the extent to which it promotes careful consideration of the issues involved and to the extent that it affects legislative action. As a basis for an action program the NRPB report is more comprehensive but less specific than the Beveridge Plan. It will gain its strongest support from those who are included under the present social security plans, from organized labor, and

from certain groups interested in the general welfare. It is not likely to be strongly supported by those groups which might be included but which now are not.

RAY E. WAKELEY.

Iowa State College.

Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation. A Study of Social Selection in Rural Missouri. By Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and Cecil L. Gregory. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1943. Pp. 165. \$1.50.

This study of the relations between intelligence and migration and occupational choices may be considered as a sequel to the senior author's previous study of selective migration in Kansas. Again a sample of former rural high school students for whom indices of intellectual ability could be secured is analyzed as to type of community of present residence, range of migration, occupation, occupation of father and, in the case of married women, occupation of husband. The relation between the migrant's occupation, type of community and range of migration, as well as the relation of the pattern of migration to the occupation of the migrant's father are studied. Finally, the amount of formal education received is correlated with various criteria previously mentioned. In this way a very comprehensive statistical analysis of social selection, in terms of "intelligence," through migration and occupational choice, is achieved.

Throughout the study the authors proceed with a great deal of caution, and it cannot be said that they are inclined to overstate the significance of their findings. On the contrary, in some instances one feels that a little more boldness in interpretation might have been justified. Since no I. Q.'s could be obtained for this sample, "scholastic indices" derived from school grades in "academic" subjects were used. Grades earned in such subjects as manual training, cooking and sewing were excluded. This and the acknowledged fact that the sample represents a pre-selected group among rural

youth has to be kept in mind in evaluating the significance of the findings.

The authors themselves emphasize that scholastic ratings do not measure "inherited" intellectual abilities, and in particular that the superior rating of the women in the sample has to be explained primarily in terms of social and cultural patterns, which tend to spur high school girls to greater effort in learning than boys. If this is the case one begins to wonder whether a second separate index of ability, based on the excluded subjects like manual training and physical education would not have furnished very interesting and different results.

We cannot attempt in this brief review to indicate even the most important findings in such completeness as would be desirable in order to convey an adequate idea of the contents and merits of the study. There is some evidence of selectivity in city-ward migration. As one would expect in view of the scanty opportunities for women in mid-western agriculture, a larger proportion of the female students than of the male students had left their home communities. On the other hand, long distance migration was more frequent among the men—a confirmation of many observations at other times and in other localities. Since quite a definite positive correlation was found between occupational status groups of the former students and their scholastic ratings, and since the occupations which were classified in the groups with higher scholastic ratings are likely to be more frequent in larger than in smaller communities, it is not surprising that a fair degree of correlation was found between scholastic ratings and size of community of present residence as well as a correlation between scholastic rating and range of migration. The study shows a strong tendency of former high school students to stay within the broad occupational class of their fathers and for the women to marry within their class. It also shows that the migratory patterns are determined by and large by the spatial distribution of economic opportunities. In the case of farmers' sons, these depend partly on the tenure

status of the father. Farmers and school teachers (female) were least migratory in terms of distance.

Of course, the real merit of the study lies in the elaboration and discussion of the differentials. These are interesting and important enough, even if not much new light is thrown on the intellectual superiority of migrants. The authors, aware of the limitations of their research, have anticipated most possible criticism. One correction should perhaps be made on p. 9: it was not E. A. Ross with his essay of 1917 but G. Hansen with his "Die drei Bevölkerungsstufen" of 1889 who started the discussion of selective migration. It is to be regretted that the authors, in text and bibliography, ignore the entire literature in foreign languages. The one major methodological objection which might be raised, concerns the occupational classification. Individuals in quite different class positions are lumped together; the group "business" comprises both "capitalists" and laborers. Not even with regard to typical demands on "intelligence" nor with respect to criteria affecting migratory behavior are all the groups homogeneous. This may explain why, to the surprise of the authors, male 'killed' workers had a lower scholastic index than "unskilled" and farmers. This reviewer believes on the ground of his own observations that extreme differences in migratory patterns would be found between certain occupations in each of the eight major classes. (No. 1-7 and 9).

However, among the mass of empirical studies which have dealt with selectivity of migration during the last twenty years this publication stands out as a sober and careful fact-finding study.

RUDOLF HEBERLE.

Louisiana State University.

La Milpa. By Augusto Perez Toro. Mérida de Yucatán: Publicaciones del Gobierno de Yucatán, 1942. Pp. 56.

There has always been rather widespread misunderstanding of the nature of the agricultural practices of so-called "primitive" peoples. To some extent this may be at-

tributed to neglect of the necessary studies on the part of qualified technicians and concurrently superficial observations by the general student of non-literate cultures. While such neglect is regrettable, it is perhaps understandable that such studies will little benefit an advanced agricultural country like the United States. But in Latin America—as in other parts of the world—the efficiency of native agriculture is one of the most vital economic problems to be encountered, for all plans of improvement will ultimately founder on an inadequate agricultural base.

The preoccupation with problems of indigenous agriculture is therefore a very urgent one in Latin America. While in the United States similar studies have usually been based upon "ethnobotany," and have been pursued for the possible light they may throw on historical, archaeological, and other theoretical questions (excluding the recent studies of the Indian service and the Soil Conservation Service among the Indians of the American Southwest), the Latin American investigations have a solid ring of practicality about them. It is in this category that the excellent work of Perez Toro fits most conveniently. In his words, his general aim is as follows:

"The improvement of an agricultural medium should have as its base a study. . . (that does not) disdain any of the local agricultural practices, even those which appear most deficient, because all obey some motive, some peculiarity of the medium, and at times the method is no more than the long road to finding the same truths which science has encountered before. . . ." (p. 3).

The author succeeds in compressing within a very few pages a competent survey of the salient and controversial aspects of the Mayan agricultural system. It may serve as an authoritative agronomic exposition of the ethnography of the "*milpa*" system—the ancient Mayan system—and an exemplar of how such a study should be made. The account carries us through the entire sequence of *milpa* operations: the selection of the soil, the stripping of the bush, the

enclosure, the burning, the cultivation, the handling of plagues and blight, the ceremonial aspects of *milpa* practice, and the harvest and harvest ceremonies. In addition a summary *milpa* calendar is provided for ready reference, a brief analysis of the major maize types is made, the productivity is estimated, and a brief assay of the efficiency of the system is made.

The *milpa* system of maize production is based upon rotation of field use every 2-3 years, when, apparently, the soil is exhausted and requires a prolonged period of recuperation. The ground preparation, consisting principally of the stripping and subsequent burning of the shrub cover, which provides a nutritious ash, eliminates initial weed hazards, and destroys many insect pests, has long been the subject of acrimonious dispute among Mexican agronomists. Perez Toro succeeds admirably in demonstrating that the present system is well-grounded in daily experience, and that the very nature of the Yucatán soil—rocky and shallow—requires it and bars the use of modern agricultural devices. It will become very clear to the reader why the Mayan Indian does the things he does and uses his present meager agricultural implements—including the primitive digging-stick—to such advantage. In this connection the reversal of judgment by the illustrious agronomist, Sr. Mario Calvino, is cited. In a bulletin of the State Department of Agriculture early in 1916, Sr. Calvino condemned the burning in the strongest terms as "damaging," "a barbarous procedure," etc., and recommended plowing and plowing under of the shrub cover. In his succeeding bulletin of the same year, Calvino reversed his stand in the following words:

"In Bulletin 3, dealing with the burning, we have said that this agricultural practice is bad from all standpoints; but later, we were able to observe that the burning is indispensable and of valuable utility, under conditions in which it is not possible to work the land because of the rockiness and stoniness of the terrain."

It is the judgment of the author that the present *milpa* system, based upon a sensitive

adaptation to the character of the land and its enviroing conditions, is the most effective and economic possible within available cultural limits. This judgment is not, however, an uncritical encomium, for he does not hesitate to suggest vital improvements, including better seed selection based upon experimental observation in Yucatecan conditions, more effective control of plagues and blight, more adequate protection of the stored grain from animal hazards, and the utilization of the shrub for its nutriment. He would also have the Maya try to work out a more sedentary agricultural mode, although this may depend upon the outcome of yet unpublished investigations of the nature of soil exhaustion in the area, and suggests a more receptive attitude toward changes.

In a terse introduction the author effectively scotches the common and uninstructed stereotype that primitive peoples are lazy and unindustrious in their agricultural pursuits, that they have but to seed and then lie back for the bounty of nature to fall into their laps. It is his considered judgment that the Maya work hard and efficiently at a difficult agricultural task.

The reader will also be well rewarded by the excellent exposition of the place of ceremonial in the total agricultural round. For a non-anthropologist, it seems an unusually sophisticated analysis to the present reviewer, despite an occasional lapse into antiquated notions of "primitive mentality." The ceremonies attendant upon *milpa* farming are well described and well located in reference to their place in the activity whole.

A comparison with Steggerda's chapter on "maize production and animal husbandry" in *Piste, Yucatán*, (cf. Morris Steggerda: "Maya Indians of Yucatán," *Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication* 531, 1941, 94-153) and even Redfield's analysis at Chan Kom (Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa R.: "Chan Kom, a Maya Village," *Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication* 448, 1934) helps to round out a very competent picture of the *milpa* system. Some differences—as for example, the esti-

mate of productivity and consumption and the problem of soil exhaustion—may be found, but the difference seems to lie in the fact that Perez Toro's study is an over-all one, based upon generalized data from the whole of Yucatán, while that of Steggerda is specifically based upon his experimental *milpa* of many years' standing at Pisté. In this respect Steggerda's production estimates are probably more accurate, as is his extremely valuable report on soil exhaustion, based upon United States Department of Agriculture analyses. However, the present volume may serve as a good general introduction, with the reports of Steggerda and Redfield used to lend greater precision and a concrete feeling for specific local practice.

The brochure is somewhat marred by an excessive number of typographical errors. While this is not too serious a detraction, an index to the contents would have been very useful.

HERBERT PASSIN.

University of Chicago.

A Place on Earth: A Critical Appraisal of Subsistence Homesteads. Edited by Russell Lord and Paul H. Johnstone. Washington: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., 1942. Pp. viii + 202. (Mimeographed).

This highly significant study comprises five chapters written by Paul H. Johnstone and Dorothy C. Goodwin, setting forth the historical background and development of the subsistence homesteads program plus the reports on nine individual projects as follows: Austin Acres, by Howard W. Wola-ver and Nat T. Frame; The Subsistence Homesteads near Birmingham, by Walter M. Kollmorgen; Cumberland Homesteads, by Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., and Olen Leonard; El Monte, by Olen Leonard; Granger Homesteads, by Ralph R. Nichols; Houston Gardens, by Ralph R. Nichols; Jersey Homesteads, by Ralph H. Danhof; Longview Homesteads, by Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.; and Phoenix Homesteads, by Olen Leonard. There is a concluding chapter, "What Has Been Learned," by Paul H.

Johnstone. In addition, there is a foreword by H. R. Tolley.

The investigators were guided by thirteen main "points of observation," and the projects selected for study represent a wide variety of conditions, and a considerable range on the scale of "success." Longview and El Monte seem to be most nearly representative of the successful ones, with Cumberland and Jersey resting rather securely at the bottom of the scale.

Students of land settlement history will treasure this report increasingly as time goes on. One has only to contemplate the value of a similar report, had one been made, on the numerous "communities" which were attempted in this country a century ago. Johnstone's chapter on "what we have learned" ought to be "required reading" for everyone who may have responsibility, governmental or private, for organizing settlement schemes in the future. It is a question, however, as to how much of this experience will be written into future programs, should they emerge. It should not have been necessary to go through this costly experience in order to learn that the prospective homesteader should be thoroughly informed as to what he may expect; or that policies relating to the homesteads should be consistent and not capricious; or that we could not build a project, such as Cumberland, on the assumption that an adequate economic base would somehow materialize after it was built; or that city people generally could not be expected to farm 3 or 4, or more acres in addition to their regular employment; or that the government could not impose upon the homesteaders a special community life all their own separated from the larger community to which they naturally belonged. Many other mistakes are pointed out by Johnstone in his summary chapter, most of which would appear to be self-evident in the first place. However, here they are documented and we should be inclined to pay them greater heed. When one notes that the suitability of the Cumberland project soils for agriculture was not determined until the settlers had been occupy-

ing their homes for some 2 years, one is led to wonder if we will really be able to use good judgment in the future, when the pressures of critical situations impinge upon men who have to make decisions.

Sometimes one is led to the conviction that there is an instinct for Utopia in the human animal, which under "normal" conditions is subdued by his capacity for rational judgment, but which under the stress of social crises, comes to the surface to play a dominant role in determining his behavior. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the judgments many of us make under the heat of crisis, with reference to what is good for society and which in a more sober intellectual climate, come back to plague us.

All of which ruminations of the reviewer are meant to stress the importance of the careful and wide reading of this document.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

Ploughs and Politicks. By Carl Raymond Woodward. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1941. Pp. xxvi + 468. \$5.00.

The basic source materials for the very excellent piece of research reported in this book was, according to its author, discovered somewhat by accident, or better stated, was discovered in a typical research process. The author was attempting to locate a farm said to have at one time belonged to Benjamin Franklin, had elicited the services of other people, one of whom furnished him a diary of Charles Read. Mr. Read lived from 1715 to 1774, was a prominent man and a public official in New Jersey for the greater part of his adult life, and was also a farmer. *Ploughs and Politicks* is a record of his public and official life and an analysis and presentation of the contents of his diary.

The monograph is divided into two books but contained within the covers of one volume. Book I, "Charles Read of New Jersey," tells the story of the man Charles Read as customs collector, land speculator, countryman, iron master, secretary, legislator, councillor, colonel, Indian commis-

sioner, and jurist. As the author says, a history of Read's life and activities is in a way a history of New Jersey during the period of his life. To those who are primarily interested in history, Book I will be recognized as an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of colonization development for three decades preceding the Revolution. It was during this period that the issues which fruited in the Revolution were brewing—the quarrel over the payment of quit rents, riots over imprisonment of persons for debts, the monopoly of the proprietary interests, stamp taxes, etc. It was also during this period that New Jersey developed a dominant position in agriculture and came to be known as the garden state, or what today would be called the breadbasket of the nation. It was going through the trial and error stage of discovering those types of farm production which were best adapted to its soils and climate, on the one hand, and to its market outlets, on the other hand. To the solution of these problems Charles Read turned his hand by way of study and experiment. His diary is a product of his studies, observations, and experiences.

To those interested primarily in agriculture, Book II, "Read's Notes on Agriculture," presents materials of far greater importance than Book I because Charles Read's notes deal with practically every phase of colonial agriculture and throw a flood of light upon rural New Jersey during the period immediately preceding the Revolution. His notes, while not as systematically organized as the writings of George Washington, cover a wider gamut of topics, much greater detail and more precision in recording. The author has arranged Read's notes or segments of his diary under the topics: The Husbandry of the Soil, The Husbandry of Plants, The Husbandry of Animals, The Husbandry of Bees, Farm Structures and Farm Implements, The Husbandry of the Household, and Fishers, each of which constitutes a chapter in his book. The reader will be interested in both the advanced thinking of Charles Read and some of his contempo-

raries on topics which would now be classified as scientific agriculture and in some observations which still border upon superstition.

The diary records what Read apparently assumed to be scientific observations and experiments rather than a complete record of his and his neighbors' farm operations, but it also includes the contributions of other writers on agriculture, such as John Ball, Richard Bradley, Jared Elliott, Thomas Hale, Thomas Hitt and many others. Some examples of the care with which he observed and recorded facts and experiments are: The labor costs of mudding an acre of land, the description of just how the mud should be spread, how it should be worked into the soil, the number of days it would take to mud an acre, and the exact costs. He says at one place:

"About this time [1753] I stood by and counted how many Fork fulls of old Dung went into a Waggon body wth only a tail board, Common Locked, & there went into her moderately heaped 475 forks full & supposing 3 hills of Corn on a rod there would be 120 in Length & 12 in breath in an Acre or 1440 hills of Corn & a Spadefull in a hill would be very little more than 3 Load of Dung pr acre to Dung your Corn but as ye 1st Row of Corn is twice reconed & the Corn is not generally so thick planted I think 3 Load will do it well." (p. 246)

At another place:

"In 6 grains of Clover Seed red are 228 seeds wch is 38 seeds in a grain so that in a pound Troy there are 218,880 Seeds & in 10 lb. wch is the Allowance for an Acre there are 2,188,800 seeds.

"In an acre are 6,272,640 square inches so that in sowing there falls one seed in something Less than 3 square Inches." (p. 268)

He gives similar calculations for wheat and other seed crops and records directions or specifications presented by other writers in such great detail as to constitute his writings as a primer in farm management, always keeping in mind the economic feasibility of each plan or prescription.

Read's notes on the husbandry of animals are quite detailed and at a number of places indicate some knowledge of genetics and

wide observations made on his own farms and on the farms of other outstanding men. Writing on "grass feeding cattle" in 1756, he said:

"I grass feed 20 I gained by them £57 or 57s. Each but then I made ye most of them by selling them among my(?) Labourers & workmen some @ 3d. pr lb some @ 2½ & some @ 2½ all round." (p. 333)

Other interesting recordings are:

"A Calf well fed & white, has the whites of his Eyes clear, if not then red [M. Loller]." (p. 335)

"[1756] Wm. Forster Esqr of Eve-sham killed a Bull Calf wch run with its dam abt ye 1st November calved ye 1st of March before. He weighed 85 lb. pr Quarter hide 60 lb. [Received from himself]

"Jany 26th 1770 had of John Inskip One Beef wt 399 lb. & in Weighing it out in small Drafts it lost 16 lb. or one/25th." (Pp. 339-40)

"[Bradleys Genl Treatise of Husbandry & Gardening page 72] That from 384 galls. of Milk may be made 250 lb. of Cheese & 100 lb. of whey butter or 200 lb. of butter & 100 lb. Skim milk cheese." (p. 342)

His recordings of farm structures and farm implements contain many drawings and specifications which the author reproduces but which can be presented here only verbally. Two illustrations are:

"In Making gates observe that they should be closest at bottom as A Fence, That your Brace shoud' foot at ye bottom of ye hanging post & go into a Jog in the outside post at or near ye top wch is better than ye reverse for yr gate cant swagg as it may when putt ye other way. I have seen the Slatts morticed thro' the middle post wch is a good way & prevents their working.

"Chestnutt would be the best wood for gates. Gatepost 3 Inches square slatts ¾ or inch.

"Rivetts vastly better than nails." (p. 375)

"[Coilers] June 1, 1760 I observed Geo Kemble have Coilers thus. A Surcingle & a Strop to ye bottom comes between ye forelegs to ye Neck Yoke—a long Crupper to ye strops of ye Yoke & a long tongue to ye Wagon would make this Effectual & most airy." (p. 379)

Read's farming experience covered approximately the three decades, 1740-1770, and his observations cover this period. The major portion of the experiments which he records are, however, in the decade, 1750-60. His diary, therefore, presents a panorama of three decades and detailed pictures for one decade. The author of *Ploughs and Politicks* has done a fine piece of historical research and made an outstanding contribution to agricultural literature in the preparation and presentation of this book.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U.S.D.A.

England's Road to Social Security. By Karl de Schweintz. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. Pp. 281. \$3.00.

This book is designed to provide a background for an understanding and appreciation of the Beveridge Report and particularly is addressed to: first, administrators of social security; and second, college students in sociology, political science, and related areas. It presents in a clear, concise, and informing manner a history of England's experiences and programs in relief and insurance over a period of almost six hundred years, from the Statute of Laborers in 1349 to the Beveridge Report of 1942. The author shows that with the end of feudalism near the middle of the fourteenth century and the coming into use of wages, there is the beginning of a consecutive history of social security. In this history is involved a series of measures as efforts to solve the problems growing out of the changed economy. There is described the role of government approaching the problem of poverty by the use of punitive and repressive measures for a period extending up to the sixteenth century. As a result of the experience between 1349 and 1601 the rulers of England became convinced that punishment could not abolish the poor but that public resources would be necessary to relieve the situations of need. The description, analysis, and significance of the laws and plans designed to meet

these needs constitute the main subject matter of this book. Among the important measures cited is the Law of Settlement, the first of numerous enactments and procedures about residence that have characterized local relief administrations down to the present day; and as the author points out, vestiges of them remain with us as a part of the feudal system. Also significant are the attempts to reduce unemployment by the encouragement of manufacturing in keeping with England's urge to develop industrially, the adoption of workhouses, and the provision for allowances. The problems and limitations of these schemes are effectively presented, and it is shown that their failure was caused by poor administration and mistaken policy. Particular attention is given to the background, nature, and influence of the Report of the Commissioners of 1834, whose basic recommendations were translated into law. The substitution of a national system of relief supervision for the local administration is a significant development. The many difficulties confronted following the Reform of 1834 and the increasing dissatisfaction with the operation of the Poor Law are described. The role played by the Charity Organization Society is stressed. Recognition is given to the social investigations of Charles Booth and others and to the trend toward the use of studies to help in the determining of policies. The emphasis given in the discussion of laws passed within the last forty years concerning social insurance, national assistance, and public assistance is timely and effective. The final chapter in the book is a summary of the Beveridge Report. As the author states, "One fundamental concept underlies the whole Report. That is the national minimum—a basic income which, irrespective of need or any means test, every citizen of Great Britain will receive in the event of old age, sickness, unemployment, or other vicissitudes, an income toward which he will have contributed and which is his by right of contract." (p. 230.) One cannot but be impressed with England's six hundred years of experience in social security and the foundations which

have been made for the Beveridge Report.

England's Road to Social Security is a definite contribution to a knowledge of social security. The frequent and appropriate use of excerpts from original sources, the extensive bibliography, and the complete index add to the value of the book.

RANDALL C. HILL.

Kansas State College.

Family Situations. By James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. Pp. vii + 265. \$3.00.

According to the authors, this book is "the result of an unorganized cooperative adventure" with Mr. Bossard presenting his "definite convictions concerning the situational approach." . . . (Ch. I, III, IX), while Mrs. Boll "beginning with the idea of classification in science, gathered the 'specimens' of family situations in the existing literature and attempted to formulate them into a summary picture" (Chap. V-VIII).

It is Mr. Bossard's thesis that the situational approach in studying behavior is a "separate, distinct and highly important approach . . . commensurate in importance to the study of the individual which reacts to the situation"; that "situations need to be studied inductively and by themselves without any reference to the way in which organisms react to them"; and that social situations can be studied from the viewpoints of structure, process and content. A family situation is defined as "a unit of stimuli, operating within the confines of the family circle, and organized in relation to the person or object which serves as the focal point in the particular case being considered. . . ." For example, "the family situation of a child is the unity of existing stimuli within the family circle as they operate upon the child. . . ." One may wonder why Mr. Bossard does not include the organism itself as a part of the situation, for the organism which is the focal point will continuously affect and determine the stimuli operating upon him.

Mr. Bossard believes that "family situations are the most important group of social

situations and relatively the easiest to study." Since considerable work has been done on structural forms of the family and on personality types and traits, he believes the first approach to the study of family situations involves "in part a series of new studies and in part a reorientation or development of studies already begun." Although he states earlier that all of the social sciences must be a part of the investigation, Mr. Bossard says in his last chapter that sociology is the appropriate science to undertake the scientific analysis of family situations.

One is a little disappointed to read that, "No one family situation is a pure type, a result of the influence of one special factor. Each one has the elements of many as the causes of its condition. But they have to be classified as pure types." One might have hoped for a classification sufficiently fine to systematize at least some of these "many elements" which prevent situations from being pure types. Issue could be taken with other points in the classification. Under intra-family relationships, the first major division "affectional relationships" is divided into seven steps, from excess of affection to frank rejection. The reviewer doubts seriously whether the divisions under "excess of affection" (the possessive home, the over-solicitous home, the over indulgent home) for example, are exclusively cases of over-affection. Perhaps, they are affectional expressions of poorly adjusted personalities. Observation has convinced the reviewer that it is not the amount of affection or the intensity of it that differentiates the normal from the abnormal in affection.

On the whole this book merits the reading of all students of the family for its two contributions: (1) reemphasis on the need for studying the family objectively from the standpoint of structure, process and content; and (2) the attempt to classify many specific studies of family situations. There are many statements in the book revealing personal biases which might not be substantiated by experimental evidence; for example, "Nursery schools take in

babies of three whose mothers want the time to do themselves over and regain the maidenly charm they had before the baby spoiled it" (p. 161). Statements such as the following causes one to question the validity of the classification: "The number of people in a family has a great influence upon the resulting family situation. Often in family case records, certain kinds of problems are found to represent large families almost exclusively, while quite different ones are typical of the small family." Two paragraphs later, one finds, "In spite of the generally accepted fact that size is an influencing factor in the family situation, there is almost no case record which could be shown here as representative of the situations arising from the sole fact of the family being large."

MILDRED T. TATE.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Education in Wartime and After. By Stanford University School of Education Faculty. New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1943. Pp. x + 465. \$3.00.

The twenty-nine authors of this book have placed before the school teachers of America a stimulating guide not only to wartime and after-war teaching but to their social participation in a democracy at war. From a sociological standpoint probably the most important chapters for the rural teachers are IV, Education and the National Morale; V, School and Community in Wartime; VI, Democratic Human Relationships in the School; and XI, Education and War-Boom Migration.

Chapter XIII presents a most informative resume of wartime education in other countries. A real challenge is presented to teachers in Chapter XIV, After War—What for Education? The exalted note with which this chapter begins blends into the more work-a-day suggestions in the body of the chapter with the effect of giving substance to the ideals set forth. One of the strong features of this book is the abundance of source materials for the teacher's use.

This work will not appeal to the con-

servative in education or any other phase of social thought. It is progressive in its point of view but the goals which it posits are reasonable and attainable for those of ability, courage, and high purpose.

It is an accepted fact that democracy cannot thrive in a country save where there is a high degree of literacy. The authors point out both the magnitude and the necessity of erasing illiteracy in our western hemisphere as a preliminary step to democratic living.

Throughout the book a nice balance is maintained between the two major functions of education, namely the personal and social development of the individual, social in terms of being a responsible member of a social group.

The sociologist will be interested in the importance placed upon the study of society in teacher-training institutions and also the central place in which the authors place the school as a social institution. "In thousands of American communities the school is the only agency capable of taking leadership in coordinating community life and helping plan for the wise use of resources." (p. 153.)

In discussing what makes America great the authors make a statement which would not be agreed to by the disadvantaged in some of our racial and nationality groups. "America has always welcomed the contributions which each individual could make regardless of his race, creed, or color . . ." (p. 198.) If this is the statement of an ideal, well and good. If, however, it is a statement of fact, then I, as an American, can only humbly say I wish it were so!

LINDEN S. DODSON.

University of Maryland.

Towards an Abiding Peace. By R. M. MacIver. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. vi + 195. \$2.50.

This is a great book. It should be read by everyone who hopes for an enduring peace following this war. In particular, it should be read by all the government administrators concerned with the actual peace settlement, for it is the work of a social

intelligence that has mastered all the principles and many of the details involved in abiding peace.

The reviewer, indeed, feels impelled to remark that pessimistic social thinking regarding our civilization has little basis if the social philosophies of such men as Sorokin and MacIver are heeded by those who hold social and political power. Professor Sorokin emphasizes the ethical and the religious in his social philosophy, while Professor MacIver emphasizes the psychological and the political. But there is much overlapping, and it would be wrong even to suggest that Professor MacIver neglects the ethical.

It is impossible to summarize the argument of this book; for it is itself a summary of many volumes of theory and fact which bear upon the problem of peace in human relations. Perhaps the two key principles of the argument are the nature of community and the nature of social conciliation, or harmonious social adjustment. These are most fully dealt with in the first four chapters of the book, which, after raising the question whether abiding peace is possible, discuss "The Price of Peace," "The Foundations of Order," and "The Shortest Way With Defeated Enemies." But those who wish more concrete discussion of the problem of international peace as it exists today will probably find greater satisfaction in the chapters on "The Twilight of Imperialism," "The Greater Charter," "The Greater Law," and "Formation of an International Order."

Chapter XII discusses "Democracy and the Future." Here, if anywhere, the book might be charged with a certain superficiality, for the chapter is a matter-of-fact discussion of political democracy, and nothing is said of social democracy, which, it must be admitted, is largely an ideal. But the chapter does make clear that political democracy is essentially the rule of public opinion.

The book ends with an appeal to the United States to accept the role of leadership in the movement to secure a just and abiding peace.

It should be added that, in the opinion of the reviewer, the book is without class or nationalistic bias, and is a splendid example of objective social science in the best sense of that much abused term.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD.

Duke University.

Tenants of the Almighty. By Arthur F. Raper. The Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. vii + 403. \$3.50.

Tenants of the Almighty is more than an apt title for this interesting and significant sociological study. It is that, but it is also the expression of a philosophical point of view toward man's use and conservation of the natural resources of the earth, and especially its agricultural top soil. The author frankly confesses that the title of this book was inspired by the words of Louisiana Dunn Thomas, a Negro farm tenant mother and poetess of Green County, Georgia, who in expressing her feelings toward the federal FSA program in a poem entitled, *A Brighter Day Has Dawned*, wrote:

"We are tenants of the Almighty
Entrusted with a portion of His earth
To dress and keep
And pass on to the next generation."

The same point of view was expressed in Liberty Hyde Bailey's *The Holy Earth*, published some twenty-seven years ago, and is consistent with the teachings of our ablest contemporary students of conservation.

Tenants of the Almighty is the third of three studies made by the author in Green County, Georgia. *A Study of Two Black-Belt Counties* (1927-28) attempted to show why so many farmers had left Green County and why almost none had left Macon County. *A Preface to Peasantry* (1934-35) was an analysis of how the New Deal was affecting the people on the farms and in the towns of these two counties. *Tenants of the Almighty* (1940-43), a further study of the attitudes towards the New Deal program, became a more extended study of the cultural and the economic history of Green County, reaching from the present back to colonial times and beyond even to the In-

dians and the Mound Builders. More specifically, this study attempts to bring into proper focus the problems of race relations, tenancy, population changes, soil conservation, securing a sound economy, cooperative effort, social institutions and their improvement, adequate leadership, standards of living, community spirit, etc., as these factors operate in the social order typical of a historical Southern cotton plantation situation. The substance of this study is set forth pictorially in the first portion of the book by the use of 79 plates, and is followed in fuller form by 34 chapters bearing such descriptive titles as: "The First Men," "Hardy Pioneers," "The Golden Age," "War is Hell," "Freedom's Bondage," "Third Party and Textiles," "Boll Weevil Depression," "County Agents and Farm Subsidies," "The Family-Size Farmer," and "Recorded in Fields and Faces."

These three studies of the same locality show how rich in interest and meaning a historical society such as Green County may be, if the research is intelligently and thoroughly done. No doubt, the author realizes that he has opened up a vast number of other studies which would supplement his present efforts or introduce new fields of interest. A further study of the Unified Farm Program, for example, might well follow, for, in recent years, the federal government has provided here most of the funds and much of the leadership for the program. Is this departure from American tradition sound? The author has given some attention to many items of the program, but we should like to see a quantitative and critical study of such questions as the following: Why were some farmers doing well and others poorly before the program was inaugurated? Why are some benefitting more from the program than others? What changes in personality under the aegis of the program actually accrue? What changes in vocational placement and guidance could be made to further the program? Is individual farm ownership and operation, as contrasted with the "improved" tenant system or larger commercial unit, best for *all*, or only for *some* farmers? What is the

proper size of the area to be served by a given Unified Program organization, taking into account such factors as soil-types, farm-types, political divisions, natural culture areas, etc.? The author, evidently, approves of outside assistance to communities like this, especially when its organizational efforts are unified in a comprehensive program. Nevertheless, he sees potential inadequacies in the generous financing and leadership provided by federal agencies, for he notes a tendency among certain people to designate the farms of borrowers from FSA or other federal agencies as "government" farms, or the poultry purchased by such funds as "government" chickens. Whether this is an expression of pride and satisfaction in a partnership with the government, or of a pauper's gratitude for favors rendered, may not always be clear; but the program needs realistic and open-minded watching lest its generosity perpetuate the pauperism so characteristic heretofore of the society on these worn-out acres, and thus prevent the development of a self-sufficient and self-respecting society that seeks to support the government rather than the government to support it. A society such as this changes constantly, operates in the field of cause and results, and is ever, more or less consciously, experimenting with itself. Here research, organization, and administration have a special challenge. *Tenants of the Almighty* points the way for further similar efforts that might follow in this county for the next fifteen or twenty years.

This study also makes a contribution to methodology by indicating the various sources of data available in an old society such as in Green County. The author, no doubt, not only sensed the expanse and the ramifications of an unfolding subject-matter for research, but as well became acquainted with such primary sources of information as scrapbooks and collections of local historians, old newspaper files, bills of sale, diaries, court and grand jury records, the membership rolls of institutions back to the time of their founding, the inscriptions on tomb stones, the stories of aged citizens,

and the records of the various New Deal and other welfare agencies now at work in the county. A 13-page questionnaire filled out in interviews was used with many scores of families and analyzed statistically, to say nothing of much personal travel and inspection by the researchers. Also such secondary material as local histories and U. S. Census reports was widely utilized. This study illustrates, too, how many agencies, local, state, and national may be brought to assist with information and advice in making a study and in reaping the rewards accruing from it. Furthermore this study illustrates the value of broad, synthetic, integrated research. Of course we shall continue to need specialized piecemeal studies, but for community organization, especially we shall need far more the perspectives, the sequences, and the relationships of social data of studies like *Tenants of the Almighty*.

As vast and as complex as this body of information is, and as difficult as it is to keep the various items in focus and give them the proper emphasis, the author has succeeded admirably in presenting a fine developmental account of the socio-economic history of Green County. To free the body of the text from much factual detail, considerable statistical and case material has been relegated to appendices, while the body of the text is presented in clear, idiomatic writing easily understood by the lay public. A sense of proportion and humor is maintained throughout the report.

Tenants of the Almighty should be of interest to the general reader, and especially to readers concerned with the conservation of our natural and human resources. It should be on the reference shelf of every college teacher and researcher in Rural Sociology, and on the study desk of every land grant college extension worker and Farm Bureau official, rural minister and others engaged in rural welfare work.

J. L. HYPES.

University of Connecticut.

A Social Psychology of War and Peace. By Mark A. May. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 284. \$2.75.

May deals mainly with the nature and function of socially learned "habits, attitudes, beliefs, and motives" in war and peace. Beginning with a brief critique of various theories of war he goes on to show how we learn to hate and to fight, to fear and to escape, to love and to defend, and to follow leaders. There follow analyses of aggressive and defensive social movements emphasizing aggressive and defensive war. The final chapters deal with the psychological conditions of peace, and an application of the principles developed to the present war and the peace to come. In conclusion it is argued that continuing world peace can best be assured by taking immediate steps, rather than waiting until after the war, to establish "a central world authority endowed with power to enact and enforce international law."

In this reviewer's opinion May has written an eminently sane, mature, dispassionate, and even practical book on a subject of paramount present importance. It is deserving of wide attention not only from academicians but by the general reading public. The social scientist will find little to disagree with, and the lay reader will find little of technical jargon to confuse him. May's pessimistic but rational conclusion that "an adequate psychological foundation for world peace has not yet been laid" is negated by the optimistic drive which produced the book. It is counter-balanced also by May's departure from the role of analytical scientist to advocate a concrete action program. His difficulty in keeping these two roles distinct is rarely evident, and never disagreeably so, but it appears occasionally. For example, there is an interesting difference between the two statements of his central problem, the first, representing the analyst, appearing early and the second, representing the advocate, late in the book:

"The main thesis of this book is that the conditions which determine social attitudes and opinions, particularly those that are *involved in war or peace*, are in large part products of social conditioning. . . ." (p. 21)

"... the fundamental thesis of this book [is] that social attitudes and

habits favorable to peace can be produced by education. . . ." (p. 235) (Reviewer's italics.)

Perhaps the reviewer is placing undue emphasis upon this difference but to him it symbolizes the difficulties of the social scientist who courageously adds prescription to diagnosis. It happens that both May's scientific analysis of the nature of the malady, and his prescription of a remedy, very much appeal to this reviewer, but this is of course a matter of tastes, both scientific and personal.

Regarding a few minor points there may be disagreement. For example, May's characterization (p. 195) of the pressures for upward vertical social mobility as "the essence of the *revolutionary tendency*" the reviewer regards as debatable. Again, May like Cantril treats the phenomenon of lynching as a social movement. It is no condonement of lynching to contend that this procedure extends the concept of social movement beyond recognition. Also in connection with the discussion of lynching it should be pointed out, as Raper and others have shown, that lynchings can and do sometimes occur as a result of crimes committed by whites on other whites, May to the contrary notwithstanding.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U.S.D.A.

Levels of Integration. Edited by Robert Redfield. (Vol. VIII of *Biological Symposia*. Edited by J. Cattell). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Jacques Cattell Press, 1942. Pp. 233. \$2.50.

This volume consists of eleven papers that were originally presented before a joint meeting of biologists, anthropologists, and sociologists held in connection with the celebration by the University of Chicago of its fiftieth anniversary in September, 1941. Their content may best be appreciated by reviewing their titles: "The Transition from the Unicellular to the Multicellular Individual," by Dr. L. H. Hyman; "Intermediate Levels of Organismic Integration," by Dr. J. W. Buchanan; "Higher Levels of Inte-

gration," by Dr. R. W. Gerard; "Synergistic Aspects of Bacterial Populations," by Dr. W. Burrows; "The Transition from the Individual to the Social Level," by Dr. H. S. Jennings; "Integration in Infra-Social Insect Populations," by Dr. T. Park; "Social Dominance and Subordination Among Vertebrates," by Dr. W. C. Allee; "Basic Comparisons of Human and Insect Societies," by Dr. A. E. Emerson; "Societies of Monkeys and Apes," by Dr. C. R. Carpenter; "The Societies of Primitive Man," by Dr. A. L. Kroeber; and "Modern Society," by Dr. R. E. Park.

It should be clear from a perusal of these titles, and from the circumstances in which these papers were prepared and presented, that this is not, as the title of the volume suggests, a systematic and organized approach to the general problem of integration in biological and social systems. For the most part, no attempt is made in these papers to develop a conceptual framework within which factual material might be interpreted, either on particular levels of integration or in areas having to do with relationships between different levels of integration. In general, these essays present the results of special studies in specialized fields of biological and social science.

Yet it should not be inferred from the foregoing that these papers do not throw light upon the problem of integration. All of them deal in one way or another with the problem of how parts are constituted into wholes throughout the range of different forms of life, and, as Dr. Redfield points out in his Introduction, since "the angles and facets of the problem of integration are various," it is not surprising that we find the authors organizing the subject at different levels in a variety of different ways. From the point of view of a systematic theoretical approach to the problem of integration, Dr. Gerard's paper is perhaps more suggestive, and more inclusive, than many of the others, but all of them, in one way or another, contribute to our understanding of the problem of integration.

Rural sociologists will perhaps find more

of immediate interest to them in the papers of Drs. Emerson, Carpenter, Kroeber, and Park, which deal with the problem of integration on the level of cultural systems, but many will find food for speculation in this interesting cooperative effort to break new ground in approaching fundamental theoretical problems that overlap several fields of research and investigation.

GEORGE F. THERIAULT.

Dartmouth College.

What the Negro Thinks. By Robert Russa Moton. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1929. Pp. 267. \$2.00.

It is seldom that a book on contemporary American opinion can hold interest, except as a quaint document, for more than a decade after first publication. That Moton's book now appears yet fresh and vivid testifies that the author looked at life around him with a certain profound and ageless wisdom. There is evidence, too, that the book has lasted because the problems with which it deals are ageless. Much has changed in America during the last fourteen years; but the problem of Negro-white relations, as one of the great problems of the Nation, has changed but little.

What the Negro Thinks has a peculiar value today because of the extension of our view of race from our parochial isolation of the 'twenties to our far-flung battle line throughout the world. In a sense Moton wrote not only what American Negroes thought; he described, whether consciously or not, the secret hopes and aspirations for human dignity of the hundreds of millions of non-white people everywhere. If a parallel were sought, it could be found in the recent American speeches of Madame Chiang Kai Shek.

Looked at in current perspective, Moton tried to do in 1929 for American Negroes and for American white people that which the great Chinese feminist has recently done for the Chinese people and for American public opinion. The principal burden of the simple language of the book, as of Madame's simply powerful talk, was that the Negro—which could be translated, any former co-

lonial people—was not the child people of the colonial tradition. White people, said Moton, liked to think that they "knew the Negro," and he skillfully described the gaps in that knowledge. The Negro was a human being; one who as a minority man had learned through long experience to study and learn the white man, as few white men had either the necessity or the interest to study the black man. Even when totally illiterate, and at his (officially) most childish, Negroid antics, the ready smile, the loud guffaw, were all likely to be camouflage for a keen and subtle understanding of the foibles of "his white folks."

It was in the description of this survival technique of the Negro that the author gave a description of the colonial state of mind that might read with few changes as a report from Malaysia by Cecil Brown as to the attitudes of officialdom there. The point for future world planning is as well taken as for the future of the American Negro. The colonial frame of mind is not dead; but the fatal error of believing that the fate of the Negro—or of, in translation, any "native" population—might blithely be settled by the all-knowing "master race," finds here a subtle documentation.

Moton said, in 1929, that Negroes wanted those things which it was agreed were wholesome for civilized human beings in a democracy. They wanted equal facilities for equal tariffs on common carriers; they wanted adequate schools so that the ideal of equal opportunity in a democracy might be realized; they wanted better housing; they wanted to exercise the ballot; and they wanted to receive justice in the courts.

When Southern Negroes recently met at Durham to draw up a Charter for Race Relations in the South they could make no additions to Moton's calm, restrained, and balanced list of what the Negro thought he wanted. The depression of the 'thirties did convince Negroes that the right to work was as fundamental as any, and doubtless had Moton written later, economic discriminations would have figured more largely in his discussion. The younger generation of Negro leaders took much the same attitude

toward segregation as Moton had done; they faced the bugaboo of "social equality" by resenting the attitude which classifies any effort on the part of the Negro to advance his condition as the "predatory ambition" of the race to force intimacies. Moton went, indeed, a step further; he suggested subtly that far from desiring social intimacies Negroes generally much preferred their own company.

Robert Russa Moton was born in Virginia in 1867. From 1916 to 1935, as Principal of Tuskegee Institute, he wore with distinction the mantle of Negro leadership bequeathed him by Booker T. Washington. His book had the qualities of the man; written with restraint, with candor, with dignity, it had also the quality of nobility. It is a perennial guide to the conscience of a great nation that from having to deal at home with one great race problem now finds itself obliged to adapt its policies to a world peopled by four hundred million Chinese, as many dark people of India, with two hundred million Africans, and other countless hosts.

Robert Russa Moton, patient and honest leader of his people, wrote as a great American to a great America when he concluded his preface with these words:

"(The book) is dedicated to those thousands of my own race who for years have been inarticulate in the midst of their sufferings, and to those noble and beautiful spirits of my own and other races who have with the greatest courage and unselfishness given their very lives for the cultivation of a brotherhood among all men which is the finest flower of the Christian spirit."

CHARLES S. JOHNSON.

Fisk University.

American Agriculture 1899-1939: A Study of Output, Employment and Productivity. By Harold Barger and Hans H. Landberger. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research. Publication No. 42. 1943. Pp. 435. \$3.00.

This publication is a handbook of American agriculture since 1899 in terms of output, employment and productivity data. The

structure of the book consists briefly of four parts:

Part I (chapter 1) sets forth some peculiarities of agriculture and defines agricultural output. Agriculture's net contribution to the economic product of the nation as a new index of agricultural output is presented. This approaches the net output more closely than other indexes by adjusting for changes in inventories.

Part II (chapters 2 to 4) presents the size and composition of the agricultural output by giving individual production indexes for many products. The influence of nutritional standards upon farm output in general is examined.

Part III (chapters 5 to 7) deals with employment and productivity by showing historical technological changes in agriculture and examining the extent to which the innovations have actually been adapted.

Part IV (chapter 8) contains the conclusions and a six-page footnote by Director C. R. Noyes criticizing the origin and correctness of the conclusions in that too much emphasis is placed upon historical happenings, theories and probable trends suggesting a probable cessation of the increase of total agricultural production and a continuance of the past 20-year trend in reduction of gainfully employed people in agriculture.

The conflict of opinions serves to emphasize the difficulty of drawing conclusions from statistics of a descriptive nature such as are contained in this volume, even though output, employment and productivity data are well integrated.

A non-sociological emphasis is shown by the statement that: "Changes in the farmer's standard of living, or in his cultural attainments, his reactions to governmental incentives, the changing fortunes of different farming areas, problems of migration and farm-city interchange—all these lie outside the scope of a volume such as the present and will be mentioned only incidentally."

GEORGE B. BYERS.

University of Kentucky.

Brazil Under Vargas. By Karl Lowenstein. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. 381. \$2.75.

Anyone who has ever attempted to gain some understanding of Latin-America from secondary sources can well appreciate many of the recent publications on these countries in English by competent students of economic, political, and social phenomena. This book may be placed definitely among those which will contribute to a more enlightened and realistic understanding of life among our Pan-American neighbors to the South.

In the author's own words this book is a "study of government and politics in Brazil under Vargas." Its chief interest to the sociologist will be the many references to source materials although, unfortunately, no attempt has been made to present the material in an orderly bibliography. Chapter IV devoted to "Public Opinion Management" will interest those who would like to know something of the methods, techniques, and results of the aggressive and extensive program of public "enlightenment" on the part of the government since the *coup d'état* of 1937.

Some 32 pages of the book are devoted to the "Position and Control of the Aliens" in Brazil. This information should do something to dispel rather extensive speculation as to the extent and importance of the "Trojan horse" in that country. The author's approach to this problem seems to be realistic in pointing out the many factors that have operated to render the *Auslanddeutsche* of Brazil susceptible to a heavily subsidized program for extolling alien *Kultur*. Ample attention is also given to restraining factors, including positive action on the part of the government, which in combination, prevented mass support of the Fascist nations.

One is interested in the quandary in which the author finds himself when he attempts to classify Brazil on the basis of customary legal or political lines. He seems to be doing a bit of tight rope walking when he refuses to call it Fascist although he admits that "if ever Brazil were to be converted into a genuinely Fascist state. . .

not a jot would have to be changed of the existing legislation nor anything added to the statute books." His description and analysis of Vargas the man helps us to appreciate the task that must have been his in welding the immense territory, diversity of peoples and cultures that is Brazil's, into a fairly efficient and unified nation. Although some of his conclusions are questionable, as indicated above, he has done an excellent job of presenting both sides of the case, which should enable the reader to draw his own conclusions.

In summary, the book is very readable, well organized, amply documented, and seemingly objective. In the reviewer's opinion, the author has accomplished the major objective of his task "to contribute a share in a better understanding" of one of our friendliest Pan-American neighbors.

OLEN LEONARD.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U.S.D.A.

French Canada in Transition. By Everett C. Hughes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 227. \$2.50.

Here are presented the problems—social and economic, involved in the change from a rural to a fast-growing industrial town. Cantonville was a country trading town in the province of Quebec with a population of only 2,605 in 1911. By 1937 this small trading post had grown into a booming community of 19,424 persons. Most of the incoming persons were French Canadians, a group distinct in ethnic background and religion, bound by tradition and kinship to the countryside. They became industrial workers and town dwellers. Employment under an English-American, rather than French, system induced widespread discontent among them.

Canada, like the United States, has her problems of a changing population. The French Canadians possess the older and richer tradition of Canadian life. In many instances, however, they are less numerous and have less influence as a result of the control of commerce and industry by the

English. Two ethnic groups, living on what each considers its native soil, maintain a common government, that due to cultural diversity, fails to conform to the idea of a nation-state.

Professor Hughes states that: "The facts, relationships, and changes discovered in this community are also to be found in many others. Together these smaller industrial cities are the lively front on which people mobilized from the rural parishes meet, for the first time, modern industry and city life, where solid French middle-class townspeople must face an English-speaking managerial class of different mentality and ways of working and where, finally, the traditional institutions of French Canada meet crises occasioned by the presence of those of extreme industrialism and capitalism. The analysis is intended to suggest comparisons with other regions where industrialization and urbanization are complicated as they generally are by ethnic differences."

Not only does the author present a clear and penetrating analysis of French Canada's fight to maintain her existing social and economic equilibrium, but, he also imparts to the reader, through the unlimited use of graphic and tabular materials, a factual knowledge of Quebec. His observations and factual material present the French Canada of the past and present. One is led to believe that the real future of French Canada depends upon the coordination and association between the bi-ethnic elements of her population.

BARDIN H. NELSON.

Louisiana State University.

The Farmer Citizen at War. By Howard Tolley. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. 308 and Bibliography of six pages. \$2.50.

In this book a public servant of long experience compresses into the space of about 300 pages a carefully organized description of the nation's agricultural programs in peace-time; a thoughtful statement of the challenge of total war to the American farmer; a discussion of changing

economic relationships and the stake of the plain people in the American economic system; and a stimulating slant on some of the problems of the United Nations in war and in peace. Without question the writer holds to a deep faith in the basic soundness of human nature as found in the common run of folk. He likewise holds to the idea of "balance" so clearly stated by Professor Ross some 25 years ago—"In the guidance of society each social element shall share—and none shall dominate." Mr. Tolley insists that the real anti-democratic spirit is that which denies the capacity of the common man to check upon the opinions of experts and to bring them into a balanced relation with the plain needs of the man on the farm and in the factory.

Through several chapters runs an excellent description of the setup and workings of governmental agencies engaged in agricultural reform. Then the reader is taken into war-time and the need for more food. "Men, machines, and prices" come in for discussion. It is at this point that the description and discussion of agricultural programs fades out and the reader gets a passing view of Federal bureaus, the Four Freedoms, the F.S.A., and the O.C.D. Perhaps it would be too much to ask of a public servant, but there is great need for a plain picture of production programs in war-time, especially agricultural production. The ways in which they have worked and the ways they haven't worked need to be brought out and suggestions for improvement or even for drastic revision are very much in order these days.

In Chapter VIII entitled "The Managerial vs. The People's Revolution," Mr. Tolley is perhaps too lenient in his treatment of the artists who throughout the 20's and afterward gave vent to their hate of things American. Now, their belated repentance can do little to repair the damage done to the spirit of pre-war America. To those few who spoke out against them in the 20's, their current utterances on the democratic way of life have the sound of a tin whistle and not the clear voice of a trumpet. So the reviewer thinks Mr. Tolley is too easy on the artists.

On the other hand, the managers and experts, without whose services the wheels of this complex civilization and culture would soon come grinding to a stop, come in for sharp treatment. Possibly the author over-emphasizes in order to make his point stand out. Be that as it may, Mr. Tolley would have done much better in turning upon Burnham and his *Managerial Revolution* had he made the attack single-handed. Quotations such as the one he used on page 231, ending in the words: "—for the hazards of managerial exploitation can be diminished by skillful efforts in the direction of centralized administration of centralized authority"—are not the strongest weapons to be used by an exponent of Jeffersonian democracy. They do not demolish the argument of a "wave of the future" protagonist.

There is need of more books such as *The Farmer Citizen at War* and it is hoped that Mr. Tolley will not lay his pen aside after this initial word looking at today and toward tomorrow for the American farmer. This book should be read by social scientists, farm leaders, and governmental administrators and workers and is an exceedingly fine reference for students of agrarian movements.

E. D. TETREAU.

University of Arizona.

Social Work Year Book 1943. Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943. Pp. 764. \$3.25.

This seventh issue in the Russell Sage Foundation biennial series reports the current status of organized activities, public and private, in social work and related fields. Part I, the major part of the book (pp. 15-577), consists of seventy-eight signed articles on such subjects as Adult Offenders, Aliens and Foreign-Born, Child Welfare, Civic and Fraternal Organizations, Community Welfare Planning in Wartime, Post-War Planning, Medical Social Work, Recreation, Vocational Rehabilitation, and Youth Programs. A short bibliography follows each article.

Part II consists of four directories of agencies, including 63 national govern-

mental, 412 national and international voluntary, 576 state governmental and 59 state voluntary agencies. For each agency is given the date of founding, address, name of secretary, size of membership, purpose and activities, and name and price of periodical if any is published. One could wish the 147 pages devoted to the Directories might be reprinted in a special smaller volume for convenient use.

There is a 35-page Index with cross references covering subjects discussed in the topical articles of Part I, and the names and programs of organizations in Part II.

In the article on Education for Social Work (p. 187) no mention is made of the 61 colleges of the Association of American Universities, which, according to recent count by Dr. Lucy Chamberlain of New York University, offer undergraduate courses in social work.

In the article on Rural Social Problems, Benson Y. Landis reports that war has highlighted the great needs in rural areas. Rural social workers are aware that many rural localities (in defense and non-defense areas) still lack public health nurses, doctors, hospitals, pre-natal clinics, child care centers, libraries, proper sanitation, compulsory education, and public recreation facilities. As Mr. Landis says, the extension of social work in rural areas is going on but it is slow. There is great need for more local agencies directly concerned with rural human welfare. The agencies listed under "Rural Social Programs" are Agricultural Marketing Administration, Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth, American Country Life Association, American National Red Cross, Children's Bureau, Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, Extension Service, Farm Credit Administration, Farm Foundation, Farm Security Administration, and Jewish Agricultural Society.

JOSEPHINE STRODE.

Cornell University.

Child Development and Guidance in Rural Schools. By Ruth Strang and Latham Hatcher. New York: Harper and Bros., 1943. Pp. 218. \$2.50.

In all a stimulating book for anyone to read; valuable to the layman because of its plain presentation of the teacher's job of counseling as a part of the educational process; particularly valuable to educators because of the wealth of specific experiences of successful counseling in the area of activity where counseling is considered.

The book outlines guidance practices in rural communities and emphasizes the "more individual and developmental approach to education." In general the authors have chosen to teach by example and not by precept. The terse statements of suggestive techniques and procedures pluck the significant cores of many of the case studies presented.

The success cases which are given appear in bold contrast to the many teacher failures each of us know and suggest the great distance the average teacher must go in order to achieve educational success as measured in the prevention of personal and social disorganization which are often expressed through such things as unhappiness and frustration, divorce and crime.

Some chapters have particular appeal. Chapter seven, "Guidance of Parents," strikes a constructive note on the necessity of successful work with parents as a prelude to successful work with children. The potential opportunities of working through the Parent-Teachers Association are outlined and are a far cry from the frequent concept that the PTA is something the teacher must tolerate or that the only function of the PTA is recreational. Teachers should make certain that local officers of PTA organizations have a chance to read this chapter.

Chapter eight is a timely address to school and other administrators suggesting certain paths that need to be cleared for the teacher in order to enable him to proceed in effective counseling.

Constructive as the book is, the reader will have questions about the failure of the authors to present guidance on a community basis and then indicate the true role of school guidance within the community frame of reference. Strong and im-

portant as the school is, it is only one of the institutions or organizations functioning as part of the average community.

Little time is given to such things as community leadership, planning, and coordination of activities as factors which will prevent many problems necessitating counseling, and create the necessary social soil in which the seed of effective guidance on the school, home, church, lodge, and club level can come to fruition.

This book, dedicated to an analysis of guidance at the school level, has gone the first mile. The second mile will be covered by that book which gives a comprehensive picture of guidance in a community, outlining clearly the fields, techniques, and procedures of each organization and institution functioning therein plus a comprehensive plan of coordination and integrated action.

R. W. ROSKELLEY.

Colorado State College of Agriculture
and Mechanic Arts.

Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic. By The Brookings Institution. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1942. Pp. xiv + 410. \$4.00.

The primary question which this study seeks to answer is whether or not the natural resources of the Dominican Republic are sufficient to justify the settlement of European refugees under an agreement of the Republic with the Dominican Settlement Association.

A thorough survey of the general agricultural, industrial and other economic potentialities was made by what appears to have been a very competent staff of specialists from the fields of economics and agriculture. They did not pretend to investigate all possible problems of adjustment that white European settlers might encounter. Reference to racial and cultural adjustment problems were brief and incidental. They collected a wealth of economic data, subjected them to thorough analysis and boldly concluded that the Dominican Republic could not expect to accept refugees without lowering the present

plane of living. In fact, the study revealed a man-land ratio already too high when the agricultural possibilities of much of the land are considered, and resettlement of some of the present population was recommended.

In addition to accomplishing its stated purpose, the study will serve excellently as a source of economic information on the city of Santo Domingo, which should be remembered as the oldest existing settlement of white people in the New World.

It appears that the Brookings Institution has maintained its high standard for research in this book and made a substantial contribution on a problem of increasing interest.

ROY E. HYDE.

Louisiana State University.

Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860. By Luther Porter Jackson. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. 270. \$3.75.

The advancement made by the free Negro in Virginia between 1830-1860, in spite of the stringent laws, is the theme of this study. Jackson states that the findings for Virginia, by reason of its size, may furnish an index to what the free Negro was doing all over the South and perhaps throughout the nation during the period under consideration. He has assumed that if the free Negroes found opportunities in labor they would presumably show this good fortune in the acquisition of property and by such acquisition, their advancement could be traced. Using 1830 as the base period and by assuming that the total property held in 1830, however small, was at least as great as that in any preceding year in the history of free Negroes in Virginia, the author then compares the property held by free Negroes during the thirty years prior to the Civil War. "Property" as used in this study includes only the items that were subject to state taxation.

The first chapter reviews the legal position of the free Negro in Virginia. Although the free Negro was divested of the right to vote, hold office, sit on juries, bear

witness against a white man, to have a trial by jury and to move from place to place freely, the state never took away the right to acquire, own or sell property. Herein the State of Virginia erred, for in spite of the avalanche of laws and abuses, they remained in the state and prospered.

The second chapter is concerned with the economic revival and business boom of the fifties in which the free Negro thus found a niche in both the industrial and agricultural life of Virginia. Because his standard of living enabled him to accept lower wages, and because he was naturally obedient, tractable, and respectful of personal authority, the free Negro was able to compete with white labor. Owing to the high prices that accompanied the industrial boom, employers found it cheaper to pay wages to free labor, white or black, than to purchase or hire slave labor. Thus the opportunities for the free Negro employment grew as time passed and made him all the more valuable to the state.

The third chapter lists the many occupations pursued by the free Negro in Virginia. Most of the free Negroes were engaged as manual laborers, both skilled and unskilled. However, a large number supported themselves by small business enterprises. The expanding tobacco industry employed the greater proportion of the free Negroes during this period.

The fourth and fifth chapters discuss property owners among the free Negroes. Approximately 35 percent of the total number of free Negro heads of families either owned or rented land while 65 percent were mere laborers. It was this 65 percent which impressed the many unfriendly critics of this group. The assumption that all of the advancement made by Negroes during the slave period rested with the mulatto is highly incorrect according to Jackson's findings. Approximately 60 percent of Virginia's 58,000 free Negro property owners were classified as "black" by the United States Census in 1860.

The sixth chapter enumerates the methods by which slaves freed themselves. The city was a magnet for both free Negroes and

slaves. Because of the existence of a favorable labor market, slaves, by self-hire, became freedmen and freedmen became property owners.

The last chapter is concerned with the free Negroes who owned slaves. Two types of free Negro slave holders are discussed: benevolent and commercial. Jackson was convinced that much of the slaveholding was "benevolent" in purpose because most of the free Negro slaveholders in Virginia owned only one slave which often was a blood relative.

The reviewer was impressed by the fact

that the author was always able to find at least one case history or court record to illustrate the point in question and support his findings. Those interested in the Negro and his advancement and who are willing to accept several case histories as sufficient proof will find their time well spent in reading Jackson's book. This study of the free Negro in Virginia prior to the Civil War should be of particular interest to the sociologists working in the field of race relations.

S. EARL GRIGSBY.

U. S. Navy.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Robert A. Polson

O. D. DUNCAN ON REGIONALISM

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following remarks by Professor O. D. Duncan are taken from a personal letter to the Managing Editor; and are an extension of Duncan's remarks on regionalism made informally in the discussions at the St. Louis meeting of the Rural Sociological Society. If you do not agree with Duncan, write the Editor.)

Personally, I think regionalism has some potential practical values if one can point out some stable criteria by which a region may be determined, delineated, and defined. One of these is that it would break the United States down into areas of something like manageable size. Second, it would form a basis for division of labor in study. Third, it would add to the local interest in the results of investigation. Fourth, it might add to the practical use of the results of research in planning. Fifth, it might have an advantage in providing greater intimacy

between the investigator and the subjects of his investigation. My article, "The Southwest, A Cultural Area in Evolution," *Southwest Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, 1942, pp. 391-401, is a case in point as is also my earlier article, "The Fusion of White, Negro and Indian Cultures at the Convergence of the New South and the West," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, 1934. I think both of these papers are illustrative of the shortcomings as well as the advantages of the regional approach. One of their distinctive disadvantages is that, regardless of their intrinsic qualities, interest in them is restricted almost entirely to the so-called region to which they apply. I doubt seriously that they have been heard of to an appreciable extent elsewhere.

On the other hand, there are many offsetting facts and conditions: First, regionalism tends to exaggerate things of local and unique importance. Second, it emphasizes provincialism which may be only an-

other way of saying the same thing. Third, it stimulates the "tall story" temptation to outdo somebody else, thereby militating the objectivity of such studies. Fourth, it invariably stresses unrealistic similarities, and depreciates contrasts within the alleged region. Fifth, a region is indeterminate and is difficult to study in parallel with control data such as are gathered by the census, which are based on political subdivisions. Sixth, it is fact that the differences between regions are not greater as a rule than those within them. Seventh, it is largely an arbitrary unit of study, especially if it is large. Eighth, to preserve comparability with census data, or any other, it is almost necessary to make regions simply by grouping states together which happen to be within similar latitudes. In the Southwest, especially, this destroys the regional value of the data. It is true that in the "Cotton Belt" we have the common element of cotton, but the methods of planting, cultivating, harvesting and marketing the fruit of this obnoxious weed are so variable that the idea of a common cotton culture is only a myth. In the South it has amounted to little more than professional southernism to speak of regions, and I am not interested in making apologies for the Civil War cleavages.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD*

After the war it is to be hoped that sociological research will neither go "back to normalcy" nor discard lessons of the past; that it will display, *inter alia* these characteristics: (1) Emphasis on projects which combine both long-time, theoretical values and immediate practical objectives; (2) Determination to rebuild our conceptual framework through its application to and testing by exploration and experimentation; (3) Expansion in number, scope, and quality of cooperative projects.

There will be great need of studies of

inter-group relationships and social control, making use of conventional attitude tests, field observation, and actual experimentation. These can be most easily illustrated by carefully planned studies of race relations in industrial establishments and tests of results of publicity pertaining to international relations.

CONFERENCES OF COLLEGES OF AGRICULTURE AND THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS: Rural Sociologists will be interested in the report on the "Conference of Colleges of Agriculture and Theological Schools," by Thomas Alfred Tripp, which summarizes the progress made to date by the conference in securing the cooperation of colleges of agriculture and theological seminaries for (1) pre-theological training in agriculture for those looking forward to ministerial training in theological seminaries, (2) graduate training of rural ministers in colleges of agriculture, (3) rural training of theological students in seminaries, (4) pastors' short courses in colleges of agriculture, and other problems considered by the conference. Deans of all colleges of agriculture have a copy of the report. Copies may be obtained by writing Dr. Tripp at 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

CONSERVATION OF SCHOLARLY JOURNALS: The American Library Association created in 1941 the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, the Librarian of the University of Rochester. The Committee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes that American scholars and scientists will be of considerable aid in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after the first World War was that of completing foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. The attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the concern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability of the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible they

* Abstract of Stuart A. Queen's paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society Meeting, St. Louis, Missouri, September 16, 1943.

will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purchased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken through mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other sets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The size of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

With an imminent paper shortage, attempts are being made to collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific journals, the Committee hopes to enlist the cooperation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the Committee's interest in particular periodicals should be directed to Dorothy J. Comins, Executive Assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Library of Congress Annex, Study 251, Washington, 25, D. C.

CONVOCATION OF THE CHURCH IN TOWN AND COUNTRY: A fresh start in the development of cooperation among churches in town and country throughout the nation was made by the representatives of twenty-five religious bodies meeting recently in Columbus, Ohio. The National Convocation was held under the auspices of the Committee on Town and Country of the Home Missions Council of North America and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Four hundred thirty-one persons from 41 States and Canada participated.

Because of wartime travel conditions, the Convocation was called as an informal planning conference. Those who attended were in large part invited by the various denominational rural church agencies and departments. Thirteen theological seminaries were represented. Among those present were almost 100 Methodists, who held their own National Rural Conference in connection with the Convocation; 80 from the

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; 50 Baptists; 25 Disciples of Christ; 25 Episcopalians; and numerous others from the constituent bodies of the two councils.

Much of the work of the Convocation was done in 14 Commissions, dealing with many aspects of the life and work of the rural church. Those held were on the following subjects: The Work of the Pastor, Techniques of Church Extension, Religious Education, Financing the Rural Church, The Theological Seminary and the Rural Church, Cooperation Among Local Rural Churches, The Church and Rural Community Agencies, The Agricultural College and the Rural Church, The Rural Church and Minority Peoples, Urban-Rural Relations, Agricultural Missions, The Farm Laborer and Sharecropper, The Rural Church and Land Tenure, The Church and Agricultural Reconstruction. The deliberations of these Commissions are being edited and are expected to be in print during October, 1943. Numerous affirmations were made on important subjects, and many recommendations were made to local churches, state and regional agencies, the denominations, and to national interdenominational organizations.

A special interest was expressed in farm ownership and tenancy. The Committee on Town and Country has had a Committee on Land Tenure at work for five years. This Committee has collaborated with other agencies, especially with the Farm Foundation of Chicago. It has brought together several hundred farmers, country ministers, economists and sociologists to help answer the question: "What are the most important things the rural church can do to encourage farm ownership and promote a more stable rural community life?"

Five of the addresses at the general sessions were related to this question. They were delivered by M. R. Zigler, Church of the Brethren; A. H. Rapking, The Methodist Church; Joseph Ackerman, Farm Foundation; Marshall Harris and Paul L. Vogt, both of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington.

There was a general feeling that the local church must become more inventive and

practical in relation to farm ownership and tenancy. Reports were received about local ministers who have majored on this matter for a period of several years and have achieved remarkable results in increasing the number of farms operated by their owners, among members of their churches, especially young people, and other persons in the community.

Among the purposes of the Convocation are the following: To interest the entire church in the town and country church; to bring together ministers and lay leaders of country churches throughout the nation; to improve the administration of the Town and Country Church. Announcement was made of plans to publish a new journal *Town and Country Church*, a monthly that will specialize on resources, tools and methods for the rural minister.

The Chairman of the Convocation was Rev. Clifford L. Samuelson, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who is chairman of the Committee on Town and Country. The Secretary was Benson Y. Landis, Secretary of the Committee on Town and Country.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY: Dr. Dwight Sanderson retired from active duty as Professor and Head of the Department of Rural Sociology on October 16, 1943 after exactly 25 years of service in this capacity. Under his direction the department has grown until it is recognized as one of the major centers for training in the field of Rural Sociology in this country. Dr. Sanderson will spend the winter at Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Prof. W. A. Anderson has been appointed Acting Head of the Department.

G. T. Hudson has accepted a position as Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics, Sociology and History at Colorado State College. He completed his work for the doctorate the latter part of October and reported at Colorado November 1st.

Mrs. Edith J. Freeman completed her work for the doctorate October 16th. The title of her thesis was "Social Class as a Factor in the Family Group Relations of Certain New York Farm Families." She is now teaching Sociology and Family Life

Problems at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Recent publications of the Department include: "The Social Characteristics of Erin" by Dwight Sanderson and S. Earl Grigsby. This is a description of the economic and social characteristics of a community in a hill area of southern New York in which agriculture has been declining and in which industrial employment has become an important source of income. "The Family and Individual Social Participation," by W. A. Anderson, was published in the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4. The thesis of this paper is that the social participation of individuals is to a considerable degree a function of the social participation of the family.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA: "An Economic and Social Survey of Warren County, Virginia" has recently been released as a publication of the School of Rural School Economics.

ST. LOUIS REGIONAL MEETING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY: The Rural Sociological Society joined with the Farm Economic Association in a regional meeting at St. Louis on September 15 and 16. Approximately 60 rural sociologists attended the meeting. The mail ballots of the postponed 1942 election were opened and counted in St. Louis. The officers for the coming year are: President, Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; Vice-President, W. A. Anderson, Cornell University; Secretary-Treasurer, Robert A. Polson, Cornell University; Executive Committee Member, H. C. Hoffsommer, Regional Land Tenure Study, Fayetteville, Ark.

Incoming members on the following committees are: Teaching: Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; Research: Robin M. Williams, University of Kentucky; Extension: Douglas Ensminger, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Editorial Board: George W. Hill, Office of Labor, War Food Administration.

The minutes of the St. Louis meeting and the Annual Financial Statement of the Society will be published in the March issue of the *Journal*.

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP LIST

DECEMBER 7, 1943

ALABAMA

Andrews, Henry L.	University of Alabama	University
Broadly, T. Rupert	Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute
Nunn, Alexander	<i>Progressive Farmer</i>	Birmingham

ARIZONA

Tetreau, E. D.	University of Arizona	Tucson
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Longmore, T. Wilson	1618 Maryland Avenue	Little Rock
McVoy, Edgar C.	War Relocation Authority	Denson
Oyler, Merton D.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Pryor, Herbert	Bureau of Ag. Econ.	Little Rock
Standing, T. G.	Bureau of Ag. Econ.	Little Rock
Vaughan, Theo L.	Bureau of Ag. Econ.	Little Rock

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Taylor, Paul S.	University of California	Berkeley
Thomas, Dorothy S.	University of California	Berkeley
*White, Lt. James E.	Co. D, 35th Inf., A.P.O. 25, c/o PM	San Francisco

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Roskelley, R. W.	Colorado State College	Fort Collins
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*Nelson, Mrs. Annabel W.	Montpelier
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Minneapolis
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Osborn, George C.

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 Jones, R. E.
 *Kline, Chaplain Alfred S.
 Spellman, C. L.
 Stafford, Garland Reid
 Vance, Rupert B.
 Wakefield, Olaf
 *Wakeley, Jay T.
 Winston, Sanford

Cape, T. Wilson
 Gillette, J. M.
 *Hylden, Rev. Lloyd
 Mulloy, Rev. William T.

Denune, Perry P.
 Falconer, J. I.
 Gomillion, Charles G.
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 *McDonald, Ensign Gilman
 McNamara, Robert L.
 Morgan, Arthur
 Puckett, Newbell N.
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 Schmidt, J. P.
 *Schmidt, Warren
 Smith, William M., Jr.
 Sorenson, A. L.
 Thompson, Warren S.

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 Hopper, Lois N.
 LaCamp, Ira Rex
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Bakkum, Glen A.
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